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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# BOROUGH, CASTLE, AND BARONY

OF

# ALNWICK,

BY GEORGE TATE, F.G.S.,

Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland; Local Secretary of the Anthropological Society, London; Secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club; Honorary Member of the Hasting's Philosophical Society, &c.

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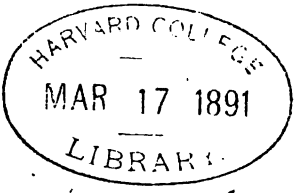


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| ,, | 61, | ,, 21, | *for* old *read* bold. |
| ,, | 148, | ,, 4, | *for* Atticus *read* Miles Lambert. |
| ,, | ,, | ,, 7, | *for* his father *read* he. |
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THE

# HISTORY OF ALNWICK.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

SITUATION OF TOWN AND PARISH—PHYSICAL FEATURES—IMPORTANCE OF ITS OLD HISTORY.

ALNWICK, the county town of Northumberland, is pleasantly situated on the south bank of the river Aln, in latitude 52° 21′ north, and in longitude 1° 42′ west. From London it is distant, north by west, 305 miles by the old coach road, and 313 miles by railway. Being 33 miles north of Newcastle and 30 miles south of Berwick, it is nearly midway between the south and north boundaries of the county; from the German Ocean on the east it is 4 miles, and from the Tweed at Coldstream, which there divides England from Scotland, it is 30 miles distant. The North-Eastern Railway passes between it and the sea at the distance of 3 miles; but Alnwick is connected with this trunk line by a branch, which joins it at Bilton. London, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Berwick, and all other towns diverging from these centres, are therefore accessible from Alnwick by railway transit.

The town forms part of the parish of Alnwick, which anciently was partly within Bamburgh Ward and partly within Coquetdale Ward, but which since 1832 has been entirely included in the East Division of Coquetdale Ward, for the purposes of petty sessions. The parish is in length from north to south about 8 miles, and in breadth from east



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to west about 4½ miles; but its form is irregular, and the area of the whole is 15,884 acres. It is bounded on the east and north-east by the parishes of Longhoughton and Embleton, on the south-east by Lesbury, on the south by Shilbottle and Felton, on the west by Edlingham and Eglingham, and on the north by the new parochial district of South Charlton. The surface presents great inequalities of elevation; a high sandstone ridge ranging through the county in a S.S.W. direction, forms upland moors on the western part, which reach to a height of 808 feet above the sea; Highfarlaw on the northern boundary is about 460 feet high; on the east, the bold and lofty cliff of Ratcheugh Crag, which is 396 feet above the sea level, intervenes between Alnwick and the sea; more level ground stretches for a few miles southward, but the valley in which Alnwick lies, is bounded in that direction by the high hilly grounds of Newton-on-the-Moor and Shilbottle, which reach an elevation of 473 feet. The river Aln crosses the parish from west to east, running in a deep valley, generally with gently sloping sides, but where it cuts through the sandstone ridge, the banks are loftier, more rugged, and steep.

The town and castle have a general elevation of 200 feet above the sea level; some streets however, as Walkergate and the lower part of Canongate, are but little above the level of the river. Almost encompassed by hills of greater or less elevation, the town stands on a situation tolerably sheltered.

Though now an unimportant town in the great empire of Britain, with a population of only 7,350 in the parish, with few manufactures, and no great extent of trade, the history of Alnwick nevertheless possesses more interest than its present condition would lead us to expect. It has not diminished in population, or gone down, like some old boroughs, into obscurity and utter ruin; but it has lost its relative importance, and other towns, once more insignificant, having caught the improving spirit of modern times, have utilised their natural resources, and become the centres of manufacturing, mining, and commercial industry. Alnwick derives its interest mainly, therefore, from its ancient history; for when several of our great towns were mere villages or clusters of huts or shealings, Alnwick was a walled town, and enjoyed a corporate existence; battles were fought before its gates; it was repeatedly besieged and burnt; kings were slain and captured within sight of its walls; monarchs and

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generals made it a place of rendezvous for armies and negotiations; warlike barons, wielding power little less than regal, resided within its great castle, ruled their vassals and hatched their plots against their sovereign, or devised schemes for public liberty; malefactors were executed there, and grisly and gory heads were exhibited over its gates; mitred abbots and cowled monks lived hard by, and dispensed a magnificent hospitality within their splendid abbeys; and in later times, the commonalty rising out of feudal bondage, may be seen endowed with a limited amount of wealth and power—now debating and quarrelling over the town's affairs, and now enjoying themselves with their canary, mulled claret, and music. Old customs lingered long here; and there yet remains somewhat of the racy savour of olden times in the tastes, the habits, and associations of the inhabitants. A scientific gentleman from America recently strolled through Alnwick, examined its buildings and listened to accounts of its manners and customs; with wonder did he gaze on the great Gothic castle—intently he scrutinised the old buildings as he passed along—the old gateway—the old houses with their balconies and quaint inscriptions—the old chantry—the old church! nor did Saint Michael's Pant, with the archangel, the guardian of the town, on its top killing the dragon, nor did the bull ring, nor the site of the stocks escape his notice; but more than all, when the curfew bell tolled its clear notes in the evening, from the Town Hall tower, did he stop and listen with a delight almost childish. He felt, indeed, that his brief survey of Alnwick gave him a more distinct notion of the character of the old mother country, than he had gained from other sources.

Perhaps the natural history of Alnwick may not be of so much special interest; but as the zoology, the botany, and the geology, have been carefully examined during several years, the observations may be of some value and deserving of record. A section across the parish from the Cheviots to the sea shore, will exhibit almost every kind of igneous and stratified rock occurring within the county, and therefore a description of that section—of its mineral characters, of its physical conditions, of its organic contents, of its economic uses—will present an epitome of the geology of Northumberland. Something there may be then in the history of Alnwick, to instruct and please even those who live beyond its boundaries.

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# CHAPTER II.

## ANCIENT BRITISH PERIOD.

ETYMOLOGY OF ALNWICK—EARLY INHABITANTS—THE OTADENI—FORTS AND DWELLINGS—SEPULCHRES—URNS—STONE WEAPONS AND INSTRUMENTS—BRONZE RELICS—GOLD ORNAMENTS—STANDING STONE—CELTIC NAMES—REMAINS IN NORTH NORTHUMBERLAND—ETHNOLOGY—STONE CIRCLE—INSCRIBED ROCKS.

Though Alnwick may boast of a respectable antiquity, yet of its existence as a *town* before the Norman Conquest, there is no documentary evidence. The name does not occur in Gildas, Beda, Nennius, the Saxon chronicle, or indeed in any pre-Norman charter or history. In old histories and documents, subsequent to that period, the name is written in various forms, as appears in the following list:—

Alnawic—Richard of Hexham, 12th century.
Alnewyk—In charters and inquisitions of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries—Bromton—Liber Niger—Act to embattle the town, 1434.
Alnewyc—Charters 12th and 13th centuries.
Alnewyke—Inquisitions and charters 13th and 14th centuries—Chronicle of Alnwick Abbey.
Alnewicke—Inquisitions 13th and 14th centuries—Petition of Burgesses, 1650.
Alnewik—Knyghton, 14th century—Lord Hertford, 1569.
Alnewich—William of Newberry, 12th century.
Alnewike—Borough Seal.
Aunewike—Rot Lit Pat, 1213.
Aunwyk—Pipe Roll, 1282.
Aunewic—Testa de Neville.
Awnewyke—Earl of Northumberland, 1528.
Anwik—Earl of Northumberland, 1613.
Anwick—Heraldic Visitation, circa, 1600.

The spelling is arbitrary; but all the forms excepting the six last, are essentially the same as the modern "Alnwick."

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Mr. Ralph Carr of Hedgeley, one of our ablest etymologists, considers that the old name would be in three syllables, Al-na-wick; and this form indeed, is given by Richard of Hexham, one of the earliest northern historians. At present however, the name is pronounced *Annick* by all the native inhabitants of the town; and indeed, as early as the 13th century, the pronunciation seems to have been similar to the broad nasal sound by Scotsmen, though in three syllables—*Au-ne-wicke*. Obviously Alnwick is compounded of *Aln*, the name of the river on which the town stands, and of *wick*, the Anglo-Saxon for a street, village, or dwelling place; but this latter element is one of those peculiar terms, which evidence the affinity and common origin of several different languages; for it appears in the Greek, οἶκος,* in the Latin, *vicus*, in the Sanscrit, *vic*, and it has been traced in other Indo-European tongues. *Aln*, like the names of our rivers, hills, and mountains, is Celtic or Ancient British, and was given by one of the earliest tribes settling in Britain; for in the Hibernico-Celtic we have *Alain*, signifying white, bright, or clear. Alnwick therefore is the town on the bright clear river. In one form or other, Aln is not an uncommon name of rivers. We have *Alwyn* a tributary of the Coquet, and *Allan* flowing into the South Tyne; and the same name appears in Roxburghshire, in the Lothians, in other parts of Scotland, and also in Ireland. Westward of the town, the Aln is commonly spoken of as the *Ale-water*, and sometimes as the *Yell*. Alnham near its source is called *Ale-dam*, and occasionally *Yell-dom;* and Alnmouth, pronounced *Alemouth*, is not unfrequently called *Yellmouth*.

Another name is applied to Alnwick in a chronicle of the Priory of St. Andrews—one of the most ancient and authentic of Scottish records—which states that Malcolm, son of Duncan, was slain at *Inner-alden*. The name of the river is recognisable; but *inner*, which comes from the Gaelic *inbhear*, denotes the mouth of a river, and would rather apply to Alnmouth; but as it is pretty certain that Malcolm fell near Alnwick, the chronicler, as Professor Simpson supposes,† may

* I am indebted to my young friend Mr. Robert Busby for this note—"The Greek οἶκος anciently had the diagamma, which is supposed to possess the power of a W; and this makes the analogy between the Greek word and the Saxon *wick* stronger."

† Dr. Simpson's Cat-Stane, p. 25.

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have erred for want of proper local knowledge. Fordun, when relating the same event, gives *Murealden*, as a synonym —"Castrum de Alynewick, sive Murealden, quod idem est;"* and this may be descriptive of the wild moorish condition of the district around Alnwick at that period.

When the far reaching ambition of Cæsar made Britain known to the civilized world, it was peopled by the Celtic race, who, migrating many centuries before from the east, had passed by successive population-waves into the British Islands. From a careful and extensive comparison of the old names of rivers, mountains, and other great natural objects in all these islands, it has been proved, that the language of the whole was essentially the same; but that different tribes had their own dialectic peculiarities. The distribution of the same peculiar symbolical sculptures over the British Islands corroborates the conclusion. Though of a common origin, the clans or tribes were numerous, and to a great extent independent of each other. While the southern part of England was occupied by the Belgæ, the most civilized tribe, the north was peopled by the rude and warlike Brigantes; and these were divided into several distinct branches; Gadeni dwelt in the western part of Northumberland and in Roxburghshire; but the eastern part of Northumberland and Berwickshire were occupied by the Otadeni; and to this tribe belonged the people, who, for many generations prior to the Christian era, dwelt in the valley of the Aln. Of this primitive race there are few written records; and what we do know of them has been gathered, not so much from books or manuscripts, as from their sepulchres, their ruined forts and dwellings, and from their language, either as intermingled in our common speech, or impressed as it were upon our rivers, mountains, hills, and other great objects in nature.

It is remarkable how many remains there are of this Pre-Roman period even within the limits of Alnwick parish—there are forts, traces of dwellings, barrows and sepulchres, urns, stone and bronze weapons and instruments, golden and other ornaments, which though telling us nothing of the names of individual chiefs or of particular events, yet raise up the general form and character of evanished tribes and peoples. Of these various remains I shall give an account. It may be premised, that almost all earthworks in the district, were at one period, without discrimination, referred to Danish

* Forduni Scotichronicon.

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origin. One principle of easy application seems to have guided a certain class of antiquaries in their exposition of early remains—whatever was rude was Danish, and whatever shewed marks of skill and art was Roman. A more critical age cannot adopt this crude method. As the geologist examines the fossil contents of a rock to determine its age and ascertain its history, so must the antiquary dig into fortlets, dwellings, and barrows, and by the relics he finds, and the structural peculiarities he observes, determine their age and read the character and history of the people who erected them. Excavations have recently been made into old antiquities in the valley of the Breamish, and on and around Yevering Bell; and the facts, which the spade and pick-axe have revealed in these places, will be useful guides in our examination of those which have not yet been explored in a similar manner.

## CAMPS.

To determine in all cases with certainty the age of camps is impossible, on account of their imperfect condition; but as a general rule it may be laid down, that camps or fortlets of a rounded form, and associated with small circular foundations of hut dwellings, and not far distant from barrows containing Ancient British relics, may without much doubt be referred to the Ancient British period. Supplementary defences either on one, or on two opposite sides, enclosing small crescent shaped areas, are also I think characteristic of the same age.

HIGHFARLAW.

A remarkable group of antiquities is clustered on the high grounds sloping southward from the summit of Highfarlaw, three miles north of Alnwick. Besides the mediæval tower, there are three camps, and there existed some years ago, a barrow and traces of hut dwellings. On the crest of the hill is a stronghold, now overgrown with trees which form an ornamental clump; it has two rampiers* with a ditch between them, and is of an oval shape, in diameter from north to south sixty yards, and from east to west seventy-one yards; the area enclosed is about four-fifths of an acre. The rampart on the south side appears to have been regularly built with large stones. Entrances or gateways are on the east and west

* The term rampier I apply to a rude wall formed of earth and stones.

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sides, nine feet in width. The interior is divided by other rampiers into several compartments; three large enclosures are traceable, and the remains of several smaller ones are visible, which most probably had been circular hut dwellings. The position is commanding; the great hills of the district are seen from it—the Cheviots, Ros Castle, Alnwick Moor, and Shilbottle Law; and along the coast the view ranges a distance of thirty miles.

Another camp there was, only two or three hundred yards to the southward, on the slope of the hill in a field called the "Camp Field." This was large, enclosing an area of nearly two acres; there was but one rampier, which however, is now almost obliterated, the field having for several years been under cultivation.

To the eastward of the Holywell camp, not more than one hundred yards, a rude flagged floor was exposed a few years ago by the plough, one foot below the surface. The flags were of unhewn sandstone, and were roughly fitted in to each other, forming a circle of thirteen feet in diameter. From better preserved remains of a similar kind among the Cheviots, we are able to determine this to have been the floor of an Ancient British hut; the fire had been in the centre, for after having been quenched for many centuries, the ashes were found on the blackened hearth-stone.

At a short distance, west-south-west of this camp, a barrow or small artificial hill formed of earth and stones, covered an ancient interment. This was removed forty years ago, and beneath it, an urn, such as occurs in Ancient British graves, was found placed within a circle of stones.

The association of these camps with the Ancient British barrow and the hut floor, enables us to determine pretty certainly, that Highfarlaw was the site of an Ancient British settlement.

CHESTERS. Lower down the same hill, about a mile southward, yet still upon high ground, overlooking the valley of the Aln, is the camp of Black Chesters, which is now overgrown with trees. It is of a circular form and strongly fortified by two rampiers and a deep ditch. The circumference of the inner circle is 180 yards, and of the outer 380 yards, the area of the whole being near to two acres. The entrance is obscure, and appears to have been on the east. A small iron ball was found a few years ago, among stones on the surface; but this could not belong to the period when the camp was made; it may have

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been left when the Scottish armies passed through the county in the 17th century.

BRISLAW.* Near Brislaw there are two camps; one on the western slope of the high rugged sandstone hill on which Brislaw Tower stands, about half-a-mile eastward of Moor-laws. This is circular, and has only one rampier, with a ditch outside, the circumference being 190 yards. There are two entrances, one on the north and the other on the west side. A hollow way proceeds from it down the hill, similar to the roads connected with other Ancient British fortlets—*Plate II., fig.* 13.

Distant from this about half-a-mile N.N.W., is the other camp on Catheugh, lower and more level ground, by the side of a little burn, whose steep banks add to the defences of the stronghold. It is much obscured by trees and the rank growth of underwood with which it is covered; part of it has been destroyed near the burn for the sake of a road, so that what remains is only the segment of a circle. The place had been very strong, for there are two rampiers and two ditches; and even now, after the destructive influence of many centuries, the rampier remains in some parts as high as fifteen feet. Entrances appear on the north-east side.

STONEY HILLS. The remains of a camp are traceable on Camp-hill on the Swansfield estate, near the edge of Alnwick Moor, less than a mile south-westward of the town. It is much obliterated, excepting on the south side; the form is oval, being 120 yards in diameter from east to west, and 104 yards from north to south. There is little to mark it except its rounded shape.

RUGLEY. On Rugley Moor-house farm, there was a camp; but now owing to cultivation, it is barely traceable. It was of a squarish form, rounded at the corners, and contained an area of one acre and one-eighth; it had a rampier and a ditch. Close to it, but on the outside of the wall, an ancient quern or hand-mill was found. Such primitive mills for grinding corn are not uncommon in and near forts and dwellings of the Ancient British people; we have found them in the Celtic town of Greaves Ash, in the

* "Brislaw, in Holn Park, a very lofty eminence commanding the whole district about it, is vulgarly called *Brisley*, as if it were mere ordinary lea-land;" R. Carr on Composite Names of Places; Trans. of Tyneside Club, Vol. I., p. 344. Law from the Anglo-Saxon *hlæw* is applied to a hill, generally high and conical.



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Chesters camp on the Breamish, and even within the great fort on the summit of Yevering Bell.

ALNWICK MOOR.

One other camp remains to be noticed, which is situated on Alnwick Outer Moor, little more than two miles westward of the town, on the slope of the hill. Though small, the interior area not exceeding half-an-acre, this is an interesting camp, as some portions are in good preservation, and its form and arrangements are easily seen. The form is rounded; and it has two rampiers and a ditch, with an entrance on the south-east. This has been pronounced a Danish camp; but without any evidence or even probability. Its external characters are similar to Ancient British camps—*Plate II., fig.* 12.

## SEPULCHRES.

ALNWICK MOOR.

Besides the barrow at Holywell already referred to, others have been observed in the parish. Perhaps the most interesting are two, which have been opened near to each other, probably part of a group, on the hill side northward of Alnwick Moor Burn, and near to the Forest Lodge. One of them in Alnwick Moor was discovered in 1820, and a cist-vaen* was exposed, made of slaty sandstone slabs, and within it was an entire skeleton doubled up, with the head laid to the south-west. The other, only about fifty yards distant, is within the park, and was exposed in 1861, while excavations were made along the hill side for a new road. Three feet below the surface a cist-vaen was found, which was covered over with stones of various kinds and sizes, piled up above the interment to form a barrow or little hill, but which, through the lapse of time and other causes, had been reduced almost to the ordinary level of the ground. The cist-vaen was placed in a fine sand overlying the boulder clay; it is formed of slabs of a slaty sandstone common in the district, set on edge so as to form a small coffin 17 inches in depth, 3 feet 5½ inches long on the north side, and 3 feet 9½ inches on the south side; and in breadth 2 feet 3 inches. A flag lay at the bottom, and the top was entirely covered by a large slab. This cist is a good type of the stone coffins in which the Ancient British people interred their dead and placed memorials of their lost friends. No bones nor evidences of burning were discovered; but within the cist was placed a fine urn or earthenware vessel, of a simple bowl shape, 6 inches in

* Stone chest or stone coffin.

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height and 7½ inches in diameter at the top—*Plate II., fig.* 4. Zigzag lines are incised on the rim, a mode of ornamenting characteristic of Celtic fictile art; but the body of the urn was incised with figures of an uncommon description, consisting of lozenge forms arranged in a kind of quincunx. Urns of the same bowl shape have been obtained from similar sepulchres at Chatton and Wandylaw—that from the latter being beautifully ornamented, and associated with an entire skeleton and a flint arrow head. Probably the Forest Lodge sepulchre also contained a corpse which, through the access of water and air, may have been entirely decomposed.

RUGLEY. On the ridge of a field called Willow Close, west of Rugley Moor-house, a barrow was opened which covered a cist-vaen, similar to that already described, and in this was found a bead of a yellow colour, which appeared to be amber.

DENWICK LANE. In a field not far from the limestone quarry, a cist-vaen was exposed by the plough; in which there was a skeleton with the body bent and the face looking upward; the hair was still in preservation, lying beneath the head "like a bird's nest;" along with this interment was an urn of the ordinary Celtic character. In a field not far distant, another cist-vaen was found, but it contained no relics.

HOLLINGHEUGH. In the northern part of the parish, from White House Folly down the hill towards the river there had been many interments. On high ground called Hollingheugh there was a cairn, which was removed in 1824, and beneath it was a cist-vaen containing an urn or vase of peculiar character; for besides being ornamented with zigzag scorings, it had four projecting knobs, which are interesting, as early and rude attempts to furnish vessels with handles—*Plate II., fig.* 2.

WHITE HOUSE. On the White House grounds, now forming the north-west corner of Holn* Park, three other sepulchres have been discovered. One was opened in 1818 and contained a skeleton, by the side of which stood an elegant shaped drinking cup, covered with zigzag scorings; it is said to have contained ashes—*Plate II., fig.* 1. This is the shape most usually met with in Ancient British interments in North Northumberland; elegant in form and in ornamentation, they exhibit no small

* The name is thus spelt in early charters.

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degree of artistic taste. Another cist-vaen in this locality was found in 1833; but of this we have no definite information, beyond the fact that the direction of the grave was from north to south. Of the third sepulchre, however, which was opened in 1863, we have more particular knowledge. The cist-vaen was as usual formed of sandstone slabs, the length being 2 feet 9 inches, the width 1 foot 10 inches, and the direction from N.E. to S.W.; within was laid a skeleton with the head towards the south-west end, the body bent, the knees being drawn up towards the head; and nearly in the centre stood an urn or vase, which is 5 inches in height, with four knobs at the side, and ornamented with characteristic zigzag scorings—*Plate II., fig.* 3. The skeleton was that of a young person, about 12 years of age; for the temporary canine teeth had disappeared, and the permanent canine teeth were making their appearance; while also the sutures of the skull were very distinct. Unfortunately the cranium was broken and incomplete; but so much remained as to admit of its general characters being determined; it was a short, broad, and compact head; the longitudinal diameter being 6·3 inches and the parietal diameter 5 inches, giving a proportion of nearly 10 to 8, which marks the cranium of the Brachy-cephalic type. The form is well rounded, but there is a peculiar flattening from the occipital protuberance to the foramen magnum, probably due to artificial compression; for Dr. Barnard Davis, the distinguished author of the "Crania Britannica," has shewn that some ancient tribes modified by artificial means the natural form of the skull. Even now some of the American Indians distort the heads of their children by the use of a cradle board. Singular is it, that in the sepulchre of so young a person, there was a rude flint arrow head about one inch in length, and of the same character as one found in a similar interment at Wandylaw—*Plate II., fig.* 9.* Other vases of the same kind from the district, preserved in the Alnwick Castle Museum, shew a gradual advance in Ancient British fictile art; one from Warkworth has, in place of mere knobs, small but well shaped perforated handles.

About twenty years ago, another interment was discovered in the Parks, within a plantation cresting the hill to the westward of Holn Abbey; this also contained a skeleton, which, however, has not been preserved.

* *Fig.* 14 in *Plate II.* is the sharpened stone celt referred to in page 13.

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A few other relics belonging to the Celtic period have been found in the parish of Alnwick.

## STONE CELTS.

To instruments made of stone with sharp edges at one or both ends, the name *celt* has been applied, which in the Cambro-Celtic, means a flint stone. One of these was discovered in 1862 by Mr. George Armstrong, one foot below the surface, while cutting through a hill on the south side of the road between Alnwick and Denwick, nearly opposite to the spot on which old Denwick cross stands. It is well made and quite smooth, and more artistically finished than the rudely chipped flint weapons of Abbeville; it is somewhat broken at the ends, but when perfect would be 7 inches long, and 2 inches wide at the one end and one inch at the other; the sides are blunt, but like other celts of similar character, it was sharp at both ends; it is made of a dark grey metamorphic shale, hard enough to scratch glass—*Plate II., fig.* 10. Three other stone celts I have, which were found in fields near the borders of the parish. All are similar in shape, and formed of indurated slate; two of them are 4 inches and the other 6 inches long. One of them is especially interesting, because shewing an alteration from its original form by being repeatedly sharpened. These are small in size compared with another from the valley of the Reed, which is nearly 12 inches long and finely finished. Such instruments were used as chisels or wedges, to cut or split wood and other substances softer than themselves; and they have even been found inserted like a wedge, into cavities of large stones; but as weapons also they would be formidable, especially those of a large size, fastened like an axe at the head of a pole. Flint arrow heads, as we have seen, also occur.

## BRONZE RELICS.

Gale has given an account of bronze weapons and tools found in 1726 within the Old Park, about a mile north-west of Alnwick. A mason was clearing away the earth from a sandstone rock, in order to obtain building stones, when, at the depth of 18 inches, he found lying upon the rock twenty bronze swords and sixteen spear heads; and near to these, only a foot further down the hill, forty-two bronze instruments usually called celts. Fortunately some of these relics were obtained by Gale, otherwise we should have known nothing of them, for the remainder were seized

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by the Steward of the Lord of the Manor, and they were never afterwards seen. The swords were leaf-shaped and only 18 inches long in the blade, double edged and pointed, being more adapted for thrusting than cutting. The handles were remarkably small, being usually only 3 inches in length, and indicating that the race who wielded these weapons had small hands—*Plate II., fig.* 8. The spear heads had a socket for the insertion of a wooden pole; some were long and narrow, with a small wing or flange on each side—*Plate II., fig.* 5; but in others, the flange was wider and cut through or eyed, a form common in Scotland and Ireland, but rare in England. Similar swords and spear heads were found in a bog at Thrunton, near Whittingham, in this county in 1847; and three of the bronze leaf-shaped swords were discovered in 1857, near to a Celtic fortlet on Brandon hill.

The celts or chisels, as they are sometimes called—*Plate II., fig.* 7—have one end with a broad sharp edge, and the other is narrower and thicker, and hollowed so as to admit a wooden shaft; they have a loop or ear attached to one side. Such instruments, the most common of bronze relics, were cast in stone moulds; one of these moulds found near Wallington, is in the Museum of Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart. There was great difference in the shape and artistic finish of these celts, from the simple form of a stone celt to those complicated with flanges, sockets, loops, and mouldings. Though they may have been applied to warlike purposes, yet I think they were chiefly used as chisels or wedges.

The number of the bronze relics found in the "Old Park" is remarkable; and the association of the celts with the other weapons, aids in determining the age of the leaf-shaped swords, regarding which there has been considerable controversy. As these swords are of a graceful shape, beautifully finished, and well tempered, they must, according to some, have been the production of Roman art. Here however, they have been found with celts, which without any doubt may be referred to the Ancient British people. Bronze weapons moreover, are not known to have been used by the Romans when they conquered Britain, nor do we find any types among the weapons or instruments of the Romans corresponding with these bronze relics; while on the other hand, the presence of bronze daggers* and sometimes

* At North Charlton a bronze dagger was in one of these graves along with a glass bead.

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bronze swords in Ancient British graves proves that they were pre-Roman. True it is, the Caledonian sword described by Tacitus in the first century, was long, blunt, and adapted for striking; these however, were made of iron, a metal which for some time previously had been in use. It is reasonable therefore, to infer that the bronze weapons belonged to a more distant period, when the Ancient Britons had risen above the feeble and barbarous state indicated by the general use of flint tipped arrows and javelins, and stone battle axes, and had acquired sufficient metallurgic skill to produce bronze weapons; for that bronze objects are of native manufacture is evidenced by the discovery in Britain, not only of moulds in which these objects were cast, but also of lumps of the crude unfashioned metal itself.

In the Alnwick Castle Museum there are a bronze celt, with a socket and ring, which was found in the North Demesne in 1824, and a bronze spear head, with a socket for a handle, obtained from Denwick in 1832—*Plate II., fig.* 5. These are of the same shape as the Old Park relics.

Another very curious bronze implement is also there, found somewhere in Holn Park; it is remarkable, as being ornamented by incised figures, considered to be of a Celtic character, somewhat resembling the outline of a dog's face. These figures are similar to some on Celtic antiquities found near to Stanwick in Yorkshire. This implement is flat and shaped like a heater; but of its use I can form no rational conjecture—*Plate II., fig.* 6.

## GOLD ORNAMENTS.

Gold occurring generally in a native state, frequently in superficial deposits, and being moreover easily smelted and worked, was one of the earliest metals discovered and applied to use. By the Ancient British people, it was fashioned into various ornaments—into torques which adorned the necks of their chiefs, into armlets, fibulæ, and rings. Two golden penannular ornaments were found in 1850, in Cooper's Hill, near to the Alnwick Railway Station, when this hill was cut through during the formation of the branch line. Unfortunately, these very rare and valuable relics were broken by the workmen and sold to an ironmonger; but Dr. Charlton of Newcastle, bought the fragments and placed them in the Museum of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society. The fragments consist of thin ringed plates, 1½ and 1¾ inches in

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diameter, a narrow plate $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and fine golden wire. A restored figure of one of these rings will shew its peculiar shape; it is ornamented with very delicate and well formed impressions of concentric circles which had been made by a stamp, each series consisting of twelve, and being about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. The golden wire had been used along the outer edge of the ring, where the plates join, to give strength to the ornament and keep it in shape.

FIG. 2 FIG. 1

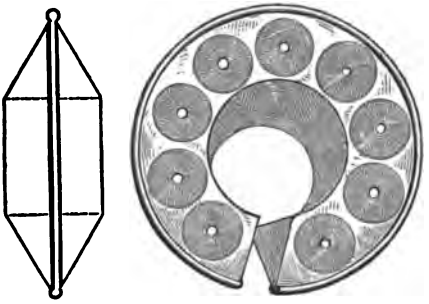

*Fig.* 1.—Perspective View shewing the ornamented surface.
*Fig.* 2.—Profile View.

The other ring was of the same form, but plain. Made with so much skill, as to rival the most artistic work of modern goldsmiths, they must have been highly valued personal ornaments; but in what manner applied it is difficult to say.

One of the same character, weighing 71 grains, now in the Museum of the Rev. William Greenwell, Durham, was found near Cheeseburn Grange in Northumberland. No others have been discovered in England; but these penannular ornaments have been found in Anglesey along with golden armlets; and a few have been discovered in Ireland. Dr. Daniel Wilson in his Pre-historic Annals of Scotland,* gives a figure of one from the West Highlands, and describes it as "a curious hollow penannular gold capsule."

Scandinavian archæologists would refer the Alnwick rings to the Northmen, some of whom settled in Northumberland, because concentric circles ornament some Scandinavian relics; but the premises do not warrant the conclusion, for concentric circles are on relics of various ages; we have them on the

* Second Edition, p. 458, fig. 88.

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Ancient British sculptured rocks of Northumberland; they occur on Roman objects, and I have seen them on ancient Babylonian pottery. The association however, of these golden ornaments with other relics proves their age; for they were found at Alnwick along with a socketed and ringed bronze celt, within an urn, having the zigzag scorings characteristic of Ancient British pottery.

It has been suggested that such rings may have been used as money; in Africa at the present day, golden rings are so applied. For such a purpose however, our Alnwick ornaments are too light and fragile, and their exquisite artistic finish indicate a higher object; but it is not improbable, that six other rings formed of solid twisted gold bars, weighing 602·2 grains, found in the parish of Ford in 1856, and now in Mr. Greenwell's Museum, may have been Ancient British ring money.

## STANDING STONE.

No stone circle is within the parish; but one ancient monolith still stands on high ground in a plantation, about a mile westward of Holn Abbey, and not far distant from Ancient British sepulchres. It is a rude unhewn pillar of sandstone, 5 feet 4 inches high above ground, somewhat square, the sides being from 22 inches to 25 inches broad. Deeply guttered and worn by time, it has the aspect of great antiquity; and it is referred to in a charter dated A.D. 1283, as "the great standing stone on the height."—*Plate II., fig.* 11. For what object it was placed there, is now a mystery; some of these stones were hoar or boundary stones—others were memorial stones to commemorate important events—others were *cat* stones to mark the site of a battle, and others were connected with sepulchres. Such stones were long held in veneration and associated with romantic legends.

## LANGUAGE.

Many Celtic words derived from this olden time are in daily use, intermingled with our common Anglo-Saxon speech; but as these are not peculiar to the district, they need not detain us. The names of many hills, rivers, and other prominent objects in Northumberland are Celtic. A few of these are impressed on our district. *Aln* the name of the river is, as we have seen, Celtic. We have *Twyn*, (Celtic,) an eminence or tuft of wood in Twinlaw, a high



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hill on the western boundary of Alnwick Moor, where the Lord of the Manor called over the names of the burgesses on the day when the boundaries of the Common were perambulated; *Law* is an Anglo-Saxon addition, meaning a hill. Traces of the Celtic we have in Pennywells, the name of fields on high ground north of the Aln, which may come from *Pen-y-gwal*—the rampart on the head or point. The "Firth," on the south side of the parish, is from *Fridd*, (Celtic,) a forest or wood; and in Ratcheugh, we have a word compounded of the Celtic *Rhach*, that which is forced out, descriptive of the outbreak of pillared rock forming the cliff; and of the Saxon *heugh*, which has a similar meaning. In Dunsheugh, which is hard by, there is the same Saxon termination, with the Hibernico-Celtic *Dun*, a fortress.

The old remains in Alnwick Parish, though not numerous, yet include representatives of most kinds of relics belonging to the Ancient British Period; they prove that a Celtic population was scattered over the district, and that probably Alnwick itself was originally a Celtic settlement.

Of this distant and obscure period, better illustrations have been gathered from the wild uncultivated hills and moorlands in the district westward of Alnwick. At Holywell we found traces of a single hut; but among the Cheviots and undisturbed hill lands, there are groups of such dwellings; and there too we can see the relation which the great forts, the fortified towns and houses, the hut dwellings, the sepulchres, and the temples bear to each other.

At Greaves Ash, on high ground near Linhope in the valley of the Breamish, and among the porphyritic hills of the Cheviot range, one of these primitive fortified towns has been examined by means of excavations. This wonderful though ruined structure, consists of three principal parts, all defended by encircling walls; on the highest ground is the stronghold or citadel; at a little distance is the middle fort, which may have been the residence of the chief; and lower down is the principal town, which is circular, having a circumference of 1000 feet, and defended by two encircling walls from 5 feet to 12 feet in thickness, built without lime, of unhewn porphyry blocks. The great outer wall may have been 10 feet in height. Within these defences are numbers of hut circles from 8 feet to 30 feet in diameter, which when complete had walls, similarly built, some four or five feet in height, surmounted by wattle work, with a tapering roof

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covered by sods or heather or rushes. These huts are roughly flagged with flat porphyry stones; and in one, a low stone bench about 3 inches above the level of the floor and 5 feet in breadth extends round the wall of the hut, probably the place whereon the inmates slept. The fire was in the centre, and the entrances, generally on the eastward, were closed with a door, which opened towards the interior, as we still find a raised row of flags across the entrance forming a check to a door. Though the principal parts are somewhat detached from each other, they nevertheless form one assemblage of dwellings and fortifications, for they are connected by enclosures, hollow roads, and a general defensive rampart on the south. They constitute a primæval fortified town — an Ancient British oppidum—constructed according to a different type from any modern city; for here there are no rectangular houses, straight streets, or towering chimneys, but simply a collection of rude huts, irregularly grouped, and with winding trackways between. While the arrangements evince a low state of civilization, they prove moreover, from the skilful manner in which the defences are planned, that the rude inhabitants had at least studied the art of war.*

The primæval antiquities around Yevering are also highly instructive. Yevering Bell, a truncated cone some 1500 feet in height, has its summit, containing an area of twelve acres, encircled by a great wall of unhewn stones 8 feet in thickness; within this are remains of several hut circles, and at the eastern end is a small fort, formerly regarded as a Druidical place of sacrifice. Almost every hill in the district is crested with a fort; but among these rolling hills, there are dry and sheltered valleys, scattered over which are numbers of hut circles, sometimes detached, but more frequently in groups. Planted in the midst of these huts, are several small forts—the strongholds of the Ancient British chiefs, in which the inhabitants of the huts would find refuge on sudden emergencies; resembling in this respect, the Border bastiles and pele towers of the middle ages, which were places of refuge and defence for the inhabitants of the cottages and hamlets, when Northumberland was exposed to Scottish raids. The great forts, such as Yevering, were the castles of the period; on high elevations exposed to the full play of stormy winds and inclement weather, they were not suited for permanent residence; but when the district was invaded

* History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Vol. IV., p. 293.

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by a powerful foe, they would be secure places of refuge; and from the natural strength of their position and the massiveness of their ramparts, they would be impregnable, if defended by brave hearts and stout arms.*

Excavations made into these structures, brought to light some relics illustrating the history of the period. Querns of a rude character were found at Greaves Ash, the Chesters Camp on the Prendwick Estate, and even on the summit of Yevering; and as one of these querns in a broken state was applied as a flag in a hut floor, we have evidence that the Ancient Britons at an early period, not only lived on the produce of the chase and of pasturage, but also cultivated land and ground their corn; and this is corroborated by remains of ancient cultivation, seen in horizontal furrows, high up among the hills in the neighbourhood of these settlements. Pottery of a rude description, hand made, of coarse clay and ill burnt, was discovered in considerable quantity. But more interesting were the ornaments obtained; armlets made of polished oak were found in hut circles on the top of Yevering, and one of a white opalised glass, and another of variously coloured glass with wavy lines of white enamel, were discovered in huts at Greaves Ash and Swint Law near Yevering. A beautiful green glass bead occurred at the Chesters, but this probably was used more as an amulet than an ornament; they are traditionally called Druid's Beads. A copper pin—part of a fibula—was dug out of the fort on the highest point of Yevering Bell. Almost all the weapons and instruments were of stone, and are referable to a very early period; a flint javelin head was found at Chesters; and flint arrow heads, flint knives and saw, and also unfashioned pieces of flint, the raw material out of which weapons and instruments were manufactured, around Yevering. An exceedingly rude spear head of iron, was taken out of a hut on Swint Law, belonging however, probably, to the later periods of Celtic occupation.

From the sepulchres opened in the district around Alnwick, we gather some additional information. Vessels made of coarse clay were usually placed in the small stone chamber, either with the body entire, or with the ashes remaining after having been burnt. The pottery of this period is readily distinguishable, from the shape of the vessels, from the material of which it was made, and from the zigzag or

* History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Vol. IV., p. 431.

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herring bone scorings with which it was ornamented. In Northumberland the forms were chiefly two—one like an ordinary jar, coarsely made; and the other of a more elegant tulip-shape, more carefully manufactured and more elaborately incised. Fanciful names have been given to them from their supposed uses—such as incense cups, urns, drinking cups, and vases; but I am disposed to think, that most, if not all of them, were the domestic vessels of the period; and as his weapons, his ornaments, his amulets, were placed in the tomb of the departed hero, so was also his drinking cup, that he might be fully equipped for his career in another world.

Interesting forms of urns were found in a group of cist-vaens on Hawkhill estate near to Lesbury; in one at North Charlton, there was laid by the side of a warrior, his bronze dagger along with his amulet—a glass bead; and in another near Humbleton, a necklace, composed of flat rhomboidal beads made of cannel coal or jet, some of which were studded with gold points, was hung around the neck of a female skeleton. A group of four cist-vaens opened at Tosson near Rothbury, gives more important information; each contained an entire skeleton doubled up, and three of them, characteristic Ancient British urns; in one or other of them were found an iron weapon, a bronze buckle, and circular ornaments made of cannel coal or jet, about the size of a crown piece, convex on the upper surface and flat on the lower, which had a loop by which the ornament could be attached to the dress either as a button or fibula. These sepulchres are especially interesting, because one of the skulls has been preserved; it was described by the author in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland, and furnished the first information as to the crania of the Otadeni, the tribe who peopled the eastern parts of Northumberland and Berwickshire prior to the Roman invasion. By permission of that Society, I am able to give figures of this cranium and of the iron weapon with which it was associated.

Dr. Barnard Davis, one of our most accomplished ethnologists, has since figured and described this cranium in his magnificent work *Crania Britannica*, as "one of the typical series of Ancient British crania." It is a capacious skull of a man beyond the prime of life, for the sutures, save the squamous, are obliterated, and the crown of the teeth are much worn. The face is flat and broad, the chin prominent, and the forehead high, but square. It is short and broad, and hence the name "Brachy-cephalic;" its length is 7·1 inches and breadth

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6·1 inches, shewing a proportion of 1000 in length to 859 in breadth.

FIG. 3

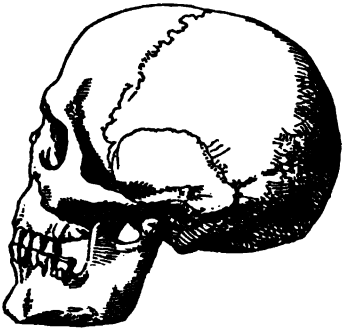

FIG. 4

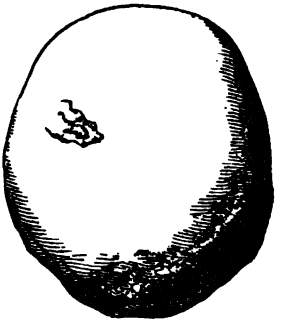

FIG. 5

*Fig.* 3.—Side View of the Tosson skull.
*Fig.* 4.—View of the crown of this skull.
*Fig.* 5.—Iron weapon.

During the last five years researches have been made with some success into the ethnology of the Ancient Britons inhabiting the Eastern Borders; and it may now be affirmed that the Tosson cranium is typical of the race. Above a dozen skulls have been critically examined, and all prove to be of the Brachycephalic type. One as we have seen, was found in Holn Park; another, that of a female, at North Sunderland; one at Grundstone Law; another at Ilderton—the skull of a man between forty and fifty years of age, indicating considerable intelligence; one near Dunse; and seven near to Cockburnspath in Berwickshire.

Such crania of the Otadeni of the Eastern Borders differ not only from the elongated skulls (the Dolico-cephalic) of Englishmen, but it is supposed too, from the modern Celts—the Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic; they correspond with those of the stone age men of Scandinavia. Some antiquaries, guided by ethnology, would infer from this, that these Ancient British people belonged to a Pre-Celtic race—of feeble organisation, ignorant of metals and using weapons and tools made of stone, wood, or bone. The premises however, would be too narrow for this conclusion; other lines of research must

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throw light upon the question. We have evidence that metals were in use both as tools and weapons among these Ancient Britons, bronze certainly, and, towards the latter period, iron. Indeed it is doubtful whether a knowledge of iron was absent from any period of Northumbrian history of which we have remains; for in a barrow near to Yevering where several flint weapons, instruments, and flakes were found, there were also lumps of iron slag. Nor do the facts warrant the conclusion, that in Northumberland there was a stone age, followed in succession by a bronze age and an iron age; it is rather to be inferred, that the materials used for weapons and instruments were distinctive of class; for while the chieftain from his superior power and means could command an iron or a bronze weapon, the commonalty had to content themselves with weapons fashioned out of the more accessible and tractable materials, of wood, bone, or stone. Something would depend on the local position of a tribe; and probably too, some tribes less civilized and less advanced in art, had fewer metallic products than other tribes living at the same period. The era of our Northumbrian pre-Roman remains would, I think, correspond more nearly with what has been called the bronze age than with the others; not that other metals were absent, but because bronze was more used for the fabrication of weapons and instruments. Language aids in the determination of the question as to race; for the names of hills, rivers, and other prominent objects in Northumberland—names given by the aboriginal inhabitants and which survive oftentimes the revolutions of race—are Celtic. A people so numerous as the Celts were, when Cæsar invaded Britain—he calls them an infinite multitude—would surely leave some traces of their occupancy of the island; but if the forts, oppida, barrows, and stone circles, which we have in Northumberland, are not their remains, it may be asked, where are they to be found? For if we attribute these remains to an earlier race, we would blot out the records of many centuries from our annals. Taking, therefore, into account various kinds of evidence, we may conclude that the old remains in Northumberland belong to the Celtic race, though they may tell the history of many centuries prior to the Christian era. The apparent discrepant evidence from ethnology is suggestive of inquiry; may not the type of cranium gradually change through long ages of advancing civilization, or may not this effect be produced even by a slight admixture of a new and dominating race?

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According to Cæsar, the Ancient British people had a religion which recognised superior powers ruling in the world, and inculcated the immortality of the soul and its passage at death into other bodies. Greatly superstitious they were; and says Pliny, "the magic arts were cultivated with such astonishing success and so many ceremonies, that the Britons seem capable of instructing even the Persians themselves in these arts." The Druids were not only the priests of this religion, but judges, philosophers, and schoolmasters. Where then were their temples, their places of meeting, their altars, and the apparatus by which they performed their superstitious and magical arts? Enclosures on the top of high hills, such as Yevering, were regarded by antiquaries of a past generation as Druidical temples; but such places are now proved to have been strongholds. Small monolithic circles, such as one on Dod Law, were sepulchral; but probably the larger stone circles were devoted to the administration of justice, to national assemblies, and to religious worship. The most important of these circles in Northumberland,

FIG. 6

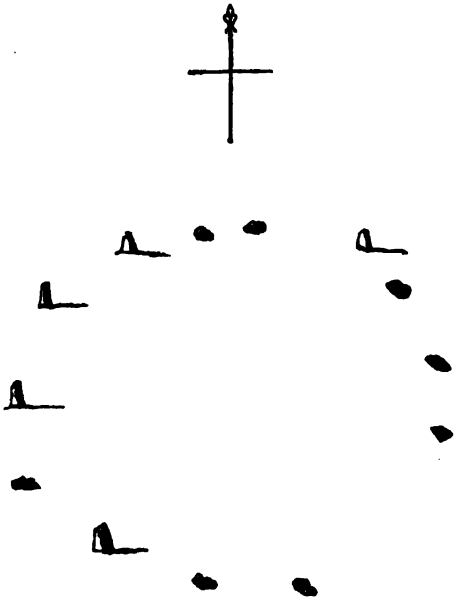

*Fig.* 6.—Plan of stone circle, Three Stone Burn.

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situated in a wild and lonely valley opening eastward from the Cheviots, near to Three Stone Burn, has been thoroughly explored. It is of an oval shape, 340 feet in circumference, and formed of a single row of upright stones of syenite, from about 4 feet to 5½ feet in height; thirteen of them still remain. Excavations through this circle exposed charcoal strewed over the original surface; and a portion of a small grey flint knife was found, which we could readily imagine to have been used for some sacrificial purpose by a Druid. This circle was not sepulchral, for not a vestige of an interment was seen; it was not a stronghold, for it is not fortified either by nature or art; and it is not a town or dwelling, for there are neither walls nor interior arrangements. Such circles were held in veneration, and traditions of their sacredness are preserved in Scotland in the common Gaelic phrase—*Am bheil thu dol,* "are you going to the stones?" when inquiry is made whether a person is going to the church.

We may connect with this subject the mysterious inscriptions on rocks in Northumberland. Our account of the period would be incomplete without some notice of them; and besides this, they occur within the barony and but a short distance from the boundary of the parish. Forty years ago, Mr. John C. Langlands discovered defaced and old-world looking figures on sandstone blocks near the great Ancient British camp on the top of Old Bewick Hill; but his discovery assumed greater significance, when in 1832 the Rev. William Greenwell found another rock at Routing Linn covered with the same kind of sculptures. The following figures will shew the characteristic forms. The typical form

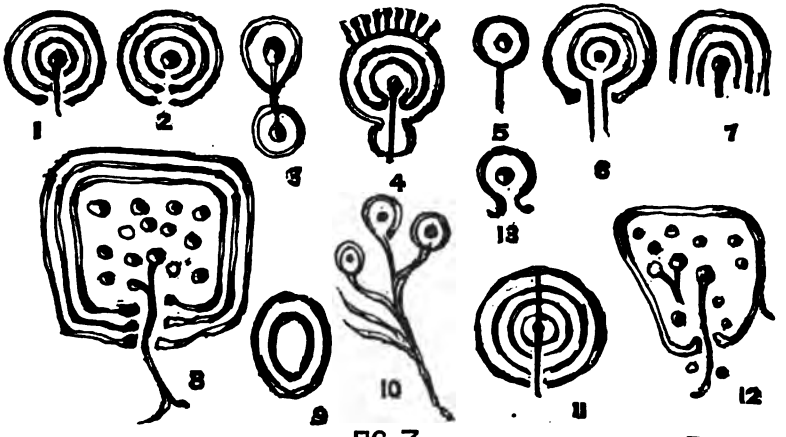


FIG. 7

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—that which distinguishes these inscriptions from all others —is a series of incomplete concentric circles around a central hollow or cup, from which proceeds a groove or gutter through the series of circles—*fig.* 1. This radial groove often extends beyond the circles, is usually straight, but sometimes curved and wavy; in some cases the groove crosses the entire diameter—*fig.* 11; and in one case there are three radial grooves; there are oval, horse shoe, and arched forms, as in *figs.* 9, 13, 7; two grooves issue from *fig.* 6; a curious fringed or rayed form is presented by *fig.* 4; *figs.* 8 and 12 are somewhat abnormal, as they deviate from the circular; circles are united by a groove in *fig.* 3; and in *fig.* 10 we have a compound form resembling a plant with its stem, branches, and floral heads. In size the forms vary from two inches to thirty-nine inches in diameter, and one is composed of eight concentric circles. On some rocks a number of figures are combined, forming a complicated and maze-like plan, as in *fig.* 8, page 27, from Old Bewick, the first inscribed stone discovered in Northumberland.

All have been incised on sandstone rocks by a bluntly pointed tool, probably of bronze; but where sculptures have been exposed for centuries to the play of the elements, nature has given an artistic finish to the original rude workmanship, and so rounded the jagged edges and smoothed the hollows, that the figures stand out like rings in the rock. They are not found on the hard intractable porphyry of the Cheviots, nor on the flanks of those hills; but on one or other of the beds of thick sandstone which crops out on the high hills and elevated ridges in the central moor-lands of Northumberland. They have been found on Hunter's Moor near Ford, at Routing Linn, on Harelaw Crags, on Doddington Law and Horton Moor, on Gledlaw, on Whitsunbank, on Chatton Law and Old Bewick Hill, on Eglingham, Beanley, and Charlton Moors, on Cartington Cove, and in the parish of Stamfordham.

Fifty-three of these sculptured stones have been discovered in Northumberland; and on these there are about three hundred and fifty figures, one hundred and fifty of which are distinguishably different from each other. All are connected with Ancient British remains; four of them formed the covers of cist-vaens; two are within a few yards of sepulchral barrows; five of them are within Ancient British camps; eight of them are not more than one hundred yards distant from such camps; most of the others are less distant

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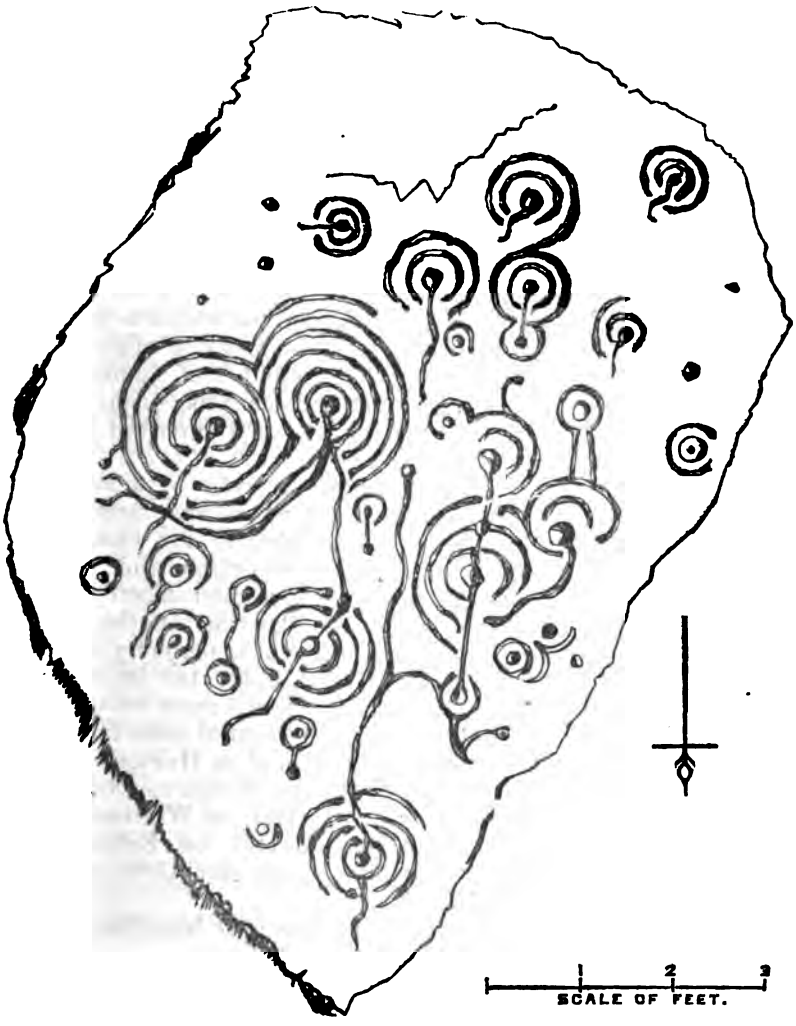
FIG. 8




INSCRIBED STONE AT OLD BEWICK.

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than half-a-mile, and none further away than a mile. Their relation however, to the camps, forts, and hut circles—the dwellings of the Ancient British people—is more apparent than to their sepulchres.

These peculiar inscriptions have been discovered at Jedburgh; in Kircudbrightshire; in Ayrshire; on a cist cover near Edinburgh; on standing stones as well as on rocks *in situ* in Argyleshire; in Forfarshire; as far north as Orkney, on the wall of a sepulchral chamber; on "Long Meg," a standing stone near Penrith; on a stone pillar at Shap; in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and on a cist cover as far south as Devonshire. Several have been found in Kerry in Ireland covered by bogs, and one on the top of a cromlech.

If these inscriptions were merely ornamental, they would be of great interest, as being the earliest sculptures—the first efforts of infant art, in Britain; but their wide distribution, proves that the whole of Britain was at an early period peopled by tribes of one race, who were imbued with the same superstitions and expressed them by the same symbols.

What indeed, could be sufficiently important to induce tribes living hundreds of miles apart and even separated by the sea, to use precisely the same symbols, save to express some religious sentiments or to aid in the performance of some superstitious rites, which were common to the whole race?*

Such are some of the facts illustrative of the character and condition of the Ancient British people living in the valley of the Aln, at a period when the lower grounds were covered with woods and swamps, when the sites of towns and villages were on grounds of moderate elevation, when the hill tops were crowned with strong forts, and when many little independent tribes and clans were at war with each other. The arrangements breathe defiance, and indicate insecurity, and tell of warfare and bloodshed. Brave though the race was, yet rent by divisions and intestine war, it was conquered and enslaved by a foreign foe.

* This view was given by me in my Address as President of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in 1853. See History of the Club, Vol. III., p. 129. For a full description of these inscriptions, with figures of all discovered in Northumberland, and a disquisition as to their age and meaning, I refer to the History of the Club, Vol. IV., p. 137; and to "The Ancient British Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland and the Eastern Borders, with Notices of the Remains Associated with these Sculptures," by George Tate, F.G.S., &c.

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# CHAPTER III.

## ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD.

ITINERARIES—ALAUNA—DEVIL'S CAUSEWAY—ROMAN COINS—ROMAN ALTAR.

Although Cæsar effected the conquest of the south of England in the 54th year before the Christian Era, it was not till 133 years afterwards that the northern parts were brought under the dominion of Rome. Agricola was both a statesman and a warrior; what he had won by his military genius he retained by his administrative skill; and by introducing among the conquered Britons the arts and knowledge of civilized life, he endeavoured to moderate their fierce passions and reclaim them from barbarism. The power of this great people continued to be exercised till A.D. 430, when the Roman legions bid an eternal farewell to Britain. During this period, the great barrier wall was built, extending from near the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway, and the important roads—Watling Street and the Devil's Causeway—which pass through the county, were made.

There is however, no sufficient evidence of any Roman station or town having been within the parish of Alnwick. The Itinerary of Antoninus, compiled in the fourth century, contains no reference to the district around Alnwick; but in Ptolemy's Geography, composed as early as the second century, there are mentioned, as being on the north-east side of Britain—"Estuary Boderia; mouth of the river Alaunus, mouth of the river Vedra." Boderia is doubtless the Firth of Forth, but it is questionable to what river the Alaunus refers; from the affinity of the names, Camden conjectures it is the Aln, but Horsley supposes it to be the Tweed. The Ravenna Cosmography, a treatise on geographical science, compiled at Ravenna in the seventh century, contains a more distinct reference to the river or to a station near to it; in

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this list, besides the stations along the Roman Wall, we have "Bremenium, Cocuneda, Alauna, Oleiolavis." Bremenium is Rochester by the side of Watling Street on the Reed; and Cocuneda and Alauna may be identified as the Coquet and the Aln. Richard of Cirencester, a doubtful authority, in his IV. Iter, gives as beyond the Roman Wall and within the Roman province of Valentia—"Alauna amne m. p. xxv., Tueda flumine m. p. xxx." The distance of twenty-five thousand paces, corresponds however, with the distance between the wall and the river Coquet. Upon such doubtful notices no sound conclusion can be drawn of Alnwick having been a Roman station, especially as it is not corroborated by archæological evidence; for no Roman camps or walls remain, no Roman relics have been found, and no Roman roads are traceable within the parish. If any station in this district is indicated in these itineraries, it would be somewhere in the neighbourood of Whittingham, not far from the Roman road, or probably on Craulaw, close to that road, where there are appearances of a Roman camp.*

The most remarkable Roman work in the district is this road, which is called "the Devil's Causeway," and which is about seven miles westward of Alnwick. It branches from Watling Street at Beweley, and going northward to Hartburn and Brinkburn and through the moor-lands of Rimside, it crosses the Aln about a mile eastward of Whittingham, and thence onward to Powburn and the Till, passing in succession Chillingham New Town, Hetton, Lowick, till traces of it are lost before it reaches the Tweed near to Tweedmouth. This road, which is now much destroyed, was 21 feet in breadth and paved with large stones. Near this road, at Glanton, Roman querns have been found.

A camp more distinctly recognisable as Roman than that of Craulaw, is at Outchester, on the bend of Spindlestone Burn, whose steep banks defend it on two sides; the form, like other Roman entrenchments is quadrangular, and it is so placed as to defend the pass and harbour of the river Warn. Not far from this camp on Adderstone estate, the property of the late Dr. George Wilson of Allerburn House, Alnwick, a number of Roman brass coins, contained in a small

* Craulaw, one of the earliest forms of the name, often degraded into Crawley, is derived from *law*, a hill, and *Caer*, "the ordinary term applied by our Ancient British ancestors to Roman forts;" R. Carr of Hedgeley, Transactions of Tyneside Club, Vol. I., p. 344.

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oak box, were discovered in 1856 in a bog. These coins represent a period of about 150 years, the earliest being about A.D. 117 and the latest A.D. 267; and belong to Hadrian, Lucius Ælius, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Verus, Faustina the Younger wife of M. Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, Caracalla, Solinina wife of Gallienus, and Postumus. Along with these, there were a brass beam 7¾ inches long, in good condition, and a small brass scale like those now used by apothecaries, some lead weights, and a portion of horse furniture made of lead.*

At Gloster Hill, near the mouth of the Coquet, a portion of a Roman altar was discovered in 1856. The following cut represents the fragment and shews the imperfect inscription. By comparing it with a more complete altar of the same kind from the Roman Wall at Benwell, which is dedicated to the Campestrial Mothers (*Matribus Campest.*), Mr William Dickson conjectures that the inscription when complete would be

FIG. 9

*Matribus Campestribus*
*Cohors prima,*

being an altar dedicated to the Sylvan Mothers by the Roman soldiers of the first cohort, who were at that time at the *castrum* or camp of that place.†

These are all the Roman remains occurring, as far as I know, within a moderate distance of Alnwick. North Northumberland lying many miles beyond the great wall, had indeed been but partially colonised by the Romans, and would be held by a very uncertain tenure; for Roman settlements there, were exposed to attacks from the native tribes, who maintained a precarious independence among the hills, or from the warlike inhabitants of the more northern parts of the island. Whatever occupation there was of Northumberland, would be within the defences of the wall or along the lines of the Roman roads.

* Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Vol. III., p. 262.

† Idem, Vol. IV., p. 87.

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# CHAPTER IV.

## SAXON AND DANISH PERIODS.

LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF THE SAXON LORDS OF ALNWICK—CHRONICLE OF ALNWICK ABBEY—THE TYSONS—SAXON SETTLEMENTS IN ALNWICK—BOCLANDS AND FOLCLANDS—SAXON DWELLINGS AND VILLS—ALNWICK SUBORDINATE TO LESBURY—SAXON CHURCHES—ALNMOUTH SAXON CROSS—THE DANES—CLOSE OF THE SAXON PERIOD.

Who was the Lord of Alnwick in Saxon times? Doomsday Book, the authentic record of the property of the country at the time of the conquest, did not extend to Northumberland; but the question has been answered by imaginative chroniclers and heralds, whose legends have been repeated by most of our popular historians. In the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey we have the following account.

"Here begins the genealogy of the founders and patrons of the Abbey of Alnewyke, to wit, first, of Richard Tisonne founder of the Chapel of Saint Wilfred of the nuns of Gisnis.*

In the year of our Lord 1066. The arrival of the Normans in England. Duke Harald, son of Duke Godwin, after the death of King Edward, occupied the kingdom of England, having broken the agreement which he contracted with William, Duke of the Normans, when he was taken in Ponthieu; whence it followed, that William, Duke of the Normans, called the Bastard, having associated with him, Sirs Yvo de Vescy and Eustace Fitz-John, knights, with the people of the Norman and other tribes, assembled from all directions, passed over the sea with a strong band into England; and battle being joined with Harald and his army, he obtained it and so was invested with the diadem of the kingdom. In this battle William Tisonne fell, whose brother, to wit, Richard Tisonne was the founder of the

* Guyzance: there are still remains of this chapel at Brainshaugh on the Coquet.

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chapel of the nuns of Gysyns about A.D. 1000, whose father was called Gisbright Tisonne, founder, to wit, of the Abbeys of Malton, Walton, and Bridlington. This Gisbright gave to his son Richard, the vill of Shilbottell, together with the church of Gisyng, &c. This Richard begot William Tisonne, and William begot German Tisonne, and German begot Dame Bone de Hilton, who was the wife of William de Hilton. In this way was changed the surname Tisonnne into that of Hilton, and William de Hilton begot Alexander, and Alexander begot Sir Robert de Hilton.

But the aforesaid king gave to Yvo de Vescy his own knight, for his service, for wife, the only daughter of William Tisonne, slain in the aforesaid battle, with the baronies of Alnewyk and of Malton, which before that time belonged to Gisbright Tisonne, the father of William and Richard Tisonne."

Though the narrative is circumstantial, yet much dependence cannot be placed on this monkish chronicle. The abbey was not founded till A.D. 1147, more than eighty years after the earliest events noticed. Lord Hailes, to whom Dr. Percy communicated this chronicle, does not consider its antiquity great. It contains anachronisms and erroneous statements; William Rufus, who died in 1100, is said to have given the daughter of William the Lion to Eustace de Vescy; but Eustace was not Lord of Alnwick before 1185; and William the Lion is said to be the son of Malcolm, though Malcolm was slain 50 years before William was born. Such discrepancies detract from the authority of the chronicle. The original manuscript, formerly in the library of King's College, Cambridge, is now lost; and therefore its age cannot be critically tested; it is now chiefly known from a manuscript copy preserved in the British Museum. Written therefore, probably, at least three centuries after the conquest, we may expect in the earlier periods, legends rather than facts.

To this monkish statement, Dugdale, a learned and accurate writer, has given importance, for in his Baronage there is a similar account. "Among the valiant Normans" says he, "that assisted Duke William in his conquest of England were Robert and Yvo de Vesci. On Yvo, the conqueror bestowed the daughter and sole heir of William Tyson, Lord of Alnewicke in Northumberland and of Malton in Yorkshire, two large baronies, both of them belonging to Gilbert Tyson, his father slain in battle on the part of King Harold."* As evidence of this, he refers in his Baronage to

* Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 89.



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a document, 8th of Edward II., which he quotes at length in his Monasticon with the following reference—"Esc. 8 Edw. II., n. 63, in sedula." As quoted by him it says—"William called the Bastard, conquered the kingdom of England by the help of the Normans, among whom was a certain valiant knight, by name Yvo Vescy, to whom King William the Conqueror gave the daughter of a certain William Tyson, Lord of the Baronies of Alnewyc and of Malton. That William Tyson was son and heir of a certain Gisbrit Tyson, who was slain in war with King Harold, and he left one daughter and heir given to the aforesaid Yvo by the king."*

For this schedule I made enquiry at the Record Office in London, but it could not be found there; it was probably nothing more than some monkish genealogy, which if unsupported by adequate evidence, would be of little value.

The statements of Dugdale and the Alnwick Abbey chronicle are discrepant in one point; the former says the father Gisbrit was slain at Hastings with Harold; the latter that the son William fell there.

A different account is given in two manuscripts, one in the Harleian and the other in the Lansdown collection. They represent that Gilbright Tyson was Lord of Bridlington, Walton and Malton, and of Alnewyke, and that by his Norman wife Beatrix he had issue, William, Richard, and Agnes; that William, the eldest son, fell in the war against Harold; and left one daughter Alda, who was bestowed by the conqueror in marriage on Yvo de Vescy.†

In another monkish chronicle preserved among the Harleian manuscripts, recording events from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1422, Gisbright is named with his two sons William and Richard, as crossing the sea from Normandy with William the Bastard, and joining in the battle fought against Harold. Hugh de Gaunt, William de Percy, Yvo de Vescy, and the one-eyed Eustace Fitz-John, are mentioned as their associates in this undertaking; and William Tyson is said to have been slain in this battle.‡

In the old pedigrees of the Hiltons, compiled two or three centuries ago, the wife of William Tyson is said to have been daughter of Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, the herald adding to Queen Matilda's nephew, the title enjoyed by his grandson, Gilbert de Gaunt, in 1141.

* Dugdale's Monasticon, VI., p. 868.

† Harleian MS 3648, fol. 5.

‡ Harleian MS 3648, fol. 9.

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Whatever thread of truth there may be in those discrepant statements, this seems certain that the family of Tysons was not Saxon, and that it did not hold the barony of Alnwick before the conquest. According to Doomsday Book, Malton barony, instead of being in the possession of Yvo de Vescy, in right of his wife, as the heir of the Tysons, was in the hands of the king himself; and it was not till the early part of the twelfth century, that it became the property of the Lord of Alnwick by gift of King Henry I. Tyson indeed was a Norman family. Gislebert followed William from Normandy, along with the Percys, De Vescys, and other adventurers, to share in the plunder of a conquered nation; he was the great standard bearer of William, and his name is thus subscribed to a charter between A.D. 1066 and A.D. 1069, granting lands to the monks of Selby. Doomsday Book evidences that he was a feudatory under King William, and held numerous manors in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. Gislebert Tyson seems to have descended from the powerful house of Tesson, lords of a tract of country in the department Du Calvados, known as Le Cinglais, of which Thury-Harcourt is the capital. The name is neither Saxon nor Danish, but Norman—Taisson being a soubriquet given to the lords of Cinglais, signifying a badger.*

We are therefore entirely ignorant of the lords of Alnwick before the conquest; nor is there any evidence of the existence of a castle there at that period. Grose and others refer to the zigzag fretwork round the arch of the keep of the present castle, as "evidently of Saxon architecture;" this style of architecture, however, is certainly Norman; and the arch is not earlier than the twelfth century.

Notices we have of Warkworth, Whittingham, Edlingham, and Eglingham with their churches, and of Bamburgh with its church and castle during Anglo-Saxon times; but of Alnwick during that period there is no record. The names, however, of vills, farm houses, and hamlets within the district, shew that an Anglo-Saxon population settled there not long after the establishment of the kingdom of North-humberland by Ida in 547; and the name of Alnwick itself being of true Anglo-Saxon formation, proves

* Stapleton's Notes to the Plumpton Correspondence, p. 10. Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, F.S.A., also discusses the question with ability in a paper on the Church of Guysance.

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that a vill or town stood on the same site long before the conquest. Rude men the Angles were, who wrested Northumberland from the Ancient Britons, yet they brought with them the free institutions of the Teutonic race; and this was seen in the tenures on which the lands were parcelled out among the early settlers. The smallest political division was the *mark*—the plot of land in some fruitful plain or valley by the side of a stream—of which a family or little community took possession. This corresponded somewhat with our modern township; each freeman had his alod, or free estate of arable and pasture land, which he could alienate or transfer as he willed by charter, and hence it was called *boc-land*. But in the earlier times great forests and wastes surrounded the cleared land of the settlement; and these, because forming the boundary, were called *mark-lands;* they were not appropriated to individuals, but were reserved as the common property of the settlement, where all could depasture their cattle, and whence all could obtain wood and other products of the forest and moor-lands. They were the people's property and could not be alienated, and hence were called *folc-lands*. Somewhat of sacredness and mystery hung round this land; in the time of heathendom, it was under the protection of the gods; and accursed were they who removed its land marks: after Christianity was introduced, portions of it were separated to build and endow churches. To some peculiar burdens it was subject, such as the repair of royal vills, bridges, and other public works, the entertainment of kings and great men when progressing through the country, and the rewarding of great public services.* Though much of this land was in Saxon times converted into boc-land—yet some portions survived the revolutionary sweep of the Norman conquest, and existed down to a recent period. The commons or moors, over which the inhabitants of several villages and towns had commonable rights, are remains of these folc-lands,† the people's inheritance, derived from their Saxon forefathers. Several of such commons were in this neighbourhood; they were at Shieldykes, Denwick, Rugley, Shilbottle, Charlton, Rennington, Bilton, Tuggall, Lucker, Longhoughton, Lesbury, Acklington, Alnham, Chatton, Rothbury; and even now we have remains of them at Alnmouth, Wooler, and Alnwick.

Kemble thinks that the ancient *marks* may still be traced by the names of places ending in *den, holt, wood, hurst,* and

* Allen's Inquiry, p. 143. † Lappenberg, p. 326.

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*fald*, which denote forests and outlying pastures in woods;* and this to some extent we may do with Alnwick; on the west we have the forest of Hay-*den* and the moor of Hay-*den*, now Alnwick Moor; on the north we have Hin-*den*; on the east, *Den*-wick; on the south-east, Scot-*fald*-haugh, now Hesleyside; and on the south *Den*-moor.

Small and insignificant, however, would the town itself be during the Saxon period, for population then was not centralised; it resembled more one of our old villages than a compact borough, and consisted of scattered home-steads or tofts, so called from tufts of trees overhanging them, built of wood and wattles and covered with thatch, and standing apart, each on its own little garth or croft. No great stone castle would be there looking coldly and sternly down on these humble dwellings; the thane's mansio would be there, little different in structure, but larger than the other houses and probably defended by its stockade and ditch. The Saxons caring more for the pleasures of the table, for gluttonous eating and excessive drinking, than for artistic dwellings, were contented with houses which were frail and perishable. Beda in relating one of the wonderful miracles, said to have been wrought by earth taken from the spot where Saint Oswald fell at Maserfield, incidentally furnishes information of the character of their ordinary houses. A traveller passing over this spot observing how much more beautiful it was than the rest of the field, took some of the earth and tied it in a linen cloth, believing from the superior holiness of him who fell there, that it would be of use in curing diseases. At night he came to a village where the people were at supper, and hung the cloth on a post against the wall; a great fire *was in the middle of the room*, from which after a time, the sparks flew upward and caught the top of the house, which being made of *wattles and thatch* was presently in a flame, and the whole house was burnt excepting the post on which the holy earth was hung. The whole structure must have been of wood, wattles, and thatch.†

Early Norman charters and inquisitions reflect a light backward, and give us some glimpses of the general condition of the district during the Saxon period. The population was scattered in small vills and hamlets at some distance from

* Kemble's Saxons in England, Vol. I., p. 480.

† Beda's Ecclesiastical History.

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each other, standing on cleared and cultivated ground in the midst of moor-lands and forests. Every vill had at least ten families of freemen—proprietors of land—forming the ancient tithing. On the south side of the Aln, was the largest vill of Alnwick with its folc-land of Hayden; further southward was the vill of Rugley with its moor or common land; and beyond this were the Scheles* with the moor or common of Swinleys. Bertewell† had less than ten families and was but a hamlet and had no common of its own, but enjoyed rights over Hayden along with the men of Alnwick. Less information we have of the north side of the Aln, for a considerable portion was granted at an early Norman period to abbeys; but there we have the vill of Denwick with its moor or folc-land; and the vill of Hincliff with its moor or common, and its wood extending from Hinden to the Aln. The population was agricultural and warlike; every free-man who tilled his own grounds, was ready with his strong arm and bold spirit to defend the hearth, the home, and the land he held as his own, against agressors.

Alnwick seems during this period to have been in some degree dependent on and subordinate to Lesbury. In the twelfth century, Alnwick Church, as well as those of Longhoughton and Alnmouth, was a chapelry under Lesbury; and it was also so returned in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* in the fourteenth century. May not Lesbury have been the principal town in the district, where the greatest Thane had his *burh* or fortified dwelling? A situation with so genial a climate, such productive land, and so well sheltered, would be among the first occupied by the Angles. And here, where the lord lived, would rise the first Christian church, which for some time might serve for the district around; but as population increased, new chapels would be erected at Alnwick and other places, which would be served by ministers sent from the parent church. The name Lesbury favours the pre-eminence of the place, for the termination *byrig*, modernised into *bury*, indicates a town of some importance.

Saxon relics have not, so far as I know, been found within the parish of Alnwick. No sepulchres have been discovered, nor traces of Saxon habitations. Remains indeed of this period have seldom been observed in Northumberland; but probably, as our present towns, villages, and church-yards occupy the sites of those existing in Saxon times, the remains

* Now Shieldykes. † Now Hobberlaw.

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of that period may have been obliterated by the frequent re-building of houses and repeated interments in the grave-yards, during the course of the last eight centuries. The Saxons however, were not great builders of castles or camps; they relied more on their strong arms and warlike spirit.

A few churches were built of stone. Hexham Church, erected by Wilfred, was the wonder of the age, with its pillars and arches and substantial masonry; but this famous work was not the production of native workmen, but of artificers brought from Rome. Churches of stone were, we know, at Warkworth and Whittingham; of the former, the foundations were laid bare in 1859, revealing stones similar to a few built into the walls; and the fragment of a cross, ornamented with knot or interlacing work, characteristic of the period, occurred. There still, however, is to be seen at Whittingham, the under part of the Saxon tower. Double windows divided by a rude balustre, existed in this tower as late as A.D. 1840; and even now the peculiar long and short work at the corners, and the rude, though durable rubble masonry of the walls, mark this as an interesting relic of the architecture of our Saxon forefathers. Fragments of Saxon crosses have also been found at Norham, Lindisfarne, and at Rothbury.

But the most interesting Saxon remain is the shaft of a cross which was found in 1789 near to the the ruins of the ancient church of Alnmouth;* and as that little ancient burgh town has been intimately connected with Alnwick as its seaport, and as moreover, the cross is preserved in Alnwick Castle Museum, I shall give an illustrative drawing and description of this relic of the Saxon time—*Plate III.*

This fragment consists of two slabs of sandstone, the faces and ends of which are entirely covered with sculptures and inscriptions; the sculptures are in low relief, and the inscriptions are incised. The whole is 2 feet 10 inches in height; 16 inches broad at the base and 14½ inches at the top; and 7 inches in thickness at the base and 6 inches

* It has been often repeated that this was called "Woden's Church" from the Saxon divinity, and that it was founded on the site of one of his temples; this however, is but a modern and very groundless fancy; a Christian church would not bear the name of a heathen god; and moreover, the present name of the village of Wooden which has been adduced in support of the fancy is comparatively modern, though probably, having a similar meaning with the more ancient name, which in charters and inquisitions appears in 1333 as *Walden*, and in 1396 as *Wolden*, from the Anglo-Saxon *Weald*, wood-land.

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at the top. One face represents the crucifixion; our Lord is extended on the cross, and above him are the sun and moon; the two thieves are at his side a little below; and at the foot are two of his executioners. Above this representation is an inscription now considerably obliterated; the letters ....VDW.....E....FE.... can be made out; Mr. Haigh however, sees more than this, and reads the whole, "Hhludwyg me fixed." The other face is chiefly filled with knot or interlacing work; but there is the following inscription in one line which is in good preservation, "MYREDEH MEH WO;" that is "Myredeh me wrought;" being the name of the sculptor of the stone. On one of the sides there is an inscription in two lines, "AEDVLFES TH;" and on the other there is another much defaced, of which I can trace with distinctness ....AV....; but Mr. Haigh has read it SAVL. The letters are mostly Roman, though a few are Saxon runes. The names of the artists are however, not Anglo-Saxon nor even Teutonic, but Celtic; Mr. Haigh says undoubtedly Irish. The number of very fine crosses of a similar character in Ireland, would shew that the art of sculpture on stone had been cultivated there; and possibly skilled men from that country may have travelled about England to execute similar works. The inscriptions are imperfect; the workmen we know; but it can only be conjectured, for whom this cross was erected. Mr. Haigh thinks it probable, that when complete, the inscription would read "This is King Eadulf's grave. Pray for his soul." It may have been erected to Eadulf, who, on the death of Alfred, king of Northumberland, in 705, usurped the throne; and who, after besieging Berchtfred, the guardian of the young King Osdred in Bamburgh, was repulsed, put to flight, and slain.*

## DANES.

The inroads of the Northmen or Danish sea kings, introduced a new population into some parts of Britain, and for some time England was under Danish government. From the latter part of the eighth century down to the eleventh century, the coast of England was seldom free from the ravages of these daring and ruthless pirates. Even to the present day there is a traditionary horror of their power and cruelty; and it has been common to attribute to them, without any sufficient grounds, the camps and earth-works of this

* Archæologia Æliana, I., pp. 178, 186.

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district. No remains of an undoubted Danish character have been found. The Danes do not seem, however, to have settled in any considerable numbers in this county; they swept over it like a tempest in fitful gusts, and rather destroyed than occupied the land. Frequent references are made in history as to their settlement in Northumberland; but we must distinguish between the ancient Saxon kingdom of North-humber-land and the modern county of that name; for while the former always included the counties between the Humber and the Tweed, and sometimes the whole district between the Humber and the Forth, the modern Northumberland is limited to the eastern district between the Tyne and the Tweed. It was in the southern part of this kingdom, in the old province of Deira, that Danish settlements were made, rather than in the northern province of Bernicia. A dominant population leaves its impress on a country in the names of places; but while in North Northumberland, the Anglo-Saxon terminations of *ham, wick, ton, worth, bottle,* applied to towns and villages are common, the distinctive Danish names of *by, thorpe, thwaite,* applied to towns, do not occur; nor is *fell* applied to mountains, and there is only one case of *beck*—in the river Wansbeck. Danish populations were chiefly located in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. As we recede northward on the eastern side of the island, the traces of the Danes become fainter; in Lincolnshire there are 212 names of places ending in *by* and 63 in *thorpe;* in Yorkshire there are 167 in *by,* 87 in *thorpe,* and 9 in *thwaite;* but in Durham there are only 7 in *by* and 7 in *thorpe,* and in Northumberland there is 1 in *thorpe* and none in *by.** But while there is no evidence of extensive settlements of Danes in Northumberland, the use of several words of Danish origin in the common speech of the district around Alnwick, proves that there was a sprinkling of Danes among the Anglo-Saxon population. I have strung together a few sentences in language used in the district, to show how mixed our common speech is with the Northmen's dialect, and I have put in italics those of Danish origin.

*Johnsen* leived in a sma' farm-stead whuch he had *fra* his *forefelders;* it was a poor bit place covered wi' *thack* and had a *steyan riggen.* The stack-*garth* had a hedge roond it, whuch Johnsen had nicely *clipped.* He drove oot some *stots* and *nowth* beasts,

* Worsaae's Danes in England.



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and then set to wark to lift the *muck* fra the *midden* wi' a *grape* into a cart whuch had strang *limmers*. He then set off to the *loft* and stable and put hay into the *heck*, and corn into the *cribs*. He went doon the toon *geyt* to the *smiddy*, where the smith was hammering away on his *studdy* wi' his *sark* sleeves rouled up, an speered if he *minded* to mend the door *hesp*; he said he had'nt. Well, said Johnsen, ye'll hev to *flit* if ye dinna *mind* better; last time aw was here—Cum now, said the smith, dinna *rip up* aud grievances; aw'll *uphaud* that yees hev the *hesp* the morn's night, and when aw bring it to ye, ye'll stand a *nip* o' brandy. When ganging hame, Johnsen heard the *gowk* cry *ku-ku*, and saw lots o' burds picking up worms wi' their *nebs*. His house he fund *unred* up, for his wife was but a *sackless stumpy* body; she had her gown *kilted* up and was *kerning* butter; the *bairns* were *clammering* ane through other; *yen* who had been *greeting* because her frock had been *rived* wi' a *slaw-thorn*, was now *glowering* at the *reek* ganging up the chimley; another was playing with the *kittlin* on her knee. A bigger *yen* was *redden* another's hair wi' a *redden-caym*, and crying, when she was restless, sit still or aw'll *gar* ye! Two *frem-folks* came in and speered their road; the wife *bid* them sit down and *bide* a bit. They said they had come through a field for nearness and were verry near *nabbed* for trespassin, and so had to run for it. The wife then gave them *kirn-milk* to *slockken* their drought; but the wooden bicker was not tight and the milk was *siping* out. They pleased the little bairn by gieing her a *neif-full* of nuts. They could'nt bide lang as they had far to go, and it was likely they would hev a *murky* night.

Towards the close of the Anglo-Saxon period, when much of the folc-land was appropriated to individuals, when freemen's rights were curtailed and their condition depressed, and when the estates of thanes or lords were greatly extended, the nation was weakened and became a prey to civil dissension and foreign invasion. The results were disastrous, and teach a warning lesson to our own times. "Nothing" says Kemble, "can be more clear than that the universal breaking up of society in the time of Æthelred, had its source in the ruin of the old organisation of the country. The successes of Swegen and Cnut, and even of William the Norman, had much deeper causes than the mere gain or loss of one or more battles. A nation never falls till the citadel of its moral being has been betrayed and become untenable. Northern invasions will not account for the state of brigandage which Æthelred and his witan deplore in so many of their laws. The ruin of the free cultivators and the overgrowth of the lords are much more likely causes."*

* Kemble's Saxons in England, p. 307.

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# CHAPTER V.

## TYSON AND DE VESCY PERIOD, FROM 1066 TO 1297.

DOOMSDAY BOOK—GISLEBERT TYSON AND HIS DESCENDANTS—MALCOLM CAENMORE SLAIN—MALCOLM'S CROSS—YVO DE VESCY—EUSTACE FITZ-JOHN—LANDS GRANTED TO HIM—SIEGE OF BAMBURGH CASTLE—BATTLE OF THE STANDARD—CHURCHES AND ABBEYS FOUNDED—WILLIAM DE VESCY—SIEGE OF ALNWICK CASTLE—WILLIAM THE LION TAKEN PRISONER—GLANVILLE THE CHIEF JUSTICIAR—GIFTS TO THE CHURCH—EUSTACE DE VESCY—WAR WITH SCOTLAND—KING JOHN AT ALNWICK—HIS ATTEMPT TO DISHONOUR EUSTACE'S WIFE—HE BURNS ALNWICK—WILLIAM DE VESCY—TESTA DE NEVILLE—JOHN DE VESCY—CIVIL WAR—MONTFORD—ALNWICK CASTLE BESIEGED BY PRINCE EDWARD—JOHN DE VESCY IN HOLY LAND—WILLIAM DE VESCY ACCUSED OF FELONY—CLAIMS TO THE UNION OF SCOTLAND—CHARACTER OF THE DE VESCYS—PEDIGREE.

The Norman conquest in A.D. 1066 effected a sudden change in the condition of England and in the distribution of property. A nation was trodden under foot; most of her nobles were slain or driven into exile; and her people were stript of their possessions and reduced to poverty or slavery. The lands wrested from the Anglo-Saxons were bestowed by William the Conqueror on the needy adventurers, who for the hope of plunder, had followed his standard. One battle had the effect of founding a new dynasty and revolutionising property. Though stern, cruel, and unscrupulous, the Norman king was a statesman as well as a warrior, and he knew how to keep what he had conquered. For this purpose he established in England strict feudal law; and the great survey of the country, which he ordered, is supposed to have been made with a view to the full establishment of that system. "The king," says the Saxon chronicle, "had a great consultation and spoke very deeply concerning the land, how it was held and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men

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over all England into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides it contained, and what lands the king possessed thereon, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls. What property every inhabitant possessed in land or in castle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause this survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, and was not set down in the accounts." This was Doomsday Book, a valuable record giving information not only of the Norman feudatories and of the extent of their possessions, but in many cases of the previous Saxon proprietors. The survey however, did not include the northern counties, probably on account of their wasted and unsettled condition. We do not, therefore, know from authentic authority, either what Saxon held Alnwick prior to the conquest, or what Norman was its first lord.

The statement in the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, that Yvo de Vescy received from the conqueror the gift of the barony of Alnwick is certainly erroneous. His name does not occur amongst those who came with William from Normandy; and judging from the date of the decease of his son-in-law, Eustace Fitz-John, in 1157—ninety-one years after the conquest—it is evident, that Yvo de Vescy must have been a mere child when that event took place. We cannot therefore suppose, that he was in possession of the barony earlier than 1096, thirty years after the conquest. Who during this interval was Lord of Alnwick? This can only be conjectured. So much truth there may be in the legendary accounts as to give probability to the opinion that Gislebert Tyson was the first Norman lord; and to him—his standard bearer, who was a great military officer—the Conqueror may have given manors north of the Tyne, especially as the district was turbulent and far from the seat of government. Mr. Stapleton suggests, that Robert de Mowbray the first Norman Earl of Northumberland may have influenced Tyson to share in his rebellion against the king in 1095, which ended in the expulsion, from their seignories, of many Norman barons whom the chroniclers omit to name.* We know

* Plumpton Correspondence, p. 11.

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that Tyson's vast estates in Yorkshire, which he held *in capite*,* were forfeited about this period; and most of them were granted to Nigel de Albini. Some time afterwards, Gislebert Tyson was restored to grace, and reinstated in the possession of Holme-upon-Spaldingmore; but the glory of the family had passed away; they lost their original dignified tenure, and occupied the humbler position of sub-feudatories under Nigel de Albini. Even this result was not attained without expense; for Adam, the eldest son and heir of Gislebert, accounted in 1131 for his father's debts and for a fine to plead for his lands, until the son of Nigel de Albini, who assumed the name of Roger de Mowbray, was a knight. In the *Liber Niger*, we find that William Tyson, the son of Adam, held in 1168, fifteen knights' fees under Mowbray. Besides Adam, Gislebert Tyson had a younger son, Richard, to whom very probably, when he held the barony of Alnwick, were granted the vills of Shilbottle, Hazon, Newton, Rennington and Broxfield, and the church of Guyzance, as this Richard and his descendants were in possession of these estates. Not only is this referred to in the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, but it is more fully stated in the charter of Eustace Fitz-John to Alnwick Abbey in 1147, which "confirmed the church of St. Wilfred of Gysnes, that Richard Tysone gave to the canons of the abbey in perpetual alms, with one measure and two ox-gangs of land in the same vill, and with Halghe where the church is, with Ridlei, and with Morwickhalghe, as Richard granted to them." To this confirmation Richard himself was one of the witnesses. The manors held by Richard under the Alnwick barony were to the extent of two knights' fees, being the sixth part of that barony; and these passed to his descendants. In the *Liber Niger*, William his son is named as possessing them in A.D. 1168, as of ancient feoffment, that is, granted before the year 1135. The descendants of Richard were in possession of these estates in 42nd Edward III., (1369,) when Robert de Hilton, who was descended from Tyson through Bone the grand-daughter of William, held the vills Schilbotell, Haysand, Gysens, and of Renyngton and five-tenth parts of the hamlet of Brokesfield of Henry Percy by service of two knights' fees and one-fourteenth of a fee. There is no authentic record of Gislebert having a son called William, and therefore the statement, often repeated, that Alda, the daughter of this William, was

* In chief, or directly from the king.

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given in marriage by William the Bastard to Yvo de Vescy in reward of his services, must be regarded as a myth.

Prior however to Mowbray's rebellion, Alnwick was the scene of a memorable event. Northumberland, being border land, has often been the battle field on which the prowess of England and Scotland was tried. The Roman wall, at an early period, cut it off from England; the ancient Saxon kingdom of North-humberland had undefined limits, sometimes extending into Scotland as far as the Forth; while on the other hand, the Scots, at a later period, had claims both over it and Cumberland; it hence became debateable ground, and gave rise to complications which treaties could not unloose, but which were rudely cut through by the sword.

Malcolm Caenmore or Great Head, who was king of Scotland when William conquered England, had married Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, the true heir to the English throne; his sympathies were, therefore, with the oppressed Saxon nobles, many of whom found refuge with him in Scotland. Five times did Malcolm enter Northumberland with an army and waste it with cruel pillage.* In one of these raids, in A.D. 1070, after desolating the land and destroying the weak and old, he carried away the robust and condemned them to slavery, in such numbers, that there was scarcely a house in Scotland but possessed an English male or female slave.† The king of England, employed at this time in crushing the brave efforts of the noble Hereward in behalf of national freedom in the isle of Ely, could not take his usual vigorous methods to check the Scottish king. As soon however, as he was in possession of Ely, he marched with an army into Scotland; and at Abernethy was met by Malcolm with an army of equal strength. Since the victory at Hastings, which gave him a throne, William was unwilling to place his power on the hazard of a general engagement. He therefore, was more ready to negotiate than to fight; and a treaty was concluded, by which Malcolm agreed to do homage for the lands he held in England; and William agreed to receive Edgar Atheling with favour and to grant him an honourable establishment. For a time the tide of war was rolled back from the Borders.

Displeased with the usurpation of William Rufus, Malcolm, after the conqueror's death, made another raid into the county and carried off great booty; but when Rufus was

* Simeon Dunel. Hist. p. 218. † Knyghton, p. 2334.

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prepared to avenge the wrong, peace was concluded through the mediation of Robert, the brother of the king of England and Edgar Atheling; it being agreed that Malcolm should hold the same lands in England as he held under the Conqueror, but that he should do homage for them to Rufus. When Malcolm however, according to agreement attended the king of England's court at Gloucester, he was treated with so much insolence and disdain by the haughty Rufus, that he returned to Scotland breathing vengeance. Nor did he suffer his resentment long to sleep; but summoning his men to arms, he, along with Edward his eldest son and heir to his throne, burst across the Borders in the winter of A.D. 1093, and pillaged the northern parts of Northumberland and destroyed it by fire as far as Alnwick. But while he and his army lay on St. Brice's Day, the 13th of November, in fancied security, on high moor ground sloping to the river Aln, one mile northward of Alnwick,* the hour was drawing nigh when vengeance would overtake him on the scene which his ravages had made desolate. Robert de Mowbray was at this time official earl of Northumberland and governor of Bamburgh Castle, and on him devolved the defence of the county. He raised as many forces as he could, and was aided by Morel, a courageous knight, his steward or sheriff and godfather of Malcolm himself. Finding, probably, that his little band could not cope in the open field with the huge army of the king of Scotland, Mowbray had recourse to stratagem; and making a sudden attack, probably from an

* From the want of concurrence in ancient chronicles, doubts have been entertained both as regards the place where Malcolm fell and the manner of his death. The Saxon chronicle says that Robert, earl of Northumberland, with his men lay in wait for him; that he was slain unawares by Morœl the earl's steward and Malcolm's godfather, and that his son Edward was killed with him: Malmesbury, that he was despatched by the party of Robert, earl of Northumberland, rather through stratagem than force: Wendover, that he and his son were intercepted and slain. Simeon says he with his first-born were slain near the river Aln; both, according to Bromton, fell near Alnwick; and Fordun says he was besieging Alnwick Castle when he was killed by stratagem and his son mortally wounded. Fordun's statement respecting Alnwick Castle being besieged is not supported by authority and is improbable; but I see no reason to doubt that Malcolm was slain near to Alnwick, on the spot which tradition points out as the scene of this event; not only does this accord with the account by Bromton, but it is confirmed by the historical extracts transmitted by the prior and convent of Carlisle to Edward I.: —"MXCIII., Malcolm, king of the Scots, and his eldest son Edward were slain at Alnewyc by the soldiers of Robert, earl of Northumberland."

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ambuscade, the Scottish army were thrown into confusion, Malcolm was slain by the hand of Morel, and Edward his son was mortally wounded. The Scottish army fled; many were killed by the sword, but more perished by floods in the rivers, which were more swollen than usual by the heavy winter rains. "And thus it happened" says the pious chronicler, "that the justice of the judgment of God was openly manifested; for where Malcolm had deprived many of life, goods, and liberty, he there by the judgment of God lost his life and property."

Though wounded, Edward must have been carried off the field by some of the soldiers who escaped, for he died three days afterwards at Edward Isle in Jedwood Forest. The Scottish army having fled, and Mowbray's soldiers having gone in pursuit of the enemy, the body of Malcolm lay neglected on the spot where he died. None of the thousands, whom he had governed, was there to give his corpse honourable sepulture; but two natives of the district placed it on a cart and conveyed it to Tynemouth, where it was interred.* After resting there about thirty years, the body was removed by Alexander, the son of Malcolm, and re-interred at Dunfermline before the rude altar in the nave of the church; and there too, rest the remains of his two sons Edward and Ethelred, and of his sainted wife Margaret.† When this good queen heard of the death of her husband, she was suddenly seized with great infirmity and borne down with grief; after an illness of three days, "she was released" says Simeon, "from carnal chains and translated, as is believed, to the joy of eternal safety."

The chronicle of Alnwick Abbey gives the following account of this disaster. "Eustace de Vescy gave to the Abbey of Alnwick a certain country portion, which is called Quarelflat, for that land upon which he founded the Chapel of Saint Leonard for the soul of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of his wife Saint Margaret, queen of the Scots; who in the same place was slain with his eldest son Edward in the year of our Lord 1093, to wit, in the 7th year of King William Rufus, son of the Bastard. . . . Malcolm was there

* Simeon, p. 219; Bromton, p. 990.

† Fordun, Book V., chap. 25. In "Notices of the Burial of King Malcolm III. in the monastery of Tynemouth and subsequent History of his Remains," by J. Stuart, Esq., F.S.A., Scot., the subject is fully examined and much interesting information given; Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.

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mortally wounded near a certain spring, leaving his own name to that spring even for ever. Hence that spring is called in the native English tongue, Malcolmswell. This King Malcolm was wounded by Hamund, then constable of the said Eustace de Vescy, with a certain lance, on the point of which he had placed the keys of the castle of Alnwick for a pledge, as if placing the castle with all its inhabitants in subjection to Malcolm, king of Scotland. This deed being done, Hamund returned with a quick step, sound, unhurt, and whole, passing over a ford of water immensely great, and then by the divine will overflowing above measure, and leaving his own name to this ford; whence the ford where he passed over is called, in the native English tongue, Hamund's Ford from that day and thenceforward." This story however, is but a clumsy monkish legend, written long after Malcolm's death; it does not accord with the accounts in the earlier chronicles; and in one point at least, it is directly opposed to known historic fact. No constable of Eustace de Vescy could have slain Malcolm, for Eustace was not in possession of the barony of Alnwick till A.D. 1185, ninety-two years after Malcolm's death.*

A cross stood, from an early period, on the spot which tradition pointed out as that where Malcolm was slain. Two fragments of this still remain, part of the base and the upper limb of the cross; they are of rude workmanship; but in 1774, Elizabeth, duchess of Northumberland, a descendant of Malcolm, replaced this with another, ornamented in the feeble style of the period, having the following inscriptions on the west and east sides of the pedestal:—

MALCOLM III.,
KING OF SCOTLAND,
BESIEGING
ALNWICK CASTLE,
WAS HERE SLAIN,
NOV. XIII., AN. MXCIII.

K. MALCOLM'S CROSS,
DECAYED BY TIME,
WAS RESTORED BY
HIS DESCENDANT,
ELIZ: DUCHESS OF
NORTHUMBERLAND.
MDCCLXXIV.

* Fordun's account is similar to that in this chronicle, and has evidently been concocted out of monkish legends; he is the only ancient historian who mentions Alnwick Castle. According to him, the garrison having no hope of relief, one of them, more skilful, brave, and daring than the others, undertook to free his companions or to die in the attempt. He cautiously approached the king's army, and in a pleasant manner enquired for the king, saying that he had come to deliver up to him the castle, and as proof of his intention pointed to the keys of the castle attached to the end of his spear. Malcolm having heard this,



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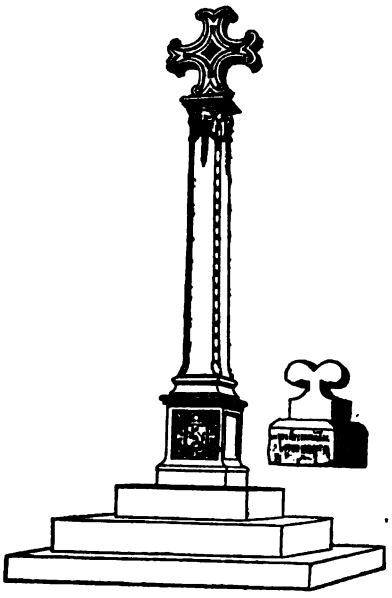
On the south face is the lion of Scotland on a shield, with Scottish thistles in the corners of the panel; and on the north face the Scottish thistle is surmounted by a crown; both design and workmanship are poor. This cross stands in a plantation close to the great north road one mile northward of Alnwick, and the fragments of the old cross are near to it in the same wood.

FIG. 10



MALCOLM'S CROSS.
REMAINS OF THE OLD CROSS IN THE BACKGROUND.

Malcolm was a heroic character, and he has been invested with imaginary virtues. Without sufficient reason, to him have been attributed the introduction, not only of feudal law, but also of representative government into Scotland. The Gaels describe him as having a handsome person and cheerful mind. He undoubtedly displayed great vigour; and under trying circumstances maintained the independence of his kingdom against the Norman power. Like his co-temporaries, he was cruel; but the influence of his wife, the sainted Margaret, in some degree softened his character.

## YVO DE VESCY.

Yvo de Vescy is the first Norman baron of Alnwick of whom we have certain information; and yet of him not much is known; for we have no record of his birth, marriage, time

and apprehending no deceit, incautiously sprung from his tent, and unarmed met the soldier, who, treacherously taking advantage of the defenceless king, pierced him through, and immediately fleeing to the shelter of a wood escaped from the Scottish army. Fordun, Book IV., chap. 25.

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of obtaining the barony, nor of his death. He became the baron of Alnwick probably a little after A.D. 1096; but the original charter is not in existence. He died prior to A.D. 1135, as in that year his successor was in possession of the barony. His name first occurs in a charter granted to his grandson by Henry II., who reigned from A.D. 1154 to A.D. 1189. To William de Vesci, by this charter, the king confirms in fee and heirship, all the lands and tenures of Eustace Fitz-John his father, with all appurtenances of the same, which he held in chief of the king or howsoever held, to wit of his demesne fee, to hold of the king in chief, the castle of Alnewyk and the whole honour, which belonged to *Ivo de Vesci his grandfather* with all their appurtenances. The barony of Malton was never held by Yvo.

The Vescy family came into England with William the Conqueror; and the name Robert de Vesci appears in Doomsday Book as holding manors in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire. To this family belonged Vassy, a commune in the department of Calvados in Normandy, from which it took the name.

Yvo de Vescy never rose to distinction; his name appears not in history, and of his virtues and vices we are ignorant. With him, however, probably began the building of a great baronial stronghold, for in the charter referred to, he is named in connection with Alnwick Castle. He died about the year A.D. 1134, leaving an only daughter Beatrix, but no male issue.

## EUSTACE FITZ-JOHN.

Eustace Fitz-John obtained the barony of Alnwick, by marrying Beatrix the heiress of Yvo de Vescy, and was in possession of it in 1135. His descent as given by heraldists is confused and contradictory; he is said to have been the son of John de Burgh, and nephew of Serlo de Burgh, lord of Knaresborough, who dying without issue, was succeeded in his possessions by his brother John, called Monoculus, because he had but one eye. All this, however, is more than doubtful; for Eustace held Knaresborough not in heirship, but as a farmer under the crown.

Eustace Fitz-John was an able man, and played a distinguished, if not always an honourable part in public affairs. Aildred says of him, "He was one of the chief peers in England, and intimately acquainted with King Henry I., and of great wisdom and of singular judgment in counsels." He

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seems, however, to have had a careful regard to his own aggrandisement, for his possessions became largely increased by marriage and royal grants. Henry I. gave him by charter, "the land Archaristan which I have in my demesne in Baenburc,* to wit the land of Spileston,† and the mill of Warnet,‡ which render to me yearly sixty shillings. And the land of Bolla§ with (appurtenances) which was wont to render me yearly forty shillings." Henry, son of the king of Scotland, granted him by charters the lands of Bertun and Pottun, Pathestun, Struechea, and also the fee and service of Robert de Muntut of five knights' fees; and also the fee of Toteham and other lands. He held fees too of the Archbishop of York and of the Bishop of Durham. From the confirmatory charter granted by Henry II. to William de Vescy, grandson of Eustace Fitz-John, we learn, that Henry I. gave to this Eustace the whole fee of Radulph Gaugi, to wit, Elingeham, and Docheseffodam,‖ and Osberwyc,¶ and Hacton, and Netferton, and also many lands in the counties of Durham and Yorkshire, among which was the barony of Malton. So high did he stand in the favour of his sovereign, that he was appointed sheriff of Northumberland, and in his official capacity, governor of Bamburgh Castle. His vast possessions and official position gave him the command of extensive military resources; and he had both the means and inclination to influence public movements.

Eustace must, however, have been learned as well as brave, and much in advance of the rude, illiterate barons of the period. We find him an itinerant justice of the northern counties in 1129, associated with Walter de Espec, one of the noblest men of the age. In the earliest Pipe Rolls preserved, of the reign of Henry I., his name repeatedly appears.

"Hugh, the son of Odo, rendered an account of twenty shillings for the pleas of W. Espec and Eustace Fitz-John, and for livery of Walter Espec and Eustace Fitz-John, twelve shillings and sixpence. In pardon by writ of the king, Eustace Fitz-John seventy-two shillings. Six pounds are due by the sheriff, and this remains on the land of Eustace Fitz-John." He had the wardship of Blida, a place in Nottinghamshire, and for this he renders an account of £22 11s. 10d.

* Bamburgh. † Spindleston. ‡ Warn. § Budle.
‖ Doxford. ¶ Elwick.

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For some time after the accession of Stephen as king of England in 1135, Eustace did not enjoy the favour of his sovereign. Though no defined principle of succession to the throne had been established, many of the barons regarded Stephen as a usurper; and it would seem, that Eustace participating in this feeling, secretly favoured the cause of the Empress Maud.* He was therefore viewed with suspicion; and the governorship of Bamburgh Castle—then the most important northern stronghold—was taken from him. He had, however, raised or completed strongholds of his own. Alnwick Castle is described at this period as "most strongly fortified;" and he had erected Malton Castle in the midst of his Yorkshire lands. At length he openly joined the enemies of King Stephen, and lent his aid, with all the forces he could assemble, to David king of the Scots, who, in the autumn of A.D. 1138, made a hostile expedition into England. Alnwick Castle was given up to the king of the Scots. The united forces marched to Bamburgh Castle, which they were not able to take; but the young men of the place rashly going before a rampart which was in front of the castle, so tormented the Scots with derisive shouts, that aroused by such insulting conduct, they fiercely attacked and broke down the wall, and rushing within, slew a hundred of these foolish youths. Unable to take the castle itself, the Scottish army, after destroying all the corn in the neighbourhood, marched onward towards Yorkshire, leaving behind them a trackway of desolation and blood. Eustace Fitz-John purposed delivering up Malton Castle to King David; but the progress of the army was arrested at Northallerton, where the famous battle of the Standard was fought, of which some account must be given, as a Vescy and a Percy fought on one side and a Percy on the other.† The Scottish army numbered 26,000 men, and was composed of Scots, Picts, Gallowaymen, and Northumbrians. To resist this formidable array, the aged but vigorous minded Archbishop Thurstan and Walter de Espec the sheriff had summoned to the field, a small but determined body of brave warriors, consisting chiefly of the nobles and principal men of the province of York. In a wide field near Allerton, they assembled around a remarkable standard, (from which the battle took its name,) formed of the mast of a ship erected on the beam of a chariot; on its

* Hist. Ric. Hag., (Twisden,) p. 319.

† Alan de Percy le Meschin fought on the side of the Scots.

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top a large cross was displayed, having in its centre the consecrated host; and floating beneath were the banners of St. Peter and St. John of Beverly, and of St. Wilfrid of Ripon. William de Percy, Robert de Brus, and Bernard de Baliol, an experienced soldier, were with the English army; and the two last, who held lands in Scotland as well in England, endeavoured to induce David to discontinue these inroads; but the Scottish king refusing, they absolved themselves from their homage to him.

Three days were spent by the little English army in religious exercises, and to fortify their minds, absolution and benediction were given by the archbishop. Walter de Espec, the sheriff, a man of a noble form, venerable from his age, distinguished by the acuteness of his genius, by his wisdom, piety, and fidelity to the king, ascended the machine on which the standard was fixed, and delivered an oration, with a voice like a trumpet, calculated to rouse to the highest pitch the valour of the army. His description of the appalling atrocities committed by the Scottish army, presents a fearful picture of the barbarism of the period, and of the miserable and wasted condition of the border land. "Remember," says he, "what they did in the parts beyond the Tyne, (that is in Northumberland,) nor hope gentler things if the Scots conquer. I say nothing of the slaughters, rapines, and burnings, which are exercised in a certain humane manner by enemies—I speak of such things as fiction never invented nor history narrated as done by the cruellest tyrants. They spared no age, no rank, no sex; nobles as well as boys and girls were led into captivity. Chaste wives were defiled by the most incredible lust; children tossed in the air and upon the points of the lances afforded a delightful spectacle to the Gallowaymen; pregnant women were ripped up and the immature infants with impious hands dashed against stones; entering a house, where many young persons were assembled, a Gallowayman seized one after another by the feet, dashed their heads against a post, and piling up the dead and mangled bodies, laughingly exclaimed—'behold how many Gauls I alone have killed this day.' Horrible to relate, they entered the temple of God, polluted his sanctuary, and trampled under foot the sacraments of salvation."* More deeds of atrocity were laid to their charge, but we may hope for the honour of human nature, that the picture is too

* Aildred, p. 340.

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deeply shaded by the orator. After this appeal, Espec gave his right hand to one of the leaders and said, "I give my faith either to conquer the Scots this day or be slain by them." All the nobles took a similar vow; and that there might be no hope of flight, their horses were removed to a distance; and they advanced on foot determined to conquer or die.

Composed of discordant materials, the different races of the Scottish army were jealous of each other. The king wished the onset to be made with his men of arms, but the Gallowaymen claimed the right to form the first rank; and fearing sedition, the king yielded to their demand, although from being almost naked and unarmed, they were not fit to combat with the English men of arms, who were protected by invulnerable triangular breast-plates. The arrangement was fatal to the Scots; for these unarmed men were pierced by the English arrows; and before the lapse of two hours, they were driven back with great slaughter, involving the whole army in confusion, in flight, and in ruin. Eustace Fitz-John fought in the second rank, which was led by Prince Henry, son of the Scottish king. The king and his band of knights attempted to stand, but they too were compelled to flee. Eleven thousand of the Scots are said to have fallen on the field; and though the little English army did not pursue the routed enemy, many more of the Scots losing their way were slain by the country people, in revenge of the atrocities they had perpetrated. The king and his son escaped with difficulty, and arriving three days afterwards at Carlisle, they lost no time in collecting the remains of their shattered army, and soon afterwards laid siege to Wark Castle. Eustace Fitz-John was wounded, and barely escaped with his life to his castle.* Peace, however, was concluded between the two countries, chiefly through the influence of the legate of the pope, and the queen of England. In consequence of this treaty, Henry, the son of David, received the earldom of Northumberland, excepting the towns of Bamburgh and Newcastle; and for several years afterwards this county was under the dominion of a Scottish prince.†

Amid the desolation these dark scenes present, one green spot appears. Alberic, bishop of Ostia, the legate of the pope, endeavoured not only to promote peace, but to mitigate the

* Florence's Chronicle, p. 264.

† Aildred, p. 338 to 346. Hist. John Hag., 260 to 262.

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horrors of war. He urged the Scots—who, although led by a king distinguished for building and endowing churches, abbeys, and nunneries, and even for fostering commerce, yet acted more like demons than men—to wage war with greater humanity; and he prevailed on them to set free the women whom they had recently taken captive; through his persuasions, the whole Scottish army engaged that in future they would abstain from violating churches, and would spare women and children.

In these changing times, when the feeling of loyalty had scarcely an existence, Eustace was ere long reconciled to King Stephen; for we find him in the 5th year of Stephen's reign holding, in favour of the king, the two great lordships of Burgh and Knaresborough. He was slain when with an expedition into Wales, in the year 1157, the 3rd of the reign of Henry II.

His charitable acts took the direction of the spirit of the age. Fierce men accustomed to slaughter and oppression, and unscrupulous in their aggressions on the property of others, trusted to the rites of the church for the absolution of their offences against law and morality; it was the age of ecclesiastical endowments; and hence churches, abbeys, and nunneries were built and richly endowed to atone for transgressions, and procure the prayers of the faithful for the safety of their souls. Besides granting money and lands to the monks of St. Peter's of Gloucester, to the churches of Flamborough, of Laton, and of Scalleby, and to the canons of Bridlington, Eustace founded the monasteries of Walton and Malton, and also of Alnwick, and amply endowed them with land and revenues.*

He married twice: Beatrix, the heiress of Alnwick, is stated to have died in childbirth of William, who succeeded to her inheritance. Eustace's other wife, Agnes, daughter of the constable of Chester, mentions her sons Richard and Geffrey. From Richard the Lacys and Claverings traced their descent.

## WILLIAM (FITZ-JOHN OR) DE VESCY.

William, the eldest son of Eustace and Beatrix, inherited the barony of Alnwick and other extensive possessions left by his father; and as the larger portion came through his

* Dugdale Bar., Vol. 1., p. 91.

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mother, he assumed the name of De Vescy. A charter was granted by Henry II., confirming to him in fee and heirship all the lands and tenures held by his father. His estates were very large, for he held no less than twenty knights' fees, and for these he, in 12th Henry II., paid £17 13s. 0d. as an aid for marrying the king's daughter. In 18th Henry II. he paid £24 6s. 8d. for scutage* of Ireland, as he neither went in person nor sent soldiers to that war. Though neither evincing the ability nor possessing the influence of his father, he for twelve years held the important office of sheriff of Northumberland; and from 4th Henry II. to 15th Henry II. he accounted yearly in the great pipe rolls for the farm of the county. In A.D. 1165 he accounts for forty marks, *de proprio dono*; in A.D. 1166 for lands which he held in Baemburc, (Bamburgh,) twenty-four shillings; and Reginald his steward accounts for £4 8s. 4d. He ceased to be sheriff in A.D. 1170.

Northumberland remained for some time under Scottish power; and the services which King David had rendered to Henry Plantagenet, the son of Maud, laid upon him an obligation to view favourably the claims of the Scottish princes to the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. Accordingly, when Henry was knighted by the old King David, he swore, that on becoming king of England, he would confirm to David and his heirs the lands held by them in England; but as soon as he was firmly seated on the throne, disregarding his oath, and considering these counties too valuable to be held by a foreign power, he in A.D. 1154 demanded their restitution. The brave old King David and his promising son Henry were then dead; and the Scottish throne was filled by a feeble minor, Malcolm, the grandson of David; the demand therefore could not be resisted; and Northumberland again, without a struggle, came under the dominion of the Norman kings. Malcolm himself, during his short reign of twelve years, was under the influence of his potent neighbour, and peaceably acquiesced in the alienation of Cumberland and Northumberland; but his people were not so quiescent; angry murmurs rose against their sovereign for his pusillanimous conduct, and the border warriors made frequent inroads; wasting and greatly injuring the district.

* From *Scutagium*, or *Servitium Scuti*, (Latin,) the service of the shield; in Norman-French, *Escuage*. This was a fine in money paid by a military tenant in lieu of his personal service.



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Truces were made but ill kept, and the borders were in a state of constant turmoil and warfare.

William the Lion, who succeeded to the Scottish throne in A.D. 1165, was brave, and felt humbled by the loss of his Northumberland and Cumberland inheritance. He visited the king of England in Brittany, to urge his claims for its restoration; and Henry II. being then at war with his rebellious vassals on the continent, soothed him with fair promises to end all disputes, as soon as he had leisure. Seven years elapsed, but William found no redress.

Though a kind and indulgent father, Henry's sons rebelled against him; and his eldest son, the head of the conspiracy, induced the king of Scotland to aid him in his unnatural attempt, by promising to restore the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland to the Scottish king. Accordingly William entered Northumberland with a large army, composed partly of Scots and Flemings, but with a multitude of Gallowaymen, who were almost naked, but fleet and remarkably bold, and armed with small knives at their left sides and javelins in their hands, which they could throw at a great distance.* Wark was first besieged, but unsuccessfully, being stoutly defended by Roger de Estuteville. Then, says the chronicler, Fantosme, who was eye-witness of many of the scenes he describes, the great host of Albany went to Alnwick Castle, which was under the command of William de Vescy, the illegitimate son of the baron of Alnwick. William de Vescy proved himself a valorous knight, and "much was the father joyous in heart to have such a son." Failing in their attempt on Alnwick, the Scottish army destroyed the land next to the sea; and "coming to Warkworth did not deign to stop there, for weak was the castle, the wall, and the trench." After a vain attempt to take Newcastle and Carlisle, they marched onward to Yorkshire, the warlike and turbulent Bishop Pudsey allowing them to pass unmolested; but an English army advancing to repel the invasion, the king of Scotland retired to his own country. The teachings of the good and humane legate had been cast into stony ground; for the Scots, both in their advance and retreat, ravaged and destroyed, and committed great atrocities. Berwick was burnt by them. The chronicler says:—

* Ra. de Diceto, (Twisden,) p. 575.

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"He rides in the land destroyed and wasted,
That is Northumberland, which was already renowned;
From here to the passes of Spain, there was not such a country,
Nor more faithful, nor people more honoured;
Now it is in famine, becomes annihilated
If by the king of England aid is not given."

Embarrassed, however, by an army of Flemings, who had landed in Suffolk, the king of England could not avenge this inroad, but concluded a truce with the Scots.

Though foiled in their first attempt, the unnatural sons of Henry II. of England, resolved to make another, to dethrone their father; and in their support, William the Lion again crossed the border in the beginning of April, A.D. 1174, with a huge army composed of Flemish mercenaries as well as Scottish soldiers, estimated to be 80,000 strong. Wark was again assaulted, but though more vigorously than before, yet still without success. Part of the army was despatched at night to Bamburgh Castle, and surprised some poor people asleep in their beds. The chronicle gives a sad picture of the morning's march.

"The town of Belford was first attacked,
Over all the country they scattered themselves;
Some run to towns to commit their folly,
Some go to take sheep in their folds,
Some go to burn towns, I cannot tell you more;
Never will such great destruction be heard spoken of.
Then might you see peasants and Flemings who tie them,
And lead them in their cords like heathen people.
Women fly to the minster, each was ravished,
Naked without clothes, she forgets there her property;
Ah, God! why did William de Vesci not know it?
The booty were rescued, nor would they have failed in it.
They burnt the country; but God was a friend
To those gentle peasants who were defenceless,
For the Scots were not their mortal enemies;
They would have beaten, slain, and ill-treated them all."*

After suffering the loss of many men before Wark, William the Lion led his army towards "Carlisle the fair, the strong garrisoned city." He took the castles of Liddel, of Brough, and of Appleby; but not being able speedily to reduce Carlisle, he marched upon Prudhoe Castle, and attempted to take it by surprise; but Odonel de Umfraville was prepared for the attack, and bravely repulsed it. Leaving his castle under the charge of its bold defenders, Odonel mounted his "good brown bay, day and night always spurring," and

* Fantosme, 1167.

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gathered four hundred knights for the relief of Prudhoe. Three days the siege continued; but William, finding he could not master the castle, and that the army of the sheriff of York was advancing, abandoned the siege; and on Friday morning, the 12th of July, his great host marched northward in two divisions; the Gallowaymen ravaged the lands of Odonel, and the Scots wasted and burnt the country along the sea coast. On the Friday evening, King William with the French and Flemings of his army began the siege of Alnwick Castle. He retained with him only five hundred knights, while the two divisions of his main army were ravaging the country around; towns and villages were burnt and plundered. Earl Duncan with one division entered Warkworth and burnt it, and slew all whom he found, men and women, great and small; they broke into the church of Saint Laurence, and mutilated three priests and slew three hundred men, women, and children, who had taken refuge there. "Alas!" exclaims another chronicler,* "what sorrow! then you might hear the shrieks of women, the lamentations of the old, the groans of the dying, and the despair of the young; but the omnipotent God avenged on the same day, the injury and violence done to the church of the martyr."

When Odonel arrived at Newcastle in the evening of Friday, with the forces he had collected, he found that the king of the Scots had retired. Besides Odonel, there were, as leaders of the little band, Randolph de Glanville the brave sheriff, Bernard de Baliol, William D'Estuteville, and William de Vescy. Having been informed, probably by a messenger from Alnwick Castle, that the king of the Scots had around him only a small suit, the bulk of his army being engaged in plundering, it was resolved by these valiant men to attempt to relieve the castle; but in accordance with the sage council of Glanville, a spy was sent before to ascertain the state of the Scottish force. The English troop, increased in number by sixty knights of the archbishop of York, after refreshing themselves by a little rest during the night, set forth from Newcastle at the break of day with such speed, that though heavily armed, they in less than five hours had proceeded about thirty miles. For some time so dense a fog covered their march, that they scarcely knew whither they were going; and the prudent or timid, fearing that danger

* Benedictus Petr.

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hung over them, advised an immediate return to Newcastle; but Bernard de Baliol, a noble and courageous man, said—"Let him go back who will; I will not stamp my name with everlasting disgrace; even though alone, I will go onward." Stimulated by this heroism, the march was resumed, and they had not proceeded far, when suddenly the fog cleared away, and with joy they saw before them the battlements of Alnwick Castle illuminated by the sunbeams—a secure place of refuge should they be overpowered by numbers. They entered for concealment into a copse, and there received the report of their spy.

William the Lion at this hour was lying in a field about a quarter-of-a-mile westward of Alnwick Castle, on the borders of Alnwick Moor, with only sixty knights, waiting for the return of his army that he might assault the castle with great vigour. The day had become warm; his helmet was laid aside, and with his barons he had sat down to dine. The English forces under the command of Randolph de Glanville advanced, and William at first supposed that they were some of his own troops returning from a marauding expedition.

> "The king of Scotland was brave, wonderful, and old,
> Before Alnwick he stood unarmed.
> When these had once cried the war signal of Vesci,
> And 'Glanville knights!' and 'Baliol!' likewise,
> Odonel de Umfraville raised a cry of his own,
> And this of Estuteville, a bold knight;
> Then knew William that he was nearly betrayed,
> Quickly he stirred himself, he was not disconcerted."

Hastily arming himself, mounting his grey horse, shaking his spear, and rousing the valour of his soldiers by exclaiming, "Now let it be seen who is a good knight!" he gallantly charged his foes, and struck down the first he encountered. A severe struggle ensued; and, one who speaks from knowledge says, all would have gone well with William had not a sergeant with a lance killed his horse. The king fell to the ground beneath his steed, and, being unable to rise, was drawn from beneath it; and he surrendered himself prisoner to Randolph de Glanville. Most of his attendants were taken prisoners; some even, who might have escaped, deemed it more honorable to share the fate of their king than to flee. Roger de Mowbray, an English baron fighting on the side of William, and Adam de Port, with a few others escaped into Scotland. Valorous deeds were performed by many of William's knights before they were taken. Lord Alan de

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Lascelles, an old knight of gigantic stature, long defended himself on his grey charger. William de Mortimer, raging through the ranks like a mad boar, gave and received many blows, till Lord Bernard de Baliol struck him down from his horse. Raoul le Bus fought well while attacked by a hundred foes. Richard Maluvel behaved himself gloriously; at the head of his thirteen followers he accomplished as much as the whole of them; but struck in the middle, he was at length compelled to surrender. The combat must have been continued some time after William had been taken prisoner, by bands which had returned from plundering; for the prisoners were numerous, William de Vescy alone having taken one hundred. No quarter was given to the Flemish, who were mercilessly slaughtered in revenge for the atrocities they had committed.

The royal prisoner was mounted on a palfrey, and taken immediately by Randolph de Glanville to Newcastle, where he arrived on the same evening; he was afterwards lodged in the strong castle of Richmond, till the king of England's pleasure should be known, to whom a messenger was sent with the news.

The capture of the Scottish king was a great event—indeed, the most important in the reign of Henry II.; it occurred at a critical crisis in our history, and it saved the nation from much calamity. Not content with natural causes for this issue, the chroniclers of the times bring in the supernatural, and attribute it to the miraculous agency of St. Dunstan. On the day when William the Lion was overthrown, Henry II., king of England, submitted, as a penance, to be flogged by the monks of Christ Church, before the tomb of Thomas à Becket. "At length," says the chronicler in swelling phrase,* "he who touches the mountains and they smoke, regarding the devotion of the burning mountain in Canterbury, on the very day in which it smoked, the king had overcome his cruellest enemy the king of the Scots at Alnwick."

King Henry had returned to London and retired to rest full of melancholy thoughts, and his servant was gently scratching his feet while he slept during the silence of the night, when the messenger with tidings of the capture came to the door and softly called, "A messenger am I, sent by Randolph de Glanville to speak with the king." "The

* Bromton, (Twisden,) p. 1095.

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king is asleep, I dare not allow you to enter," was the reply. Light was the sleep of the king, like that of all troubled in mind; and he was awakened by the gentle whisperings. On learning that the messenger was from Glanville, he asked for him, fearing that Glanville wanted help. "Your enemy the king of the Scots is taken," said the messenger. Struck with surprise and joy—"Tell you the truth?" asked the king. "Yes sire," was the reply, "two private messengers will confirm the news to-morrow. For four days I have scarcely eaten, or drunk, or slept; at your pleasure recompense my service." Imbued with the superstitious feelings of the period, the king exclaimed, "God be thanked for it, and St. Thomas the martyr, and all the saints of God." Overjoyed, he leapt from his couch, and hastened to communicate the tidings to his barons. On the same evening, the bells of London told the tale to the citizens, and ere long, a joyful peal was rung from every parish church in England.

A monument, erected in the middle of the eighteenth century within a plantation on the south side of Rotten Row, marked the spot where tradition says William was captured. It was in the pseudo-Gothic style, which prevailed at the time of its erection. Although not such as to gratify a refined taste, it was not without beauty, and was interesting as an illustration of the style of a period; and it is to be regretted that it has recently been taken down, and replaced by another erection entirely devoid of taste. This is a large square smoothed block of sandstone, nearly three feet in height, resting on two steps. A polished granite tablet is inserted into the face of the sandstone block; and on this is the following inscription, copied from the older monument, "William the Lion, king of Scotland, besieging Alnwick Castle, was here taken prisoner, MCLXXIV."*

Glanville† by orders of the king took his prisoner to Falaise

* Full accounts are given of this important event, in chronicles of Bromton, William of Newbury, Benedict of Peterborough, and Gervase; but several of the minuter details I have taken from the metrical chronicle of Jordan Fantosme.

† Randolph de Glanville was rewarded for his chivalrous conduct by the English king, who immediately promoted him to be one of the itinerant justiciars; and in A.D. 1180 he was appointed chief justiciar, the most important office in the kingdom, requiring for its proper discharge both great military and legal ability. He was one of the greatest men of his time, being a perfect knight, skilled in the art of war, a good classical scholar, and a profound lawyer. He will be remembered throughout all time, as the author of a "Treatise on the Laws

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in Normandy, where Henry had gone to quell insurrections of his continental subjects; and there the unfortunate lion-hearted king was kept in strict confinement for a year, at the expiration of which, he obtained his liberty under arrangements which seriously affected the honour of Scotland. This bondage continued till A.D. 1199, when Richard I. desirous, before his departure as a soldier of the cross to the Holy Land, of gaining the friendship of William and his Scottish subjects, restored to him by charter, the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and recognised only the feudal arrangements subsisting between their ancestors.* For this great boon, ten thousand marks were paid by the Scots to the English king.

William de Vescy, like his father, was liberal to the church. He confirmed to the canons and nuns of Walton, Malton, and Wintringham, the gift of his father Eustace of the church at Wintringham, with the manor-house and two mills there; also of the hamlet of Langton, of the church and chapels of Walton and Malton; and out of his own charity, he gave to them the church of Ancaster. To the knights Templars he gave the churches of Caithrop and Normanton, and to the canons of Semplingham and nuns of Ormesby the hermitage of Spaldingholme, with divers other lands. He gave to the monks of Alnwick Abbey, the churches of Chatton, Chillingham, and Alnham, his fishery of Lesbury, and land in Rugley. But he is chiefly memorable in this district, for his grant of Alnwick Moor to the burgesses of Alnwick.

He was married to Burga, sister of Robert de Stuteville, Lord of Knaresborough, by whom he had two daughters and two sons, Eustace, who succeeded him, and Warin, from whom descended the family of Aton. He died in the year 1184;† and according to the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey he became a monk there, when near his end, and was buried before the door of the chapter-house of the abbey, near to where his wife Burga was laid.

## EUSTACE DE VESCY.

Eustace was only fourteen years of age when his father died. On coming of age, A.D. 1191, he obtained from

and Customs of the Kingdom of England," the first attempt to bring English law under fixed principles, and making him father of English jurisprudence. When an old man he became a soldier of the cross, and died in the Holy Land.

* Rymer Fœd., I., pp. 39, 64. † Dugdale's Baronage, p. 92.

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Richard I. livery* of his lands, and liberty to marry whom he pleased, on payment of ten thousand marks. In the same year he paid £12 3s. 4d. for scutage of Wales; but as he went in person with the king to Normandy four years afterwards, he was acquitted of the scutage then assessed for the king's redemption. For a second scutage of Normandy, he paid in the 8th Richard I., £24 6s. 8d. According to the *Liber Niger*, he held in A.D. 1212, of the king in chief, the barony of Alnwick by the service of twelve knights fees, and also the vills of Budle, Spindlestone, and Warn, nothing having been alienated by marriage or alms to the king's prejudice. But large though these possessions were, they were only about one half of the property held by him, for we find he had in 13th John, a special discharge for twenty-four knights fees of scutage of Scotland; the rest of his estates were in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

Like his grandfather, Eustace was a distinguished man, and deeply engaged in the political movements of the period. These were, indeed, times of wild warfare and sudden revolutions, when men of energy and capacity could influence, in no small degree, the destinies of the nation, which was groaning under oppression and struggling for liberty. Under this distinguished baron, and with a strongly fortified castle, near the borders, Alnwick was the scene of many important events. John, the king of England, visited it no less than four times.

During the short reign of Richard I., there was peace along the Borders; but as soon as John ascended the English throne, the friendly relations between England and Scotland were disturbed. The conflicting claims of the two nations seemed to have been definitely settled; the supremacy of England over Scotland had been abandoned; the northern counties, Cumberland and Northumberland, had been incorporated with England; and the river Tweed, and the mountain range westward, formed the boundary of two independent nations. Well would it have been for England and Scotland, and especially for the border-land, if this settlement of hostile claims had remained undisturbed. Ambition and the love of power were, however, for centuries to come, to find a battle-field in the border counties. The old lion-hearted king, looking with regret to the loss of the northern counties, was not slow in taking advantage of the dissatisfaction in

* Livery of seisen is the delivery of lands, &c.



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England with John's usurpation of the English throne, to the prejudice of Arthur the legitimate heir; and he urged his claims for the restoration of these counties. John, being then engaged in continental affairs and anxious to keep peace with Scotland, commissioned Eustace de Vescy, who had married the illegitimate daughter of the Scottish king, to assure him, that on his return from Normandy he would satisfy his claims. But John was faithless, and took no steps to redeem his promise; on the contrary he appointed William de Stuteville to be sheriff of the two counties, gave orders to strengthen the defences of the northern castles; and reviving the claim to feudal superiority over Scotland, he repeatedly summoned William to appear before him to do homage. The Scottish king either bending for a while before a blast, which he could not then boldly face, or deluded by false flattery and promises, obeyed the summons, and on the 22nd November, A.D. 1200, he rendered homage to John, on a high hill outside the city of Lincoln, in the presence of a great assembly of English and Scottish barons.* The terms of the homage are qualified with "Salvo jure suo," and must have been for Lothian at least, since at this time the northern counties were in possession of the English; and William, after having performed this deed, demanded the restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. This, however, was not conceded. John, if not able, was artful, and he induced the Scottish king to agree to a truce till after the ensuing Whitsunday, to afford time for deliberation.

William next morning set off to his own dominions; and John proceeded northwards, and visited Alnwick Castle for the first time on February 12th, 1201;† and while there, confirmed the charter of the burgesses of Newcastle; he afterwards went to Bamburgh, Rothbury, and Hexham. For several years little was done to settle the conflicting claims of the two kings; William was old and stricken down with sickness, while John was fully engaged in attempting to retrieve the disasters he had suffered on the continent. The king of England made, however, one attempt to injure Scotland in 1204, by fortifying a castle at Tweedmouth in order to destroy Berwick, and open a passage into Scotland. The old king rallied, attacked the place, and razed the work to its foundations.‡ A conference of the two kings

* Hovedon. † Patent Rolls. Itinerary of King John.

‡ Fordun, l. VIII., c. 64.

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at Norham in the same year led to no satisfactory results.

Large armies were assembled by both kings, in 1209, to determine their differences by the sword; but though they confronted each other at Norham, no battle ensued, for the nobles of both kingdoms interfered, and the armies were disbanded and a conference appointed to be held at Newcastle. In his progress northward on this occasion, John rested at Alnwick on the 24th of April. Owing to the illness of the old King William, the conference at Newcastle was not held. Armies were again assembled to decide the controversy; and again the nobles induced a suspension of hostilities. The two kings met at Norham, and on the 7th of August, concluded a treaty, which for a time put an end to warfare. By this treaty, John agreed to desist from erecting a fortress at Tweedmouth, and William engaged to deliver his two daughters to John, to be married to John's two sons, and to pay within two years fifteen thousand marks.* Evidently the old king was wearing out, and desired to secure a peaceful succession for his young son. According to Fordun, Alexander, the son of William, rendered at Alnwick Castle the same homage and fealty to John, which had formerly been paid by his predecessors to the English kings.†

Other darker clouds were now gathering around the faithless king of England. He had quarrelled with the pope and involved himself and the kingdom in difficulty and disaster; and he had alienated the affections of his subjects by his oppressive exactions, by his avarice, lust, and cruelty. After infamously hanging twenty-eight sons of the Welsh nobility, who had been entrusted to him as hostages,‡ he was about to march into Wales with a numerous army to destroy it with fire and sword, when he was startled with the intelligence, that the pope had absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and that a conspiracy amongst his barons had been formed against him. In great alarm, he dismissed his forces and retired for safety to London. He thence despatched messengers to all suspected barons, commanding them to give to him their sons or relatives, as hostages for their fidelity. All dreading the cruel power of the tyrant complied, excepting Eustace de Vescy and Robert Fitz-Walter, who were accused as being principals in the conspiracy.

* Rymer, Vol. I., pp. 155, 275. Wendover, A.D. 1209.

† Fordun, l. VIII., c. 72. ‡ Wendover, A.D. 1212.

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The perfidiousness, tyranny, and cruelty of John were, of themselves, sufficient causes to induce high-minded nobles to seek the overthrow of his power; but Eustace de Vescy had also a private ground of quarrel. Knyghton, indeed, attributes to "this private offence the beginning and origin of the universal war and sedition;" according to him—that most notable knight Eustace de Vescy had a very fair and chaste wife, whom, by cunning, the king attempted to debauch. Sitting at table with Eustace, he seized a ring which was on his finger, and said he had a similar stone which he wished encircled by the same gold workmanship. Suspecting no evil, the ring was lent to the king, who immediately afterwards summoned a boy and sent him with the ring to the wife of Eustace, with a message that her lord was sick unto death, and desired her with all speed to hasten to London if she would see him alive. Her lord's ring was to the affectionate wife a guarantee of the truth of the message, and she immediately hastened to succour her lord. But the wicked design was frustrated, for Eustace while travelling met his wife by chance, on her way to London; and on being informed of the cause of her journey, he, knowing the treachery of the king, said—"Craftily are you summoned, that the king may dishonour you." In revenge for the insult, he caused a woman of ill fame to be dressed up in his wife's vestments and to meet the king at the appointed place. John was wont to glory in his shame, and when at table, he upbraided Eustace with his supposed dishonour; but, on being informed of the trick played upon him, he became enraged, and with an oath threatened Eustace with death. Eustace, however, escaped from the licentious tyrant, and retired to his northern strongholds, where he was joined by other barons whom the vile king had also sought to dishonour.* Eustace afterwards fled into Scotland. John demanded the Scottish king to give him up as a fugitive felon; but the brave old King William was too chivalrous to betray a man—his son-in-law too—who had sought his protection, and who as yet had not been convicted of a crime. Emerie, archdeacon of Durham, and Philip de Ulecote the sheriff of the county, were on the 27th of May, 1213, commanded by the king to destroy the castle of Alnwick, so that it would be useless to Eustace de Vescy;† but this was not carried into effect, for what reason we are not informed;

* Knyghton, (Twisden,) p. 2244. † Rot. Lit. Pat. p. 99.

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perhaps the king may not have wished to make Eustace an implacable foe, or caprice may have led him to annul the command.

The king visited Alnwick Castle again on January 26th, 1213; and on February 2nd, he was at Warkworth. It is not easy to discover the reason of this capricious king's movements; possibly, he at this time visited the north, that he might endeavour by his personal influence to produce a favourable feeling towards him in the minds of the northern barons. Not long afterwards, however, he was reconciled to Rome by becoming a vassal of the pope, and by engaging to restore to the barons, who had adhered to the pope, their estates. Respecting Eustace de Vescy we find it stated in one of the rolls dated Winton, 21 July, 1213, that unless the king restored to him all his hereditaments, he would again fall under the sentence of excommunication.* The sheriff, therefore, was commanded on July 19th, 1213, to give Eustace de Vescy full seisen of all his lands, fees, castles, and other liberties; and soon afterwards, the oxen and horses which had been taken from him, and his arms which were in Alnwick Castle were restored to him. A more kindly feeling to Eustace seems to have grown up in the king's mind; for in 1215, he commanded the sheriff to give "to our beloved and faithful Eustace de Vescy" the liberties with his dogs in the forest of Northumberland, which he was formerly accustomed to enjoy.

This courtesy, however, did not prevent Eustace de Vescy joining the great confederation of barons, who, in 1215, forced from the English king the celebrated Magna Charta; and he was one of the twenty-five barons, who were appointed its conservators, and entrusted with extensive powers to enforce the observance of its conditions. After granting this charter, John became sullen and melancholy. Accustomed to tyrannise, he could not submit to fulfil his obligations; and he retired to the Isle of Wight, brooding over schemes for inflicting revenge and regaining power. He sought the aid of the pope, and hired foreign mercenaries; and having subdued several strongholds in the south, he marched against the northern barons.

The brave old King William had died on December 4th, 1214, and his son Alexander, a youth only fifteen years of age, was on the Scottish throne. The northern barons

* Cal. Rot., 15 John, Mem. 10.

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sought his protection, and did homage to him at Felton, on the 22nd of October, 1215.* He had previously invested Norham; but as that stout castle could not be taken after being assaulted forty days, the siege was raised. Enraged at these proceedings, John pursued his march with great expedition in the depth of winter. His mercenaries, as he advanced, committed horrible ravages, destroying by fire and sword the houses, towns, and lands of the confederated barons. In the course of a week, he burnt Mitford, Morpeth, Wark, and Alnwick;† and crossing into Scotland, Roxburgh and the villages around shared the same fate. The castle and town of Berwick he took; and a hired band of professional tormentors inflicted on the inhabitants the most horrible cruelties. He burnt Dunbar and Haddington, and laid waste the Lothians. Alexander, the Scottish king, encamped with a great army on the river Esk, near Pentland, with the design of intercepting him; but John would not risk a battle; the English king was more in his element among scenes of rapine and among defenceless women and children, than on the battle-field. He returned the way he came, and his footsteps were marked with blood. Coldingham Abbey he plundered; Berwick he burnt down; and so base was he, that he set fire with his own hands to the house in which he had lodged. Alexander, unable to impede the progress of the English king, too faithfully imitated his atrocities; entering England on the western border, he ravaged Cumberland, and plundered the abbey of Holmcultram.‡

The combined power of John and the pope proved too strong for the confederated barons and the Scottish king; the barons, therefore, reduced to extremity and in despair, offered their allegiance to Philip, king of France, if he would deliver them from their detested sovereign. French aid, and the desertion of part of John's mercenary soldiers, enabled the barons to make Louis, the Dauphin, master of a great part of England. Alexander, on being summoned, marched again into England with a powerful army, committing depredations on the lands of the adherents of the English king. He was joined by the northern barons, among whom was

* Chron. Mailros.

† Chron. Mailr. Abbey, p. 190, which says, on the 11th of January the vill of Wark was burnt; on the 9th, Alnwick; on the 7th, Mitford and Morpeth; on the 16th, Roxburgh, with many little villages.

‡ Fordun, l. IX., c. 28.

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Eustace de Vescy. This army had advanced into Durham and invested Barnard Castle, which belonged to Hugh de Baliol; and while reconnoitreing the defences of the place, Eustace de Vescy was mortally wounded by the shot of a cross-bow from the walls of the castle,* which pierced his brain, and he died on the spot. His death was mourned by his brother-in-law, the Scottish king, and was felt as a heavy blow to the cause of the confederated barons.

Not long after, on the 19th of October, 1216, England was delivered from her perilous condition by the death of John, unquestionably the most odious tyrant that ever filled the English throne.

Eustace was only forty-five years of age when he died. He was married at Roxburgh, in 1193, to Margery, or Margaret, as she is called in one of the charters of Alnwick Abbey, the illegitimate daughter of William the Lion, king of Scotland, and by her he left one son, William de Vescy. In 1173, he paid to the sheriff £6 18s. 5d. for purpresture, that is making an enclosure from the king's demesne or forest; and, in 1208, he obtained from King John a grant of a port at Auenemue (Alnmouth), of a market there on every Wednesday, and of a fair on St. Edmund's Day (the 20th of November,) and on the day following.†

Eustace passed his life actively engaged in political movements and incessant warfare; and slain when still in the prime of life, he had neither the time nor the repose, which might have led to the foundation of many religious or charitable establishments. He, however, founded the chapel of St. Leonard's in the parish of Alnwick, for the soul of his wife's grandfather Malcolm and his son Edward. With his wife Margery, he obtained the manor of Sprouston; and the monks there agreed that Eustace and his wife might build a chapel in the courts of Sprouston, where they might have divine service. Eustace confirmed to the monks all their possessions in Sprouston; and granted to the monks of Kelso, in perpetual alms, an annuity of twenty shillings out of the mills at Sprouston to light their church, in lieu of the tithes of the mill, on condition of the monks receiving him and his wife into the society of their house, absolving the souls of his father and mother, and making them partakers for ever of all the spiritual privileges of the house.

* Chron. Dunstable. Wendover. † Cal. Rot. Cart.

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## WILLIAM DE VESCY.

Eustace de Vescy dying an enemy to his sovereign, his estates were forfeited. One half of his lands was bestowed by King John in the last year of his reign, on Philip de Ulecot, then sheriff of Northumberland, and the other half on William de Harecurt, his seneschal.* On the death of the king, the mother of William de Vescy sent her son, heir of Eustace and then a minor, to the earl of Pembroke, who was regent of England during the minority of Henry III. But in 1218, the king committed to William de Duston and Ralph de Norwich, the custody of Alnwick Castle and of the lands which belonged to Eustace de Vescy during the will of the king. In the following year, he granted to his uncle the earl of Salisbury, not only the custody of these lands, but also the wardship and marriage of the heir to the barony of Alnwick. And, in the exercise of this privilege, the earl gave his daughter in marriage to William de Vescy,† the young heir. The castle, however, was retained for some time longer in the custody of Edward de Tyes.

Though England was rent with factions during the feeble reign of Henry III., yet fortunately for Northumberland, there was peace along the Borders, which was due to the friendly feeling between the Scottish and English monarchs, arising from the marriage of Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, to Alexander, the king of Scotland. William de Vescy, however, seldom appears on the public stage; he passed his life in obscurity, but he may nevertheless have been a good and useful man, devoted to the improvement of his estates and of the people who dwelt upon them; for history has been more busy in blazoning forth splendid crimes, than in recording the virtues of private life. With the king he seems to have been a favourite, for in 1244 he procured a grant of five bucks and ten does, to be taken out of the king's parks in Northumberland, to store his own park at Alnwick. In 1251 he obtained a grant of a fair and market at Chatton, and a fair and market at Alnmouth.‡

* Rot. Lit. Claus.

† A William de Vescy is in the list collected by Mr. Wiffen, of crusaders who accompanied Richard I. to the Holy Land in 1191; but this must be a different person from the baron of Alnwick, who was a minor in 1218. He may have been the William de Vescy who witnesses a charter of the first baron William de Vescy, and who is designated "meo fratre."

‡ Cal. Rot. Lit.

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He died in 1252. His first wife Isabella, who died before him and left no issue, was buried in Alnwick Abbey; but by his second wife Agnes, the daughter of William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, he left issue two sons, John and William. He permitted the Carmelite monks to inhabit and possess the site of Holn Abbey; and to Alnwick Abbey he gave Scurlwood and many other goods. To the burgesses of Alnwick he granted a charter confirming their privileges.

The "Testa de Neville or Liber Feodorum," which contains the names of the vills, sergeantries, and knights fees, taken by inquisition in the time of Henry III. and Edward I., gives authentic information, not only of the Vescy property held under the king in chief at this period, but also of the subfeudations under the mesne lord.* The document being important, I give a translation of that portion which relates to the Northumberland possessions, retaining, however, the original spelling of names.

"BARONY OF DE VESCY.

William de Vescy holds in chief of the lord the king, Aunewic, Auneimuwe, Denwyc, Haukehall, Bylton, Letebyre, Schipplingbothill, Neuton upon the Moor, Heysand, Gynis, Ruggeley, Morewyc, East Chivington, Great Houtton, Little Houtton, Howyc, Renington, Rok, North Charleton, South Charleton, Falwedon, Burneton, Batayll, Neuton on the Sea, Preston, Tughall, Swinhou, Neuham, Cumyn, Lukre with Hopum its member, Hetheriston, Spinlistan, Bodhill, Ewrth, Dodington with Nesebit its member, Horton, Turbervill, Hesilrig, Leum, Chatton, Folebery, Wetwod, Caldemerton, Yherdhill, Angerham with Reveley and Hertishevid its members, Randon, Batayll, Prendewic, Alneham, Chirmundisden, Bidlisden, Clenhill, Nedderton, Burweton, Alwemton, Hetton, Ambell, Scharberton, Thirnum, Sc'nenwood,† Hauekislawe, Chevelingham, and Hibburn.

Of the same William, Richard de Hauekehill holds Hauekehill by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Hervey de Bilton holds Bilton by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Robert de Hilton holds Schiplingbehill, Neuton, Haysand, Gynis, and Renington, by two fees of ancient feoffment.

Reynerus Teutonicus holds Ruggeley by a fourth of one fee of new feoffment.

Hugh de Morewic holds Morewyc and East Chivington by one fee and a half of ancient (feoffment.)

* In the next chapter some account will be given of these tenures.

† Screnwood.



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John Harengs holds Little Houtton by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Adam Rybaud holds Howyc by one fee of ancient feoffment.

William de Rok holds Rok by half a fee of ancient feoffment.

Roger, son of Ralph, holds North Charleton and Hetheriston by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Simon de Lucre holds Luker with Hopum its member, Suth Charleton, and Falwedon, by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Walter Bataill holds Burneton and Preston by one fee of ancient feoffment.

John de Viscount holds Neuton on the Sea and Yherdhill by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Roger Carbunel holds one fourth part of Swinhou by one fourth part of one fee of ancient feoffment.

David Comyn holds Neuham by half a fee of ancient feoffment.

Philip de la Ley holds a moiety of Spinlistan and of Bodhill by half a fee of ancient feoffment.

William de Coleville holds the other moiety of the aforesaid vills by half a fee of ancient feoffment.

Ranulf Brun holds three parts of Ewrth by the third part of one fee of ancient feoffment.

Hugo de Bolbec holds Dodington, Wetwood, and Nesebit, by one fee of ancient feoffment.

William Turbervill holds Horton by half a fee of ancient feoffment.

William de Folebyry holds Folebyry, Caldmerton, and Hesilrig, by one fee of ancient feoffment.

Gilbert de Humframvill holds Alwenton, Bidlisden, Clenhill, Chirmundisden, Scharberton, Thirmum, Burwedon, Neddirton, Raudham, and Angerham, by two fees of ancient feoffment, and by one gosshawk (*austurcum sorum.*)

Walter Bataill and Thomas Bunte hold Sc'nenwood by the third part of one fee of ancient feoffment.

Robert de Clifford holds Hetton by half a fee of ancient feoffment.

Robert de Muschamp holds Chevelingham and Hibburn by free marriage.

The heirs of Eustace de Manners hold Leum, excepting two oxgangs* of land, by the third part of one fee of ancient feoffment.

Germanus de Leum holds two oxgangs of land in the same by the eighteenth part of one fee of ancient feoffment."

The seal of William de Vescy is appended to his grant to the burgesses of Alnwick. The arms are described in a heraldic roll as "Goules, a ung croix patonce d'argent"—*Plate IV., fig.* 1.

* See note p. 78.

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## JOHN DE VESCY.

John de Vescy, son and heir of William, was born on the 15th of August, 1244; and being only eight years old when his father died, the custody of the lands to which he was heir, and of the castle and manor of Alnwick, was committed by the king to Peter de Savoy, "until the legitimate heir was of age." His mother Agnes had for her dower Tuggal, in the county of Northumberland, and the lordships of Malton and Langton, in Yorkshire, which after her decease, passed into the custody of the king.

According to the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, John de Vescy was twice married; first to Agnes, daughter of Manfred Saluz, "who was nursed in the chamber of the queen of England, wife of the illustrious Henry III.;" and next to Lady Isabella de Beaumont, allied to the queen of England, "and this Isabella survived him and did many good deeds."

For some years, during the reign of Henry III., friendly feelings were maintained between England and Scotland; and in 1249, the first series of "border laws" providing for the administration of justice and regulating the intercourse of the inhabitants of the border-lands, were reduced to writing.* So strong were these feelings, that when Scotland, during the minority of her king, was, through the turbulence of her lawless nobles reduced to a state of anarchy, Henry, king of England, was requested to lend his friendly aid to restore order and confidence to the distracted nation. For this purpose he went to the Scottish border in 1255; and on his return, rested at Alnwick Castle on the 23rd of September in the same year, when he left full powers to the earl of Gloucester and John Maunsel to treat and conclude in his name with all manner of Scots persons.

The feeble character, capricious temper, and arbitrary will of Henry III. roused the barons of England to rebellion. Headed by Simon de Montford, the great earl of Leicester, they wrested the power out of the king's hands, and under the regulations called "the Oxford Provisions," established a council of twenty-four, to whom in effect was given the government of the kingdom. The indiscreet exercise of their enormous power led, however, to a reaction in the king's favour. Civil war ensued; John de Vescy took part with the barons, and his name was subscribed to a letter sent in 1263 from the barons, consenting to refer the dispute to the

* Some account of these laws will be given in another chapter.

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decision of the king of France. At the battle of Lewes, when the royalists were overthrown, and the king and his son the gallant Prince Edward were taken prisoners, a Percy fought for the king, and John de Vescy the lord of Alnwick on the side of the barons. The power of Montford and of the council was brought to an end by the decisive and bloody battle of Evesham, fought on the 4th of August, 1265, when the earl of Leicester and his son, and most of the barons associated with him, were slain; but John de Vescy, who fought with them, was wounded and taken prisoner.* The fall of Montford was deeply mourned by the people of England, by whom he was regarded as the great champion of freedom, and as a martyr to liberty. Though his remains were brutally mutilated by the royalists, yet were they revered by the people as sacred relics. Long after his death, he was spoken of as "Sir Simon the Righteous." John de Vescy his friend brought with him, after his liberation from captivity, the foot of this sainted hero, and deposited it in Alnwick Abbey; and there it was enclosed in a silver slipper, and regarded as a most valuable relic, endowed with the power of miraculously curing diseases. This distinguished statesman was connected by property with the district around Alnwick. He was possessed of the barony of Embleton, and in 1257, obtained a charter to hold a market and fair at "Emeldon;" and in 1256, a charter to enclose Shipley wood, which was within the forest of Northumberland.†

After this royal triumph, the estates of John de Vescy were confiscated, and he was ejected as a rebel from Alnwick Castle and barony, by an act of a parliament which met at Winchester. Enraged by this punishment, he entered into a new combination with other rebellious barons in the north, and by force seized on Alnwick Castle and barony; but Prince Edward advanced with a large army, laid siege to the castle, and soon reduced John de Vescy to such straits, that he was compelled to yield up the castle and to throw himself on the clemency of the prince.‡ In the pipe roll we find

* Chron. Rishanger, p. 47. † Cal. Rot. Cart.

‡ Fordun, l. X., c. 20. Wicke's Chron., p. 78. A reference to this siege in one of the rolls presents a sad picture of the lawless condition of Northumberland. William de Duglas was charged by Gilbert de Umfraville, lord of Redesdale, and John de Herlaw, of giving false intelligence to the prince in the siege of Alnwick Castle, and of being an enemy to the king. Duglas held the manor of Fawdon as subfeudatory of Umfraville, by service of half a knight's fee; and Umfraville

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that the king, by writ, ordered fifty-three marks to be paid to the prince towards his expenses, when in the north besieging Alnwick Castle.* John de Vescy was pardoned; and his accomplices, alarmed at the result, abandoned their rebellious attempt. In the following year, 1266, the "Dictum de Kenilworth," sanctioned by the king and parliament was published, in which more lenient terms were offered to the rebellious barons. John de Vescy accepted the gracious offer; and on the payment of a fine, amounting to a few years rent, he was restored to his estates.

Feeling possibly remorse for his turbulence and rebellion, or influenced by the chivalrous character of Prince Edward, he went with him in 1270 to the Holy Land.† As a crusader John de Vescy held an honourable position. When Prince Edward was wounded by an assassin with a poisoned weapon, he stood by his side, as the skilful chirurgeon cut away the gangrened flesh from his arm.‡

On his return to England John de Vescy was made governor of Scarborough Castle. In the 8th of Edward I. he rendered into the hands of the king, forty librates of lands in "Alnemue, of the value of £40; eleven librates and ninty-six acres in Swynhoe, value £11 8s. 3¾d.; eighty-seven librates and one hundred and eleven and a quarter acres in Hocton, value £87 9s. 3d.; two hundred and twenty-nine acres in Seyton, value 19s. 1d.; and eighty-six librates and one hundred and fourteen and three-quarter acres in Lessebury, value £86 9s. 6d." These were committed to the custody of William de Ippel, "as long as the king pleased;" and they were afterwards granted again by charter from the king to John and his wife; on the death of John they were resumed by the king and then again bestowed by him on Isabella.§ These lands were part of her dower. This record shews that a *librate* expressed value, or

sought to have this manor to himself, which the prince granted, provided he could prove the charge. But after an investigation, Duglas was pronounced innocent, and the sheriff was ordered to restore to him the manor; but Umfraville and Herlaw sent one hundred enemies of the king from Redesdale, who carried off all the goods and chattels of Duglas, and nearly cut off his head with a sword. These lawless barons, however, escaped unpunished as sufficient legal evidence could not be produced to prove their complicity in this outrage. Abb. Plact. Rot. 28, in dorso.

* Pipe Roll, 53 Henry III.

† Chron. Hemingford, l. III., cap. 35.

‡ Knyghton, p. 2438.

§ Cal. Rot. Cart., &c.

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as much land as was worth one pound yearly; and as it further appears, that land in this district was then worth one penny per acre yearly, a librate must have contained two hundred and forty acres.*

In most of the military movements of the time John de Vescy took a part. Knyghton says, King Henry sustained great wars in Gascony twice, where the first war was moved by Bernard de Bleynes, and was indeed finished by John Vaus and John de Vescy at that time.† John de Vescy's last campaign was in 1288, with Edward I. in France, who was engaged in hostilities with some of his French subjects; and he died while there at Mount Pestulan in Gascony. Allan Abbot of Alnwick Abbey, caused his bones to be brought to England, and they were buried on the 26th February, 1288, with great honour in Alnwick Conventual Church. By charter he endowed Holn Abbey, and he confirmed all the gifts bestowed by his father on the monastery of Alnwick; "and many greater," charitably says the chronicler, "he would have bestowed on us had he survived a little time."

Previous to his time the Vescys of Alnwick, were barons by tenure; but he was also a baron by writ, as he was so summoned by the king to the parliament, held on the 14th of December, 1264, in the 49th of Henry III.

## WILLIAM DE VESCY.

John de Vescy dying without issue, his brother William succeeded to the barony of Alnwick and his other possessions.

* This confirms the accuracy of the rendering of Cowel and Blount; "with us" they say, "a librate is so much land as is yearly worth twenty shillings." Skene says that a librate contains four oxgangs, and every oxgang thirteen acres; but this definition is not consistent with the ascertained acreage of a librate in the Alnwick district. In England the oxgang varies from eight to thirty acres; and unlike the librate, it cannot be considered dependant on value. In the the same district we find the oxgang differing 50 per cent., and rating by oxgang was abolished in South Durham for the very reason that the oxgang consisted of the same quantity of acres whether the land was good or bad. It has been suggested, that the customary number of oxen to the team has much to do with the matter; where they were not alternate, the extent of the oxgang would be much less. It is here presumed, that while the carucate was what one plough could cultivate in the year, the oxgang was the supposed capability of each unit of the team. Sufficient pasture for the keep of the oxen was probably included in the computation. Near Darlington certain meadows were divided into *oxgang rights*.

† Knyghton, p. 2429.

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He was born on the 13th of October, 1245; and living only nine years after becoming lord of Alnwick, his history presents few facts of much interest. He is chiefly memorable as a candidate for the Scottish throne; as the last of his family connected with Alnwick; and as the last baron who gave property and privileges to the burgesses of Alnwick. By his sovereign, however, he was held in great esteem; in the 13th of Edward I., he was appointed justice of all the king's forests. Subsequently he was made a justice in Ireland, where, through his mother, he inherited lands; and on the death of his brother's wife Isabella, he succeeded to the government of Scarborough Castle. In the years 1294, 1295, and 1296, he was employed by the king in the Gascony wars, and on one occasion, he was accompanied by his son John.

The fierce manners and rude jurisprudence of the period are curiously illustrated by the proceedings in a law suit to which he was a party in 1293. While in the open court in the city of Dublin, (acting as I suppose as judge) he was accused by John Fitz-Thomas of felony. William de Vescy commenced a suit against his defamer at Dublin, before the chief justice and king's counsel, charging him with saying that William de Vescy had solicited Fitz-Thomas to join in a confederacy against the king. This, Fitz-Thomas denied, and after delivering into court a schedule of the words he had used, he challenged De Vescy to a judicial combat; and this challenge was accepted. The king, having been informed of these proceedings, commanded both the litigants to appear before him, prepared for combat. William de Vescy came at the appointed time, mounted on his great horse and completely armed with lance, dagger, coat of mail, and other military accoutrements, ready to enter the lists against his antagonist. Fitz-Thomas was called but did not appear; and De Vescy then demanded judgment against his defamer. A decision, however, was not then given, but the hearing of the case was adjourned till the next meeting of parliament at Westminster. Both barons then appeared and the case was fully argued, and it being determined that no default was to be imputed to Fitz-Thomas for errors in the proceedings, both parties were at liberty to begin new actions. Fitz-Thomas declined to revive the quarrel and submitted himself to the king. What was further done is not known; but probably the king, wiser than these turbulent barons, was unwilling that a trifling quarrel should cause bloodshed,

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or that a dispute should be left to the uncertain and barbarous arbitrement of a duel.*

William de Vescy being a claimant of the Scottish throne, some brief notice of the events causing him to make that claim is required. The death of Alexander III., by a fall from his horse, in A.D. 1286, was followed by deep sorrow and disorder in Scotland, and led to a terrible effusion of both Scottish and English blood. All Alexander's children were dead, and his only descendant was Margaret, the infant daughter of Margaret his own daughter and of Eric king of Norway. The mother died soon after the birth of her child. There was, however, a happy prospect of the union of England and Scotland by the marriage of this infant queen, with Edward the son of the English monarch. But, alas! Margaret died on one of the Orkney islands when on her way from Norway to Scotland. Edward I. had conquered Wales and annexed it to his dominions, and it was the cherished wish of his heart to bring the whole island under his sway. This, however, he could not now effect by honest or honourable means; the prize was glittering, and he could not resist the temptation—and to obtain possession he resorted to deception, finesse, and brute force. There was no near heir to the Scottish throne; and in the unsettled state of the law of succession, it was doubtful who was the true heir. Scotland was weak and torn by factions; but Edward was able and had at his command the resources of a powerful kingdom—and he unscrupulously claimed, as lord paramount over Scotland, the right to decide who should sit as a vain pageant on the throne; for he was determined, whoever might be nominal king, all real power should be exercised by himself. There were but three candidates for whose claims any reasonable grounds could be urged; but through the secret management of Edward, the number was increased to thirteen, with the intention of giving greater complication to the question at issue, and to exhibit the greater necessity of referring the adjudication to himself. One of these claimants was William de Vescy, the lord of Alnwick, who based his pretensions on being a descendant of Margaret an illegitimate daughter of William the Lion, king of Scotland. In Rymer's Fœdera is the following statement of his claim:—

"William, king of Scotland, was the father of King Alexander, who reigned after him.

* Dugdale's Bar., Vol. I., p. 98.

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And the same Alexander was the father of Alexander the Second, who reigned afterwards, and married Margaret, the daughter of the illustrious Henry, king of England, by whom he had a daughter Margaret, who was afterwards married to the king of Norway.

And the king and queen of Norway had a daughter, whom they called Margaret; and she was heiress of Scotland, but she died without issue of her own body, being a minor at her decease.

Now, the same William, king of Scotland, was the father of Margery, the sister of the already mentioned King Alexander.

And Margery was married to Eustace de Vescy, by whom he had William de Vescy, who died in Gascony; and the same William was father of John de Vescy, who died without heirs of his own body; and William de Vescy, the brother of John, now petitions for the kingdom of Scotland, as being most nearly allied by blood to the already mentioned Margaret, who died without any heirs from himself, and by whose death the kingdom ought to revert to William, who now petitions for it in this manner."

This claim, however, was frivolous, for Margery was illegitimate, and by no rule of succession could inherit the kingdom. The decision of Edward in favour of Baliol—the enslavement of Scotland for a time—the heroism of Wallace, and his infamous execution, belong to the general history of the kingdom.

Alnwick, during the period, appears on one occasion in the page of history. A few weeks after the battle of Stirling in 1297, the heroic Sir William Wallace led his forces across the borders; his principal reason for this invasion is said to have been the extreme dearth and scarcity prevailing in Scotland, arising from inclement weather and the calamities of war. The head-quarters of his army was the forest of Rothbury, whence, as from a centre, the Scots spread themselves over Northumberland, killing many of the inhabitants, and collecting great spoils. They trampled upon and wasted all Northumberland, even to Newcastle, and continued burning and plundering from the feast of All Saints till Martinmas, meeting with little opposition excepting in the neighbourhood of Alnwick Castle, and other fortresses, the garrisons of which sent out parties to attack, and cut off the rear of the marauders.*

William de Vescy died at Malton at the vigil of St. Margaret the Virgin, in the year 1297; he was married to Isabella Wells, daughter of Robert Perington, and widow of

* Hemingford. Fordun, l. XI., c. 29.



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Robert Lord Wells; and by her he had one son John, who was born on the 14th of September, 1269, and who died in his father's lifetime at Conway, on the 27th of April, 1295. He left also an illegitmate son William.

Though there may be much in the conduct of the De Vescys of which our modern civilisation may disapprove, yet judged by the general character of their own times, we cannot but admit that most of them were great men—historic personages—statesmen as well as warriors, playing prominent parts in important national movements, and leaving an impress of their power on society. Grasping they were after great possessions—and they obtained them; the crown was indeed, glad to confer large possessions for large military services, though royalty was sometimes chagrined when they were rendered in the cause of liberty. The Vescys were not miserly owners; their gifts to the church were large; they shewed respect to the ancient rights of the people, to their folc-lands, though, as in the case of Alnwick, confirming these rights under new feudal conditions; to their vassals they dealt out the lands, of which they had the primary seisen, in a liberal spirit, creating or confirming over the district a very numerous body of proprietors, holding lands varied in extent, under different tenures. This may have been a necessity of the times; yet it contrasts with the condition of the district in aftertimes, when we find the greater part of these proprietors had been swept away.

The pedigree of the De Vescys will appear hereafter, along with that of the Percys.

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# CHAPTER VI.

## CASTLE, BARONY, AND TOWN OF ALNWICK DURING THE DE VESCY PERIOD.

NORMAN CASTLE—NORMAN TOWN—ROYAL VISITS—INQUISITION INTO THE VALUE OF THE BARONY—KNIGHTS' FEES—DEMESNE LANDS—BONDMEN AND COTMEN—SOCAGE FREEHOLDERS—DEED OF CONVEYANCE OF A HOUSE IN NARROWGATE—DRENGAGE—ROYAL INQUIRY INTO FEUDAL USAGES—KNIGHTS TEMPLAR—KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM—ALNWICK CHARTERS—BOROUGH SEAL—BOUNDER OF ALNWICK MOOR—ALNWICK A CORPORATE TOWN—CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD.

With William de Vescy the reign of the De Vescys over Alnwick came to an end, at the close of the thirteenth century. From the conquest to this time, two hundred and twenty-three years had gone by—forming an important era in the history of the nation; but at its close the feudal system was breaking up, the commons were rising out of bondage; the reform of law, initiated by the great barons in the reign of John, had been carried forward by Edward the English Justinian; the different conflicting elements of which the nation was composed, had been nearly fused into one people; and the noble composite language, which the English now speak, had to a considerable extent assumed its peculiar form and character. We may, therefore, pause here in our general history, to notice the state of the castle of Alnwick, of the town, and of the people during that era.

Undoubtedly the town existed from the earliest period of Norman history; and from the phraseology of the charter of Henry II. to William de Vescy, it may be inferred that a castle was there when Yvo de Vescy was baron of Alnwick.* Probably he began the work; for we can scarcely suppose

* "Ad tenendum de me in capite Castrum de Alnewyco et totum honorem qui fuit Ivonis de Vesci."

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that a barony so extensive as Alnwick, in the midst of a warlike and hostile population, and near to the borders, and exposed, therefore, to foreign aggression, would be long without the protection of a Norman stronghold. Eustace Fitz-John, however, completed the work; for we find it described in 1135, "munitissimum castellum," a very strongly fortified castle. During the De Vescy period it attained its greatest massiveness and strength; and covered as large an area of ground as the present castle. Formed according to the plan generally adopted by the Normans, it was one of the proudest and most important strongholds of the period—the dwelling, the fortress, the prison of a great baron. It was, however, not the earliest Norman castle in the north; Durham Castle was built by the conqueror in 1072, Newcastle by his son Robert in 1080, Carlisle by Rufus in 1092; that of Norham was erected by Bishop Flambard in 1121.

The principal part was the donjon or keep, which in most Norman castles in England, was a large massive square or oblong tower, of three or four stories height, with small narrow windows and walls of immense thickness. The keep at Alnwick stood on an elevated mound on the north side of a bailey, which was as large as that connected with the present castle, and was enclosed and defended by a wall strengthened at intervals by mural towers. The area of the whole was about five acres, and would afford sufficient space for military exercises. A ditch defended the donjon, and another ditch the encircling wall. As in the present castle, the old entrance would be on the west, carefully guarded by massive gates with portcullis, which could be dropped on any emergency; and this defence would be further strengthened by towers, having the various contrivances of the age for annoying an assailant. From the remains of a great Norman gateway, which seems to have led into an inner court, and from discoveries made by Mr. F. R. Wilson while the castle was recently in course of restoration, it may be inferred, that the De Vescy keep was similar in extent and arrangement to that reconstructed by the Percys. A retaining wall of Norman masonry was found on the inner side of the ditch, circling round the keep; and the foundations too, of round Norman towers were observed. This keep, therefore, differed in some respects from the common Norman type, and resembled those of a later age, in being composed of a series of rounded towers grouped around an inner court or ward. Here lived the great baron and his family,

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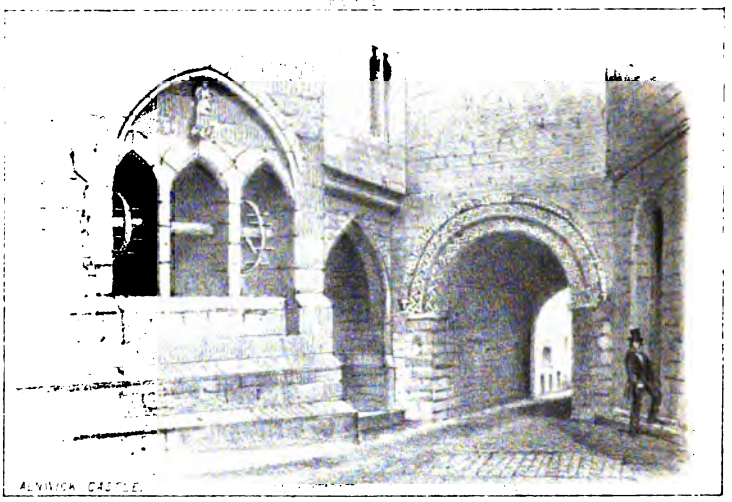
FIG. 1



ARCH OF THE NORMAN KEEP ERECTED ABOUT AD 1140
AND PERCY DRAW WELL.

FIG. 2

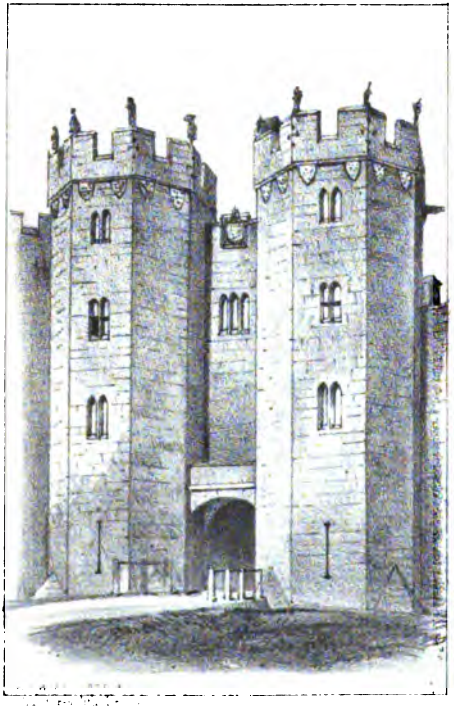
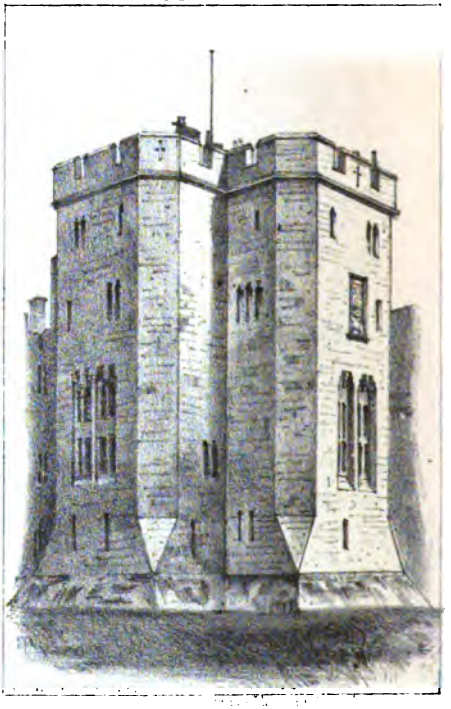


FIG. 3



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and his principal vassals; and as being the strongest part of the fortress, the garrison would here find refuge when other defences were taken. In the erection of such strongholds, security was the great object to be attained; safe this castle may have been, yet it was a gloomy residence, a grim building, looking stern and defiant, and boasting of few of the appliances of civilised life; yet within its great hall the music of the harp and the song of the minstrel would hush, for a while, the loud and boisterous revelry of the rude feudal soldiery.

Standing on the south bank of the Aln, on a kind of peninsula formed by the junction of the Bow-burn with the river, the site of this great castle had some natural advantages. On the north, the river with its high steep bank was a strong defence; and along the south and east sides ran the Bow-burn, which though but a tiny stream, yet when swollen with rains from the hills, rushed down with a force which had hollowed out of the sand and gravel a deep channel, especially on the eastern side of the castle. This channel was converted into a moat or ditch; and the defences were completed by an artificial ditch cut between the Bow-burn and the steep bank of the river; and as this ran along the western side of the castle, it gave an additional protection to the gateway.

This castle has been subject to so much destruction by war and by time, and to so many alterations and renovations, that we cannot expect to find much of the Norman work remaining. However, some portions of the present castle, marked by even courses of small stones, belong to this period; the lower part of the wall between the Abbot's and Armourer's Towers is Norman;* the wall from the Postern to the Constable's Towers in its lower part is Norman; and the greater part of the wall between the Chancellor's and Record Towers in its lower part is also Norman. Possibly some portions may be the work of Yvo de Vescy in the early part of the twelfth century. Of this period, however, the most interesting remain is the archway of the donjon or keep, which is semicircular and ornamented with rich zigzag mouldings, characteristic of later Norman architecture; and indicating that this work had been done by Eustace de Vescy about the year 1140—*Plate V., fig.* 1. Distinct

* The Armourer's and Falconer's Towers, together with the Norman wall connecting them, were pulled down in 1860.

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Norman work in the walls at three points, distant from each other, prove that the old Norman castle had the same general outline as the present one. In the ground plan—*Plate IV., fig. 2.*—of the castle as renovated by the Percys, those portions which are of the Norman period are marked *a*.

If Alnwick had not existed in the Saxon times, the erection of this huge castle would have caused a town to spring up. Numerous artisans would be required to carry on the works; houses would be built for their occupation; and a trading community located to supply to them the necessaries of life; while again the cultivators of the soil would raise their humble dwellings under the protection of the stronghold. Doubtless, however, the collection of house-steads forming the Saxon vill became now very considerably increased in number, and raised Alnwick to the dignity of a town. It was still an open town without defences of its own; we know it was burnt down by the heartless King John; and very probably it suffered many calamities which are not recorded, during the fitful warfare along the borders. Of one trade, we obtain a glimpse from the public records, which indicates that the town had become important; in 1181, in the 27th of Henry II., Yvo Cut of Alnwick paid the sheriff of the county half a mark for selling wine contrary to the assize; and John, son of Robert de Lahil, was guilty of the same offence and paid the same penalty. Two wine merchants at least supplied the burgesses of this early period with the fruit of the vine.* We learn too from an inquisition, that there was in 1296 an iron foundry or forge in Alnwick held by Thomas Bolt, who paid for it to Laurence de Seymour a yearly rent of twelvepence.†

* King John in 1199 enacted that no Poiton wine be sold at more than 4d. and no white wine at more than 6d. per gallon, and that inspectors be appointed in every city and borough in which wine was sold. Any vinter selling contrary to the assize was arrested by the sheriff and his goods sold on behalf of the king. The merchants, however, could not bear up against this ordinance; and leave was given to sell a gallon of white wine at 8d. and red wine at 6d. The effect of this legislation is thus quaintly stated by Hovedon—"and so the land was filled with drink and drinkers."

† Inquisition, 25 Edw. I. no. 13. "Inquisito facta apud Neuton per præceptum Domini Regis, coram Johanne de Lythegraynes, die Mercurii proximo ante Dominicam Palmarum anno regni Regis E. xxv." * * * * * * * * "Item Thomas Bolt tenuit de prœfato Laurentio [de Sancto Mauro] unam forgiam in Alnewyke, et reddit per annum xij denarios. Item operationes cotariorum valent per annum xijd."

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Of the houses of this early period in Alnwick we have no remains There were several ecclesiastical structures; a chapel was within the castle, which was served by a resident chaplain, who in the year 1189, 1st of Richard I., was paid by the sheriff of the county thirty shillings and fivepence for his fee. Alnwick Church was in existence in 1147, for in that year it was granted to Alnwick Abbey by Eustace Fitz-John. Basements of pillars with Norman mouldings, and part of the chancel arch with lozenge ornaments, belonging to this ancient church, have been recently discovered. The two great abbeys of Alnwick and Holn, and the hospital of St. Leonard's, were all founded during this period, chiefly by the piety and munificence of the De Vescys.

Alnwick was visited four times by King John—on the 12th of February, 1201; on the 24th of April, (Friday,) 1209; on the 26th of January, 1213; and on the 11th of January, 1216;* Henry III. was at Alnwick on the 23rd of September, 1256; Edward I., on his way from Scotland in 1291, was at Chatton on the 14th and 15th of August, and at Alnwick on the two following days, when he issued orders for payment to be made to the custodiers of the kingdom of Scotland, and granted a protection to the earl of Athol; he was again at Chatton on the 13th of December, 1292, and at Alnwick on the same day, where he issued orders for payment of the farm of the mills of Selkirk, Peebles, and at Traquair; and on the 16th he was at Tughalle.†

To shew the character of the property held in Alnwick and in the barony, and the names of the principal owners at successive periods, I shall give accounts, more or less complete, of various inquisitions made by royal authority on the death of the baron, or on the forfeiture of his lands by treason. A jury in such cases, under the direction of the king's escheator, investigated what lands the baron possessed, by what tenures held and their value, and what the true value of the knights' fees and of the advowson of churches. After the death of John de Vescy, two of these inquisitions were made at Alnwick in 1289 by Thomas de Normanville, the king's escheator beyond the Trent, before the following jurors, most of whom attended both inquisitions:—‡

* Pat. Rolls Itin. of King John. † Rot. Scot., Vol. I.

‡ As these have been printed in Hartshorn's Feudal Castles, I do not give the originals. I have retained the original spelling of the names of persons and places.

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"Robert de Gleintedone, William de Elwicke, Nicholas de Haukhille, Thomas de Rocke, Hugh de Tynedelye, Robert de Triclingtone, John Fitz-Payn, John de la Grene, Robert de Faludone, William de Doxforde, William Ribaud, Thomas de Haysande, John del Claye, Adam de Schipilbodille, &c. These jurors being sworn, said that John de Vescy died seized of

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The castle of Alnewicke and appurtenances, viz.: 129 acres 1 rood of land in demesne,* worth yearly, | 6 | 18 | 4½ |
| 20 bondmen in Alnewicke and Denewicke, each of whom holds 24 acres of land on bondage tenure and renders yearly 2 marcs,†—sum, | 26 | 13 | 4 |
| Of the same bondmen for the improvement of their lands, with the exchange of Gynfen, | 2 | 15 | 0 |
| Of 7 cotmen yearly, | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Of the farm of a certain mower of Alnewicke and Denewicke, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Of the farms of free tenants in Alnewicke and of the burgesses of this town, with three water mills, | 61 | 0 | 12 |
| Of the rents of Holn, to wit, of arable land, meadows, and pastures, yearly, | 11 | 19 | 6½ |
| Of Swynleys with appurtenances, in all, | 11 | 19 | 1 |
| The sum of this panel is £122 0 3¼. | | | |
| Of the vill of Houton, 'cum quadam frussura quæ vocatur le Merum,' pertaining to the said vill, to wit, demesne lands, bondagia, cottagia, mills, meadows and pastures, and rents, yearly, | 92 | 7 | 4½ |
| Of the vill of Lessebiry, to wit, of demesne lands, bondagia, cottagia, mills, meadows and pastures, and rents, yearly, | 82 | 14 | 3 |
| Of Alnemue, to wit, of the rents of the same vill, and of toll and prisage,‡ and rents, yearly, | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Of Swynhow and of rents, yearly, in all, | 9 | 6 | 8 |
| Sum of the second panel £214 8 3½. | | | |
| Of Chatton, to wit, of the demesne lands, farms of free tenants, of bondagia, cottagia, and of mills and rents, yearly, | 68 | 16 | 1½ |
| Of Alneham with shealings of this vill, and of a capital messuage, demesne lands, farms of free tenants, of bondmen, cotmen, and of mills, and of rents, yearly, | 51 | 7 | 6 |
| Of land in the vill of Wlloure, | 4 | 17 | 4 |
| Sum of the third panel £125 0 11½. | | | |

* The *dominium* or demesne, that part of a manor which the lord held in his own hand, and which was in part cultivated by his bondmen and cotmen.

† A marc was of the value of thirteen shillings and fourpence.

‡ Prisage, the share belonging to the king out of prizes taken at sea.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Annual rent of his own forest of Alnewicke, and of herbage, pannage,* and agistment,† . . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Perquisites of the courts in common years, . . | 4 | 0 | 0 |

Sum of this last panel £14.
Sum of the whole £475 9 6½.

The following given in an inquisition made on the 7th of May, 1289, is the account of the true value of the knights' fees and ecclesiastical advowsons:—

Gilbert de Umframvill holds of Lord John de Vescy 10 vills by service of two knights' fees, rendering yearly 26s. 8d., and they are worth yearly 300 marks, and are assigned to Lady Agnes de Vescy as her dower. John Comyn, holding lands in Norfolk and Suffolk in chief of the lord king, holds Neuham of Lord de Vescy by service of half a knight's fee, and renders yearly 6s. 8d.; and it is worth £40 per annum, and is assigned to Lady Agnes de Vescy. The heirs of Mornwicke, tenants in chief of the king, hold Mornwicke and Chyvingtone by service of one knight's fee and a half, and render yearly 20s.; and they are worth yearly £20, and are assigned to Lady Agnes de Vescy. The heirs of Folbiry hold Follebiry, Heselrige, Caldmartone, by one knight's fee, and render 13s. 4d.; and they are worth £40, and are assigned to Lady Agnes. Thomas de Rocke holds Rocke by half a knight's fee, and renders 6s. 8d.; it is worth £20 per annum, and is assigned to Lady Agnes de Vescy. The heirs of Bolbeke, holding of the king, hold Dodington with its members, and render 13s. 4d. yearly; and it is worth 100 marks yearly. Ralph Fitz-Roger holding in chief of the king, holds Chareltone and Edderstone by one knight's fee, and renders yearly 13s. 4d.; and they are worth yearly £40. Robert de Hilton holds Schipil-bodille with its members by service of two knights' fees, and renders 26s. 8d. yearly, and from increment of a tenement of Hugh Ribaud in Brokefield, 11½d.; and they are worth 100 marks yearly. The heirs of William de Middletone hold Burnetone, Prestone, Scranwode, by service of one knight's fee and one quarter, and render yearly 17s. 9½d.; and they are worth £40. Robert de Locre holds Locre, Chareltone, Faludone, Hoping, by one knight's fee, and renders 13s. 4d.; and they are worth £12 per annum. Nicholas de Hauckille holds Hauckille by one knight's fee, and renders 13s. 4d. yearly; and it is worth £12 yearly. Hervens de Biltone holds Biltone by one knight's fee, and renders yearly 13s. 4d.; and it is worth £13. William Ribaud and Robert Mantalaunt hold Howicke by one knight's

* *Pannagium*, from *paisson* (French), pasture, a payment for the right of feeding swine in the lord's forest.

† *Agistamentum*, a payment for the feeding or depasturing of cattle.



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fee, and render 13s. 4d.; and it is worth £20 yearly. Peter Harrang holds Little Houghtone by one knight's fee, and renders yearly 13s. 4d.; and it is worth £13 yearly. Laurence de Saint Maurus holds Neutone on the Sea and Yerdille by one knight's fee, and renders yearly 13s. 4d.; and they are worth £40. William de Coleville and Philip de lay Leye hold Bodel (and Spinnelstan) by service of one knight's fee, and render 13s. 4d.; and they are worth yearly £30. Morice de Eworthe holds Eworthe by service of a quarter of a knight's fee, and renders yearly 4s. 5½d.; and it is worth £20. John de Cambou holds Hortone by half a knight's fee, and renders 6s. 8d.; and it is worth yearly £10. The heirs of Hettone hold Hettone by service of half a knight's fee, and render 6s. 8d.; and it is worth £12 yearly. Hugo de (Strother?) holds Lyhum by one quarter of a knight's fee, and renders yearly 4s. 5½d.; and it is worth £12. Richard de Lyhum holds 40 acres of land in the same by one eighth of a knight's fee, and renders yearly 9d.; and they are worth 40s. yearly. Philip Fitz-Martin holds Bertewelle* for an eighth of a knight's fee, and renders yearly 23d.; and it is worth 20s. yearly. Also, (Henry de Swinho?) holds 24 acres of land in Swynho, and renders ——; and they are worth yearly 24s. Also, the jurors said on their oath, that John de Vescy had no advowson of any church in the county of Northumberland.

These inquisitions and the Testa de Neville shew the great extent of the barony possessed by the family of De Vescy. It consisted of sixty manors, chiefly lying in the neighbourhood of Alnwick; but though held directly from the king, they were burdened with heavy charges. There was no militia nor standing army; and those who possessed the land, were bound to defend it and attend the king when at war; for every knight's fee of which they held possession, they had to equip and maintain during war a man-at-arms for forty days.† And besides obligations of fealty and service to the king, they were subject to reliefs, fines, forfeiture, aids, and wardships.‡ No inconsiderable portion of the barony

* Hobberlaw.

† According to Hovedon, in A.D. 1181, there had to be kept for every knight's fee, a cuirass, helmet, shield, and lance; for every free layman having in chattels or rental sixteen marks yearly, a hauberk, an iron head piece, and lance; and for a burgess, an iron head piece and lance; and these arms were neither to be sold nor pledged.

‡ *Relief*, a sum of money paid on taking possession of land; the amount at first arbitrary, but fixed by Magna Charta at about one fourth of its yearly value; *fines*, paid on alienating lands; *forfeiture*, for treason or other crime; *aids*, paid

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however, had been granted by the lord to military vassals, who rendered for their lands similar services to the baron, as he did to the king. In the reign of Edward I. there were twenty-six of these sub-feudatories in the barony, who held lands varying in extent from one eighth part of a knight's fee to two knights' fees; the smallest being Bertewell (Hobberlaw), and the largest Shilbottle, held by the heirs of William Tyson. There was a wide difference both in the extent and value of these several knights' fees. Forty acres at Lyham were equivalent to one eighteenth of a knight's fee, and were of the yearly value of £2, so that according to this, a whole knight's fee would be seven hundred and twenty acres, and of the yearly value of £36; Bertewell, containing two hundred acres of land, makes a knight's fee sixteen hundred acres, and only £8 yearly in value; Rock, containing two thousand acres was half a knight's fee, and valued at £20; Bilton, with one thousand three hundred and forty-five acres was a whole knight's fee, and valued at £13; and Hawkhill, with seven hundred and twenty-three acres was also a whole knight's fee, and valued at £13. The value of a knight's fee at Budle, Newton, Brunton, Fowberry, and Charlton, was £40; in two cases, those of Newham and Eworth, the value was £80. We find that it was not beneath the dignity of a baron holding lands *in capite* from the king, to become the subfeudatory or vassal of another baron; John Comyn, a tenant in chief in Norfolk and Suffolk, was subfeudatory of the Vescys for Newham.

As the king retained for himself numerous manors to support his dignity and power, so did the baron of Alnwick retain in his own hands demesne lands, chiefly around his baronial residence; and he also parcelled out lands to various persons of low degree, on tenures not clogged by military service. In Alnwick, one hundred and twenty-nine acres and one rood constituted the demesne land of the baron; but similar lands were in his own possession at Houton, Lesbury, Chatton, and Alnham. There were only two military tenures in the parish of Alnwick, one at Bertewell or Hobberlaw, and the other at Rugley; the other lands, not in the lord's own hands, were either on free socage, on bondage, or on theinage and drengage tenures.

for various objects, such as on the marriage of the king's sons and daughters and even of his sisters, or for the king's ransom; *wardships* of heirs, a source of great profit to the king, as he enjoyed the revenues of the lands, and could obtain advantage from the marriage of an heir or heiress.

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We obtain no glimpse in Alnwick of serfs—the true slaves of the period, who had no interest in the land, and who could be sold like goods and chattels. Twenty bondmen were in Alnwick and Denwick, and there were several in all the various vills held by the baron. Their bondage, however, even at the earlier Norman period, was but of a modified kind. They held lands, on what is called *bondagium* or bondage tenure, sufficient in extent to maintain them and their families; in Alnwick and Denwick each had twenty-four acres of land. Their tenancy was subject to servile conditions; they were originally bound to plough, reap, cart dung, and perform other agricultural operations on the lord's demesne lands. At first the impositions were arbitrary, depending on the will of the lord; but in course of time, the amount and kind of labour became settled and defined; and ultimately most of the services were converted into a money rent, amounting to about 1s. and 1s. 6d. per acre. These bondmen could not leave the barony; but on the other hand, the lord could not remove them; they were in fact attached to the land, and had a claim on it for support. At the end of the De Vescy period, not only arbitrary exactions, but forced labour had to come to an end. Doubtless, the Alnwick bondmen lived in Bondgate Street, to which they gave a name and the field of Bondgate, mentioned in an early charter, would be their land. From this class sprung our copyholders.

Besides these, there was a better class of proprietors descended from the Saxons and surviving the conquest, holding lands on free *socage*—a term probably derived from *Soc*, (Saxon,) a franchise—with full power to dispose of their possessions. They were subject to a small fixed rent payable to the lord of the manor, which is still collected yearly under the name of quit rent, from burgage houses and lands within the barony. "The farms of the free tenants of Alnwick and of the burgesses of the town, with three water mills, amounted yearly to £61 1s. 0d." According to the Testa de Neville, the following held lands in free socage tenure in "Aunewyc;" Simon de Horseley half a carucate,*

* A carucate or a ploughland, was as much land as could be ploughed and worked with one plough in a year; it varied in extent. According to Boldon Buke, it contained at Farnacres one hundred and twenty acres. In 1198, five shillings were levied on every carucate or hide of land; Hoveden says that the surveyors set down one hundred acres of land for each carucate of land in cultivation. See also note p. 78.

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for half a marc; German de Brockesfeld one carucate and a half, for half a marc; Simon the Hunter half a carucate, for half a marc; Stephen Fitz-Robert half a carucate; Walter de Prendwick eleven acres, for the third part of one pound of cinnamon; the abbot of Alnwick the Grange of Hecclive, (Heckley); Robert de Chilton held half a carucate in Denwyc, for half a marc; and William the Falconer held half a carucate in Leterbir (Lesbury), for one sparrow hawk.

A conveyance of one of the messuages in Alnwick of the date of about 1290, is preserved in the Durham Library. Of this interesting old deed, which is much shorter than a modern conveyance, the following is a translation:—

"To all to whom the present writing may come, Walter de Qwytill greeting in the Lord, know that I have given, granted, and by my present charter have confirmed to Thomas de Charleton, fuller, that messuage with appurtenances in Alnwick, which I formerly bought from the said Thomas, as it lies in the Narugate, between the land of William Batman on both parts, to have and hold to the same Thomas and his heirs and assigns of the chief lord of the fee, as freely, quietly, and fully, well and in peace, as I for some time have held the said messuage, so that neither I nor my heirs, nor any one in my name may be able to establish right or claim for ever in the said messuage with appurtenances. In testimony of which thing, I have put to the present writing my seal, these being witnesses, the lord abbot of Alnewyk, William of Gosewick, Benedict, constable of Alnewyk, John del Gren, William Batman, and others."

Of another old tenure *drengage* and *theinage* we have also traces in Alnwick. In the great Pipe Roll for 1187, 34th of Henry III., the sheriff, under the head "De teinis et drengis" accounts for £23 18s. 4d. *de dono* of Alnwick and other lands of William de Vescy; in the following year, £12 10s. 0d. are said to be due for the same; and in 1191, under "Tallagium de Drengis et Teinis," we have—"the men of Alnwick and other lands of William de Vescy in Northumberland owe £12 10s. de dono." This tenure was confined to the limits of the old Saxon kingdom of Northumberland; teinage and drengage being essentially the same and differing only in degree, the latter term being applied to the holding of one property, and the former to the holding of more than one; under it, the person was free, but the conditions of the holding were servile; the services were of the same kind as those of bondagium though less in amount, and not necessarily performed by the *drengh* or one of his family. The word is of

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Danish origin, from *dreogan*, to do, to work; the Norwegian cabin-boy is still called the *cabin-drengh*; and we owe to it the English term drudge, which is applied to one who performs the meanest kind of labour. Yetlington, Callaly, and the half of Whittingham were held under this tenure. Such lands were not subject to military service, but to *tallages* (crown revenue paid by the king's own demesnes and of boroughs and towns); to *heriots* (payments in lieu of the best chattel on the death of the tenant); and *merchets* (fines for liberty to give a daughter in marriage).

On the return of Edward I. from the Holy Land, he found that during the feeble reign of his father, the revenues of the crown had been diminished by tenants alienating property without license, by churchmen as well as laymen usurping the power of holding courts, of exacting fines and oppressing the common people, and claiming rights of free chase, warren, fishing, and demanding unreasonable tolls. He appointed commissioners to inquire into these abuses; and their returns called *Rotuli Hundredorum*, give curious information as to the power and privileges of the baron of Alnwick. The Alnwick inquiry was made in the 20th of Edward I. before the justices in Eyre.

William de Vesci was brought forward that he might on this day, here shew, by what warrant he claimed to have the chattels of felons condemned in his own court of Alnewyk, gallows* in Alnewyk, market and fair, tumbrell,† pillory, toll, correction of the assize of bread and ale broken in Alnewyk, Chatone, and Alnemuthe, free chase in Alnewyk, Alneham, and Chatone, and free warren in all his demesne lands in the vills aforesaid, and in Houton, Lestebyrye, and Thurghale, and infangenthef through the whole barony of Alnewyk, which belong to the crown and dignity of the lord the king, without the license and consent of the lord king himself and his progenitors, &c.

And William, by his attorney, came and produced a certain charter made under the name of lord Henry king, father of the present lord king, to a certain William de Vesci father of William himself, whose heir he is, by which the same lord Henry king grants to the aforesaid William his father, that he and his heirs should have for ever one market at his own manor of Chattone in the county of Northumberland, weekly on Wednesday, and one fair yearly, to continue for eight days, to wit, on the vigil

* *Furca et fossa*, in English, pit and gallows, the power of putting to death convicted thieves; men by suspension, and women by drowning.

† *Tumbrellum*, a cucking stool to immerse scolding women in water.

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and on the day and on the morrow of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, and for five days following. And in like manner one market at Alnemuthe on Tuesday, and one fair in the same place for eight days, to wit, on the vigil and on the day and on the morrow of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, and for five days following; and so he claimed the liberties in the aforesaid charter; and the other liberties contained in the brief, he claimed from antiquity. And he said that he and all his ancestors from time immemorial used them uninterruptedly, excepting in about two hundred acres of wood and moor in Chattone, which were within the forest, but afterwards by the present lord king were disafforested, and in these he claimed not chase and warren.

And William Inge, who followed for the lord the king, asked that the aforesaid William de Vesci should say by whom and when he was authorised to take possession of the chattels of felons condemned in his court &c. And William de Vesci said that he and all his ancestors from time immemorial, always were wont to take possession of such chattels and so claimed them. And in respect to the claim for market and fair, tumbrell, pillory, and toll, William de Vesci asks that inquiry be made by the lord the king what the custom has been &c. And in respect to the claim for the correction of the assize of bread and ale broken, William de Vesci says that he punished not judicially, but by amerciaments.* And this he was prepared to prove by the lord king himself &c.

The jurors said upon their oath, that the aforesaid William and all his ancestors, from the date of the aforesaid charters, had reasonably used the markets, fairs, and warrens, &c. And as to the other liberties, they say that William and all his ancestors from time immemorial, had without interruption used them in the manner the same William claims them. They say also, that the same William did not judge any felons in his court, except those taken in his own fee, for felonies committed in the same fee &c. And as to the question in what manner he punishes breaches of the assize of bread and ale, they say that it was always by amerciament and not judicially.†

The master of the Knights Templars in England exercised similar privileges in Alnwick, and he was summoned before the same tribunal to shew his warrant for claiming infangthief, outgangthief‡ and gallows in Alnwick, Wooler, and other places, and

* An amerciament was similar to a fine, a pecuniary punishment for an offence; but its amount was moderated by afferators or jurors sworn for this purpose.

† Placit de Quo Warranto, p. 587.

‡ *Infangthief*, power of a lord to judge a thief taken within his own manors. *Outgangthief*, power of a lord to apprehend on other manors a thief who had committed the crime on the lord's own manor.

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for himself and men being quit in those vills of fines, amerciaments, tallage, lestage, stallage, and all tolls, and passages of ways, bridges, and sea, and for having waifes, fugitives, and felons' goods, and assize of bread and beer in these vills. He claimed the assize of bread and beer from antiquity, and the other liberties from a charter 37th of Henry III. confirmed by 9th of Edward I. The jury, however, found that since these charters, the Templars had not purchased any lands in these towns, and were not seized of waife and inganthief, and that felons' and fugitives' goods had not been allowed in the Exchequer; but they gave verdict that the Templars had enjoyed the assize of ale from antiquity, and the other liberties from the date of the charter.*

Property in Alnwick was held at this time by the Knights Templars; but after the dissolution of that military order in 1311, this property passed into the hands of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. From the bounder of Alnwick Moor, it appears to have been to the west of the town, for the bounder begins "at the head of Clayport on the south side at the west nook or corner of the dike, being late the lands, parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved house of St. John of Jerusalem." Swansfield is described, as these possessions, in one of the court rolls for 1704. The prior of this order claimed, in the time of Edward I. the same privileges as the Templars claimed for Alnwick, in a number of towns in Northumberland, some of which, as Edlingham, Abberwick, and Bolton, are in the immediate neighbourhood of this town. A charter and prescription were pleaded for these privileges, most of which were allowed by the jurors.†

The most interesting and curious relics of this period are the three charters from the De Vescys to the burgesses of Alnwick. Of these I shall here give literal translations. The originals, beautifully written on parchment, are preserved among the muniments of the corporation of Alnwick. The earliest was granted by the first William de Vescy, and is without a date, but must have been made between the years 1157 and 1185.

"Be it known to all men present and to come seeing or hearing this charter, that I William de Vesci have granted and by this my charter have confirmed to the men, my burgesses of Alnewic, to hold of me and of my heirs, they and their heirs, as freely and quietly as the burgesses of New-Castle hold of the lord the king of England, and also to have common pasture in hayden and in the moor of hayden. These being witnesses,

* Placita de Quo Warranto, p. 596. † Ibid, p. 588.

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CHARTER OF WILLIAM DE VESCI TO ALNWICK BURGESSES

Fig 1

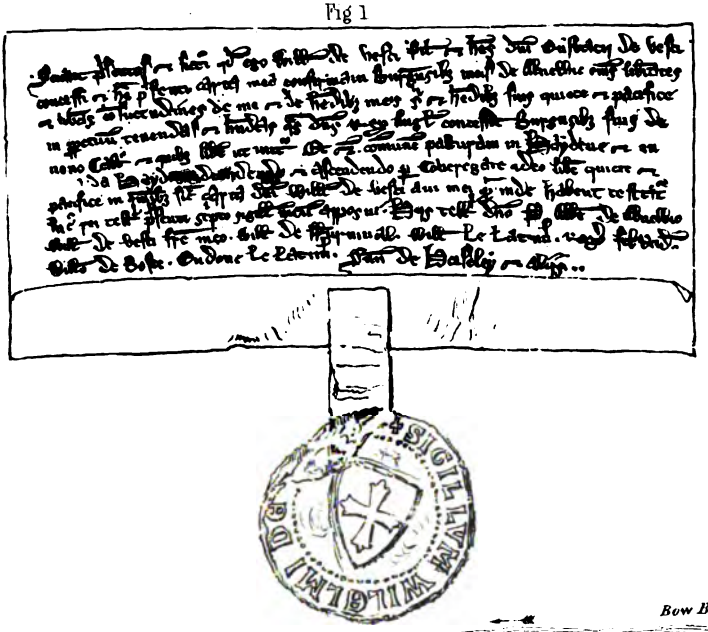
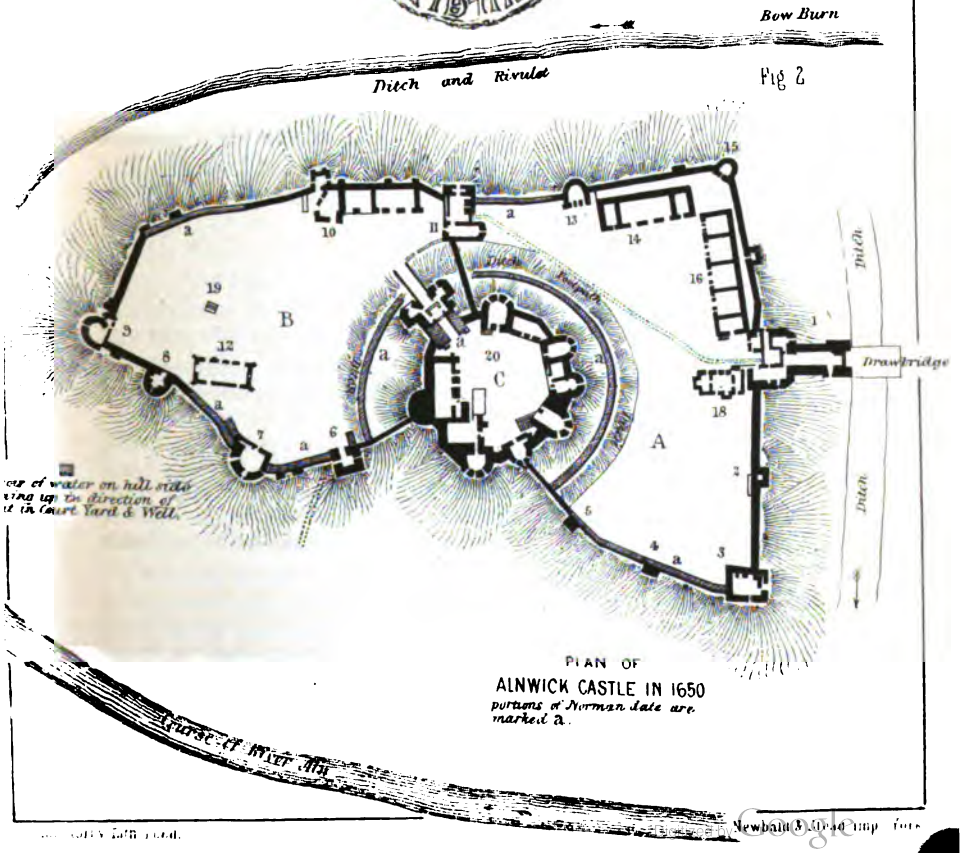



Fig 2




PLAN OF
ALNWICK CASTLE IN 1650
portions of Norman date are marked a.

Newbald & Mead imp. fors

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Walter de bolebec, Roger de Stuteville, John the sheriff, Rainald de Kynebel, and many others."

After the lapse of more than half a century, the second William de Vescy, the grandson of the former, confirmed this grant, but gave no additional privileges. This also is without a date; but it must have been made between the years 1226 and 1253; for at the former date, William obtained livery of his lands, and at the latter date he died.

"Let those present and to come know that I William de Vesci, son and heir of Lord Eustace de Vesci, have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my burgesses of Alnewic all the liberties and free customs, to be held and had of me and my heirs to them and their heirs, quietly and peacefully for ever, which the lord the king of England has granted to his burgesses of Newcastle, and which they freely use. And also the common pasture in Haydene and in the moor of Haydene, descending and ascending by Coliergate, as freely, quietly, and peacefully in all things, as the charter of Lord William de Vesci my grandfather, which they have from him, witnesseth. In testimony of this thing I have to the present writing put my seal. These being witnesses, the lord H. abbot of Alnewic, William de Vesci my brother, William de Furnival, William le Latimer, Roger Fitz-Ralph, William de Bosco, Eudone le Latimer, Simon de Horseley, and others."

In *Plate IV., fig.* 1, is given a copy of this charter with the De Vescy seal, from a photograph taken for me by Mr. George Potter.

The third charter was granted by the third William de Vescy, the son of the second William, on the Sunday after Michaelmas in the year 1290; it confirms the former charters and gives additional privileges.

"Let those present and to come know that we William de Vescy, brother and heir of John de Vescy, have given and granted, and by our present charter have confirmed to our burgesses of Alnewyke all liberties and free customs in all things, as the charter of William de Vescy our father, which they have from him, fully testifies. We have also given and granted to the same our burgesses, certain pieces of land in the field of Bondegate, which are called Stottefaldhalch * and

* This may be read either as *Stottefaldhalch* or *Scottefaldhalch*, for the *t* and *c* are very much alike; the former reading is adopted, as more probable, because giving a better meaning to the compound word; which comes from *Stud*, (Danish,) *Stut*, (ancient Swedish,) an ox or young bull; *falæd*, *fald*, (Anglo-Saxon,) a fold, an enclosure for sheep or cattle; *halch*, a haugh, a northern word applied to low lying lands bordering on a river; it is the haugh whereon was the oxen fold; it is now called Healeyside, from the hazel bushes which grew there.



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Ranwellestrother* with all their appurtenances, with the common in Hayden, and with all privileges in Haydenmoor in marshes, meadows, and pastures, petaries, turbaries, and heaths, and with all their other appurtenances, liberties, and privileges, which they were wont to use in the times of our ancestors, as well in the forbidden month as in others. And be it known that in the northern part of the way from Boulton, which is called Boultonstrete, even unto the path which is called Coliergate, cultivation shall by no means be made by any one before it is pre-arranged by us and the said burgesses, which cultivation within the aforesaid bounds ought to be made for our advantage, and for the advantage of the burgesses themselves, by mutual consent. And the whole pasture there shall remain for us and the burgesses themselves jointly in common. In testimony of this thing we have put to this writing our seal. And to another writing, containing a counterpart of this, remaining with us, the said burgesses have put their own common seal. And be it known that the same burgesses and their heirs for the liberty they are to have in Hayden in the forbidden month with their animals, shall give to us and our heirs yearly two shillings, one half at the feast of Saint Martin and the other half at Pentecost for ever. The witnesses being, brother Alan de Staunford, at that time abbot of Alnewyke; Sirs Ralph Fitz-Roger, Robert de Hilton, Alexander his son, Walter de Camhou, at that time seneschal, knights; Nicholas de Hauckill, Hervy de Bilton, Robert Harang, Thomas de Rok, John de Middelton, William le Messager, and others. Given at Catthorp, on the Lord's Day, next before the feast of Saint Michael, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and ninety."

At the time of the last grant, 1290, the burgesses of Alnwick were a corporate body, for their common seal was attached to the counterpart of the charter retained by the lord. The fine old seal, used to give corporate authority to important documents, is, I believe, the same as that which the burgesses attached to the De Vescy charter. It is made of brass, and the figures are very deeply engraven. St. Michael the guardian saint of Alnwick is represented killing the dragon; he stands in a stiff attitude with his wings extended; in his right hand is a spear with which he is piercing the dragon beneath him; and in his left is a shield on which is the cross patonce belonging to the De Vescy arms. This proves that the design had been formed during

* *Ranwellestrother*, of Anglo-Saxon origin, from *ran*, a wild goat or deer; *weall*, a well; and *strother*, a marsh; the well in the marsh or bog, frequented by wild goats or deer; it is called the bog, and forms part of Bog Mill Farm.

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the De Vescy period; and the legend around the seal, "Alnwike S: Comune Burgi de," *The common seal of the borough of Alnewicke*, is in letters of a form used during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. To letters patent to gather a collection for building the town wall against the Scots, the same seal was appended in 1473; it is now entirely broken, but in 1754 so much was remaining of the figure and legend, as to prove, that it was identical with the one now in use; it is also attached to a petition presented to Lord Burleigh respecting the Grammar School in 1588.

FIG. 11

ALNWICK BOROUGH SEAL.

The property belonging to the corporation of Alnwick was, at this period, extensive. Besides Stottefaldhalch or Hesleyside, and other lands eastward of the town, there was Hayden or Alnwick Moor, which contained three thousand three hundred and twenty-nine acres. An old document, preserved among the corporate archives, gives the boundary of this moor; it is entitled "A Copy of the Boundary of the Forrest of Hayden," which seems to have been made in 1647, for in that year one shilling and fourpence were paid "for the copy of the bounder of the moor." Reference is made to it in 1669, when the four-and-twenty of the borough ordered "Cuthbert Chessman, John Falder, and Matthew Alnwicke, to repair to counsell to advise in our townes interest as to our moor and other privileges, and that the towne shall bee at the charge of such suit as shall be necessary and advised for the maintaining our bounder according to a court of survey that is in the towne's box."

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"A COPY OF THE BOUNDARY OF THE FORREST OF HAYDEN.

ALNWICK,—

The Burgesses or Burrowmen of the Towne of Alnwicke have by grante of one of the lords of Alnwicke, called William Lord Vessy, Common of pasture and fireboot, viz:—mooreleave of Turfe, Peate, and hather or heath in a large wast ground called the Forrest of Hayden, lying nigh and aioyning on the west of the said borrow and towen of Alnwicke, the metes and bounders is as followeth, viz.:—beginning at the head of Clayporte on the south side at the west nooke or corner of the dike, being late the lands, parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved house of St. John's of Jerusalem, and from thence goeing southward along the same dike which goeth about Robert Greene's land untill you com to the wall or palle of Grenesfield, now parcell of Cawledge Parke, and soe alonge the said pale till you come to a kerne of stones at Cadmacrooke gate, and soe up the dike westwards to Heberlaw to the corner of the house theird from thence along the dike to Rugley loning end, and up the within at the foote of the longing end, and soe fare as the ground of the dike of the Hallgarth of Rugley goeth, and then over at the stre loneing end to the south dike nook, and thence along the said dike to St. Margaret's, from thence as the dike and wall goeth to the goeing down to Snepehouse and soe downe the said dike untill you come to mention of an old dike, along that old mention to ane old house sted, from thence right out southward to a well called Hesley Well, as the old mencion of a dike goeth from thence right southward to Swinalee foarde in the boorne, from thence southwest by the forkings of the boorne right up to an ancient kerne of stones at Bowten Strete, from thence right up to another kerne of stones, from thence to another kerne of stones, from thence north west to a great round hill, from thence by kerne and kerne to the south side of a hill where a great thorn tree grew between two great cragges, from thence to the top of the hill, and soe to the kerne by West Bowten Streate, and soe kerne to kerne along Bowten Streat, and from kerne to kerne eastward along the edge of the hill and as the water falleth from thence northwards to a kerne on the east side of Oxen Heughe, and from thence partly northeast to one kerne above Lamden foote roode, from thence right on to a great kerne on the west nooke of the Twinlaw hill, from thence northward as the water falleth from the top of the hills along the Reedside to the far beacon, from thence as the water falleth along the top of the hill to the west wicket at the west end of the parke, and from thence eastward as the pale and wall goeth by north of Coliergate to Freeman Gap, and soe along the said

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parke wall to the west parke gate, from thence as the wall leadeth to the Quarrell Hills, to Wykes Well, and from thence upon the west side of the said hills to Stocken dike, and soe along the said dike to Canogate longing, and from southwards to the head of the said dike, and from thence down the dike to the west end of ratten row to the north end of the house which standeth southwest and northwest in ratten row, and from thence to the boorne."

Though this extensive moor was granted and confirmed by charters from the De Vescys, it by no means follows, that the town or vill of Alnwick had not possession of it from Saxon times. We have seen that these moors were the remains of the Saxon folc-lands—the common property and inheritance of the people. Such lands for long after the conquest were of no great value; and no extraordinary generosity was exercised, when after being ruthlessly seized, they were granted back to their original and proper owners. A mere handful of rude soldiers could not use all the vast possessions they had conquered; and it was indeed necessary, in order that food might be raised for themselves, that others should be permitted to cultivate the soil and send their cattle over the wild moor-lands. The native population, continuing to hold lands under the old free tenures, were almost compelled to yield them up, to secure the protection of these powerful Norman barons; who, however, in many cases, re-granted them on modified conditions, assimilating more or less with the feudal tenures. For the same object, confirmation of grants was sought and obtained from successive lords.

Alnwick, possessed of a common seal and holding common property, had become during the De Vescy period a compact borough town with several distinct streets. In one of the charters there is mention of *Bondgate*, and in the deed already quoted, of the *Narugate*—which are the Bond-Street and the Narrow-Street; for *gate* is here used in the sense of street, from the Danish *gaet*, which has that meaning; and it is still so applied in country villages, where we hear such phrases as "Aw saw him in the toon geyt." Probably too, the trading and mechanical community were, towards the end of the period, associated in distinct guilds or companies, for the regulation and protection of their different interests. We find wine merchants, a fuller, and an iron founder in the town; and, if not at this period, at least not long afterwards, the fullers or walkers occupied the Walkergate, or the

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Fullers Street, near the river. Tradition says that King John gave a charter to Alnwick, with the condition that every new burgess should plunge through a pool in Hayden Forest, in which royalty had been bogged on St. Mark's Day. From time immemorial till 1853, this extraordinary custom was kept up; and its traditionary origin is strengthened by the record of his progresses northward, which states that he rested at Alnwick on the 24th of April, 1209; and he may therefore, at this time, have been hunting in the forest of Hayden and bogged in a marsh. It is possible that the other part of the tradition may also be founded on fact, though there is no such charter among the corporate muniments, or among the public records. Some slight confirmation is given to the idea of the town having been at one time a royal borough by payment of tallage in 1191; for such taxes were imposed on royal lands and boroughs.

We have seen the great baron living in rude magnificence in his gloomy castle, attended by warlike vassals; we have seen the town tenanted by persons of various mechanical or trading occupations, and the different grades of people, living in clusters and cultivating the soil, scattered over the district; and we have seen too rich abbeys, and church and chapel, for the religious instruction of the district; but with all this external glare, what was the general condition of the people? A weak sentimentalism, illumining the past with reflected lights from the present, fondly imagines that these were the good old times, when there were plenty and happiness in the land. History tells a sadder tale. The baron nursed amid scenes of rapine and bloodshed, was generally rude and uneducated, and too often rapacious and cruel; and his armed vassals, worse than himself, were the tools of his oppressions. The soldier alone was held in respect; mechanical arts, trade, commerce, and law too, were viewed with so much contempt, that even a judge was denied the character of a gentlemen, till he had proved his descent from a soldier. Castles which now, either as hoary ruins or renovated palaces, are picturesque objects in our English scenery, were then but dens of robbers; they were raised, not for national defence, but to overcome and oppress the native population. The learned Madox says "The castle was usually the head of the barony; it was the honorary part, the town was a plebeian or inferior part. The castle might be compared to the *grand hall* of the barony, the town to the *store-room*. Constables, knights, and sergeants, which were in castles,

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did use in former ages to exercise great superiority over the towns which were near them, and likewise over the adjacent country. No wonder men who were covered with steel should domineer over burgesses and peasants—the armed over the unarmed."* The reign of Stephen was the great era of castle building, when every baron sought to be independent, and raised his stronghold and maintained his band of armed men; before Stephen's death, one thousand one hundred and fifteen castles had been built. Whatever may have been the ultimate effect of the Norman conquest on the character and progress of the nation, it was for centuries the box of Pandora from which many evils were let loose over the country. The habits of warfare, which the feudal system fostered, spread abroad misery and checked the progress of improvement; and Northumberland, from its position near the border, was especially unfortunate; for besides sharing in those evils, it was exposed to the wild sweep of Scottish inroads. The picture of the period drawn by the Saxon chronicler is dark and revolting.

"They had done homage to the king, and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept. All became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castle and defended it against him; and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished, they filled them with devils and evil men. There they took those whom they suspected to have any goods by night and by day, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. They hung some by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; some by their thumbs or by their head; and they hung burning things on their feet. They put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it, till it went into the brain. They put them into dungeons, wherein were adders and snakes and toads, and thus they wore them out. Some they put into a crucet-house, that is, into a chest which was short and narrow, and not deep, and they put sharp stones into it and crushed the men therein, so that they broke all their limbs. There were hateful and grim things called Sachenteges in many of the castles, and which two or three men had enough to do to carry. The Sachentege was made thus:—it was fastened to a beam having a sharp iron to go round a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit nor lie nor sleep, but he must bear all the iron. Many thousands were exhausted with hunger.

* Madox His. Exchеq., p. 18.

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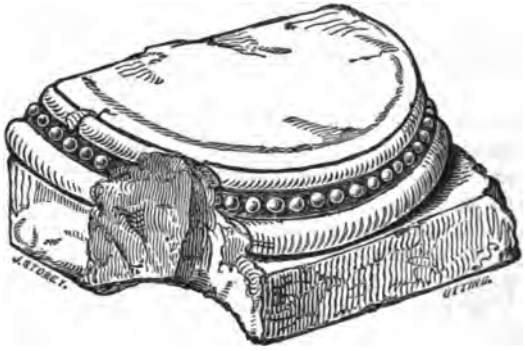
They were constantly levying an exaction from the towns, which they called Tenserie, (a payment to the superior lord for protection,) and when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give, then plundered they and burnt all the towns, so that well mightest thou walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town or its lands tilled.

Then was corn dear and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land—wretched men starved with hunger—some lived on alms, who had been erewhile rich; some fled the country—never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these. At length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but they took all that was valuable therein, and they burned the church and all together."

FIG. 12



Base of a pillar of the old Norman Church at Alnwick. See page 87.

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# CHAPTER VII.

## BISHOP BEK AND WILLIAM DE VESCY OF KILDARE. FROM 1295 TO 1309.

ALNWICK BARONY GIVEN IN TRUST TO BEK FOR WILLIAM DE VESCY OF KILDARE—BEK'S BREACH OF THIS TRUST—HIS LIFE—WILLIAM DE VESCY OF KILDARE—CONVEYANCE OF ALNWICK BARONY TO HENRY DE PERCY—INQUISITIONS—ATONS—CHARACTER OF THE TRANSFER.

William de Vescy died without legitimate issue; but he left one natural son, a minor; who, from having been born in Ireland, was usually called William de Vescy of Kildare. The father designed that this son should, at a proper time, inherit all his honours and estates; and in his own lifetime, he absolutely settled upon him and his heirs the manor of Hoton Bussell in Yorkshire, in which was included the barony of Malton; and appointed Thomas Plaiz and Geffrey Gyppesmere as his guardians; but with respect to his great Northumberland estates, "he did," says Dugdale, "by the king's license infeoff that great prelate Anthony Beke, bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem, in the castle of Alnwicke and other lands, with trust and special confidence, that he should retain them for the behoof of William de Vesci his bastard son (begotten in Ireland,) at that time young, until he came of age."* The unprincipled bishop basely violated this trust, and kept possession of the barony of Alnwick for twelve years; and irritated by some slanderous words which he had heard, that William de Vescy of Kildare had spoken against him, he sold on the 19th of November, 1309, the castle and barony of Alnwick to Henry de Percy.† Bad men perpetrating unjust deeds, like the wolf when

* Dugdale's Baronage, II., p. 95.

† Scala Chronica, Leland, I., p. 539.



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seizing on the lamb, have always some excuse for their iniquity.

Bek while he held the barony was seldom, if ever, at Alnwick; and there is little in the public records to connect his name with our history. He, however, obtained a charter in the 25th of Edward I. to hold a market and fair at Alnwick, to have a free warren there and at Alnham and Tughall.* Of this baron of Alnwick therefore, little account need be given. He was the son of Walter Bek, baron of Eresby in Lincolnshire. After being archdeacon, he was enthroned bishop of Durham on Christmas Eve, 1285. More, however, a soldier and politician than an ecclesiastic, he spent most of his life in the midst of courts and camps. By King Edward I., he was employed both in Scottish and French transactions. Representing royalty, he addressed the states of Scotland, at Norham in 1292; and according to Fordun, Edward, through his advice, pronounced in favour of Baliol's claim to the Scottish throne. This bishop militant led the second line of the English army at the battle of Falkirk.

His grasping ambition brought him into conflict with both the pope and the king; his temporalities were seized by Edward I.; but he obtained restitution of his estates from Edward II., with the additional dignities of sovereign of the Isle of Man and titular patriarch of Jerusalem. More temporal power he possessed than even Wolsey; and he lived in a style of as great magnificence as that great cardinal. His court simulated royalty; nobles knelt before him when they preferred petitions, and knights waited on him bareheaded and standing. Unscrupulous and ambitious he was; but his liberality was profuse, and the public works, which he raised, attest his munificence. He died in 1360, leaving behind him immense treasures.†

William de Vescy of Kildare, though stript of his Northumberland inheritance, was still, on account of his other estates, an important personage; he was summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth years of the reign of Edward II. In 1300, he was returned from the county of Lincoln, as holding lands and rents *in capite*, or otherwise, to the amount of £40 and upwards; and as such, he was summoned to perform military

* Cart. 2, 25 Edw. I., m. 3.

† Full accounts of this singular prelate are given in Hutchinson's and in Surtees' Histories of Durham.

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service against the Scots.* He did not, however, enjoy his estates long; for he attended his sovereign at the battle of Bannockburn, so fatal to Englishmen, and was slain there in the year 1314. Leaving no issue, Malton and his other manors in Yorkshire passed to Gilbert Aton, who was the nearest heir, not only of William de Vescy of Kildare, but also of William, the last De Vescy, baron of Alnwick. Such was the verdict of juries at an inquisition held at York on the 2nd of June in 8th of Edward II., and at another held at Lincoln. Gilbert Aton was descended from Warin, the brother of Eustace de Vescy. Margaret, the only daughter and heiress of Warin, had married Gilbert de Aton of Aton in Pickering, from whom descended William Aton, who had two sons Gilbert and William; the former died without issue, and the latter succeeded to the estates and had a son Gilbert de Aton, who was thus the heir of the De Vescys; he was twenty-six years of age when the inquisition was made. Sir William de Aton appears in 1376 as a witness to one of the Alnwick Abbey charters, and in the same year, along with Lord Henry de Percy and many other knights, he dined in the refectory of Alnwick Abbey, when the abbot, Walter de Heppescotes, gave a grand entertainment to the nobles and commonalty of the country.† The Atons assumed the name and arms of De Vescy, and one of them afterwards intermarried with a Percy. For many generations they enjoyed their Yorkshire inheritance; but ultimately, Malton by purchase came into the possession of the family of Fitz-William.

The transference of the barony of Alnwick from the De Vescys to the Percys presents but an unpleasant picture, and to lighten its darker colouring, doubts, by some modern writers, have been thrown on some of the facts. The deed by which William de Vescy infeoffed Bek, seems now not to be in existence. The facts of the case, however, appear in the *Scala Chronica*, which is pretty nearly a cotemporary record; and the statements are repeated in subsequent inquisitions as unquestioned truths. The deed of conveyance by Bek and a confirmation of the same by Edward II. are printed in Rymer's Fœdera. The bishop, by charter made at Kenyton on the 19th of November, 1309, grants to Henry de Percy, the barony, castle, manor, and vill of Alnwick, with vills, hamlets, members, advowsons of churches, abbeys, priories, hospitals, and

* Alphabetical Digest, p. 887. † Chronicle of Alnwick Abbey.

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chapels, together with mills, meadows, woods, lordships, demesne lands, villenages, villans with their families and chattels, knights' fees, homages, rents, services of free men, wards, reliefs, escheats, hundreds, wapentakes, and courts; together with fairs, markets, warrens, chases, wreck of sea; and in addition, all lands and tenements, which Isabella, the wife of John de Vescy, and Isabella, wife of William de Vescy, held in dower of the said barony, and which were on their deaths to revert to Henry de Percy. King Edward II. at Shene, on the 23rd of January, 1310, confirmed by charter this conveyance.

After the death of Isabella, wife of William de Vescy, two inquisitions were held in 8th of Edward II.; the first found that she died seized of estates, which she held in dower, of the inheritance of Gilbert de Aton, next heir to William de Vescy; but the next inquisition found that she held in dower in the county when she died, the manor of Tughall and Swynhou and the vill of Alnwick, with the mill of North Charlton, of the heirship of Henry, son of Henry de Percy, who is under age and in custody of the king, and that these lands and tenements were of the value of £120 yearly, and held *in capite* by service of one knight's fee; the jurors also said that John, son of Arnald de Percy, was the nearer and legitimate heir of William de Vescy.* In 1323, Henry de Percy paid a fine of one hundred marks that he might, after Isabella's death, enter on the fees she had in Catton, Wooler, and other places.†

Strange it may seem to us, that this disposal of a great barony should have been permitted; but we must remember, that law as yet, held no supreme dominion over great men, especially when the throne was weak. "Norman government," says the philosophical historian Hallam, "rather resembled a scramble of wild beasts, where the strongest takes the best share, than a system founded upon principles of common utility."‡ Edward II. was a feeble monarch, and he had been humbled by his defeat at Bannockburn; while on the other hand, Bek had almost princely power within his palatinate, and Percy was one of the greatest of northern barons. Probably enough, Edward would be glad of their support on any terms; possessed of such power, and with but lax notions of justice and honour, these northern magnates

* Inq. 8 Edw. II., n. 63. † Originalia, 17 Edw. II.

‡ Hallam's Middle Ages, III., p. 219.

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would, if their proceedings were questioned even by royal authority, more readily appeal, like the earl of Warenne, to their swords as evidence of their rights, than to the principles of reason and justice. There must, however, notwithstanding the bishop's conveyance and the king's confirmation, have been a consciousness of wrong committed, and of a defect in the title to the barony; for in 1324, the son of Henry de Percy obtained a release from Sir William Aton, the heir of the De Vescys, of his rights to the barony of Alnwick on payment to him of seven hundred marks sterling.

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# CHAPTER VIII.

## FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD BARONS PERCY— 1309 TO 1368.

DESCENT OF THE PERCYS — THE LOVAINES — HENRY, FIRST BARON PERCY OF ALNWICK—MILITARY CAREER IN SCOTLAND—OPPOSITION TO EDWARD II. — TOMB OF HIS WIFE — PERCY ARMS — HENRY, SECOND BARON PERCY—GRANT OF BEANLEY—SCOTTISH WARFARE — ALNWICK CASTLE BESIEGED — BATTLE OF HALIDON HILL — GRANT OF JEDBURGH — BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS — JOHN COUPLAND — PLAGUE — GRANT OF WARKWORTH — HENRY PERCY'S WILL — HENRY, THIRD BARON PERCY OF ALNWICK — CHARACTER—SCOTTISH WARFARE — BURNT CANDLEMAS — WARKWORTH HERMITAGE.

A new dynasty in 1309 began to reign over Alnwick; and naturally we inquire—who were the new lords and whence came they? Properly speaking these lords were Lovaines; but descending through a female from a Percy, they had assumed that name. The early history of Percy has shared the fate of other families which have risen to distinction; and it has been encumbered with marvels and myths. Both ancient and illustrious is the descent; and it needs not to be exaggerated by the false glitter derived from the fictions of the poet, the legends of the monk, or the fanciful blazonry of the herald.*

Little is known of the house of Percy prior to the conquest; yet Peeris, a kind of poet laureate to the fifth Earl Percy, gives a romantic and high sounding history before that period, in a metrical chronicle written by him for the earl in the sixteenth century. He says or sings, that the family is

* Hartshorn takes a different view: "Little short" says he, "of the inspiration of the poet can set (its history) forth in language it deserves." I prefer the views of D'Israeli—"it is not requisite for poets to be historians, but historians should not be so frequently poets."

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descended from Mainfred de Percy, who went from Denmark to Normandy prior to Rollo's conquest of it; and that his son Geffrey joined Rollo in his expedition of 911. William, a son of Geffrey, was made earl of Caux and governor of Normandy, and was slain by Hugh Capet, king of France. Geffrey, his son, succeeded him; and in the next generation, the honours of the family were increased; for William, the son of Geffrey, was created earl of Poictiers. Geffrey succeeded him, and had issue two sons, William and Serlo de Percy, who came with William the Conqueror into England. All this is very magnificent; but it is entirely a romance, concocted by imaginative heraldists, and unsupported by evidence. We know little more than this, that William de Percy—who was probably a younger son—came from Percy, a Seigneurie of the Paynells in Normandy, into England along with the duke of Normandy in 1066. For his services in the field and his devotion to the conqueror, he was richly rewarded; as in Doomsday Book we find that besides manors in Hampshire, he received from the king no less than thirty-two lordships in Lincolnshire and eighty-six in Yorkshire; from Hugh Lupins, earl of Chester, he obtained the lordship of Whitby. His baronial possessions amounted to thirty knights' fees; and the chief seats of the family were Topcliff and Spofford in Yorkshire.

He was distinguished by the cognomen *Le Gernons, Asgernons*, or *Algernon*, meaning *the whiskers*. An abbey of Benedictine monks at Whitby was founded by him on the site of the ancient monastery of Strenshale, which had been destroyed by Inguar and Hubba the Danes. While in the Holy Land fighting for the cross, he died in 1086 at Mountjoy near Jerusalem, where he was honourably interred; but according to Peeris:—

> "The said Percy's heart was brought to England,
> According to his request;
> For in the abbey of his foundation at Whitby,
> He had willed it to rest."

The pretty fancy of Bishop Percy as to the origin of the crescent, one of the Percy's badges, is not accordant with known heraldic facts. Of this first William Percy, the bishop in his ballad of the hermit of Warkworth, says:—

> "Then journeying to the Holy Land,
> There bravely fought and died;
> But first the silver crescent wan,
> Some Paynim soldan's pride."

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The crescent, however, does not appear among the early Percy badges; it is first seen decking the pennon of the first Earl Percy's seal in 1400; and probably, as Mr. Longstaffe suggests, it had reference to the earldom of Northumberland. The old Percy arms are given in the Harleian Manuscript, 692—"*Field azure five mill pykes or.*" This heraldic device formerly considered mill-picks, to pick or pierce with, "a mere pun perhaps on Percy or Pichot," are now regarded as fusils or spindels.*

William de Percy is said to have married Emma de Port, whose lands he had seized—"which Emma was lady of Semer besides of Scarburg afore the conquest and of other landes, William gave Syr William Percy for hys good service; and he wedded hyr that was very heire to them, in discharging his conscience."† By her he had issue three sons, Alan, Geoffrey, and Richard.

Of Alan de Percy his eldest son who succeeded, little is known; his name occurs as one of the witnesses to a charter granted by Henry I. to Bardney Abbey, and he confirmed the gifts of his father to Whitby Abbey and added other donations. He married Emma Gaunt, grand-daughter of the earl of Flanders, by whom he had five sons. He had also an illegitimate son Alan, who fought on the side of the Scots at the battle of the Standard; and adhering to David, the king of Scotland, obtained from King David grants of the honours of Oxenham and Heton in Teviotdale, where the family flourished for two generations and then died out. The pedigree at this point is obscure. According to the Harleian MSS., 3648, 692, &c., Alan was succeeded by his son William, who was married to Alice, daughter of Everard de Roos; and William was succeeded by Richard, who had for wife Jane, daughter of William Brewers; from Richard and Jane descended the last of the Percys, William, who married Adelides de Tunbridge, by whom he had six children, all of whom died before him, excepting Agnes the youngest. He founded the abbey of Hampole for Cistercian monks in 1133, and Salley Abbey in 1147. He fought on the side of King Stephen in the battle of the Standard; and died about

* Longstaffe's Old Heraldry of the Percys, p. 164—one of the ablest of heraldic dissertations, marked not only by learning and acuteness, but by a manly independent tone. My heraldic notices are chiefly guided by this valuable contribution to Northumbrian history.

† Harleian MSS., No. 692.

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the year 1166. Thus, one hundred years after the family had settled in England, the male line of the Percys became extinct, and their vast possessions descended to a female.

Agnes, the great Percy heiress, in about two years after her father's death, married Joceline de Lovaine. Connected with this union, there is another pretty fiction; before her nuptials she is said to have covenanted with Lovaine, that he should either bear the Percy arms and omit his own, or keep his own arms and take the surname of Percy to himself and his posterity for ever. The following lines, under her picture in the pedigree at Sion House, record his decision:—

> "Lord Percy's heir I was, whose noble name
> By me survives unto his lasting fame,
> Brabant's duke's son I wed, who for my sake
> Retain'd his arms and Percy's name did take."

Joceline Lovaine, however, did not take for himself the name of Percy; nor did the Brabant blue lion appear in the Percy arms till the time of Edward I.*

Lovaine had a distinguished ancestry; he claimed to be descended from Charlemagne; and was second son of Godfrey with the beard, duke of Brabant and count of Lovaine, and half brother to Adelicia, the second wife of Henry I., king of England. Before his marriage, he was styled the brother of the queen and castellan of Arundel. The queen, on whom had been settled the county of Sussex as her dower, gave to him the barony of Petworth—no insignificant gift, for it was estimated at twenty-two knights' fees; and this gift was confirmed by Henry II., in the year 1168. Joceline died some little time before 1191, and was interred at Petworth. His wife Agnes died in 1195; and of her the Percy laureate thus sings:—"Lady Agnes among her elders lieth at Whitby. Upon the marble stone of her tomb in the said Whitby, under which buried was the body of this lady, two verses in Latin be, which I shall English as I can or I farther pass:—'In the feast of Saint Agnes, Agnes Percy lieth here engraved: and they both agree in kind, name, and life.' This is a great commendation, and a token that this lady was of virtuous life and conversation."

Henry, his eldest son, took his mother's name of Percy; but he succeeded to part only of the estates held by his father. In 6th of John, he had livery, on the death of his

* Longstaffe's Percy Heraldry, p. 162.



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mother, of all the lands of which she was seized; and in the 13th of John, he paid scutage on fifteen knights' fees, which, however, did not amount to half of what his father died possessed. A great part of the estates, including the manor of Whitby, had passed to Richard, the third son of Joceline Lovaine, who was a man of energy, and more highly distinguished in public affairs than his elder brother; as, however, his issue became extinct in the second generation, his estates reverted to the direct line of the Percy family. Henry Percy married Isabella, daughter of Adam de Brus, and with her obtained the manor of Lekinfield near Beverley in Yorkshire, which for a long period was one of the most important of the Percy residences; it was held by a peculiar tenure—he and his heirs were to repair to Skelton Castle every Christmas Day, and lead the lady of the castle from her chamber to the chapel to mass, and thence to her chamber again; and after dining with her to depart.*

William de Percy, son of Henry, succeeded, on the death of his father and of his grandmother Agnes, to a great part of their possessions; the extent of these is shewn by the scutage paid in 1222, when he was by special writ acquitted for fifteen knights' fees in Yorkshire and twenty-eight in the honour of Petworth; and these possessions were increased in 1244, when he had livery of the lands of his uncle Richard. He was married first to Helena, daughter of Lord Bardolph, by whom came the lordship of Dalton; and next, to Joan, daughter of William de Brewer. He had issue, seven sons and four daughters, and died in 1245, and was buried at Salley.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Henry, who in 33rd of Henry III., paid a fine of nine hundred pounds for livery of his lands, and that he might marry whom he pleased. He was busily engaged in the stirring events of this period. He took part in the wars in Wales and Scotland; he supported King Henry III. against the barons; and fighting stoutly for his sovereign in 1264 at the battle of Lewes, he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner; he, however, soon regained his liberty. He died in 1272, and was interred at Salley near his father—the last Percy who was buried there. By his wife Eleanor he had three sons; but, William and John dying without issue, his great inheritance devolved on Henry, the youngest, as heir to his brother

* Collins, V., p. 321.

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John; and this Henry first links the history of Alnwick with the Percys.*

## HENRY, FIRST BARON PERCY OF ALNWICK.

Before obtaining the barony of Alnwick, Henry de Percy was lord of Topcliffe and Spofford, and possessed estates of enormous extent in Yorkshire, Sussex, and Lincolnshire; but when Alnwick barony was united to these, he stood in the foremost rank of territorial barons. He was a minor at the time of his father's death; and he obtained livery of his lands in 1294, when he came of age, so that he must have been born about the year 1273. Soon after his majority he accompanied the king, "well fitted with horse and arms," in his wars in Gascony. In 1296 he was publicly honoured with knighthood by King Edward I., in presence of his army which was drawn up in an extensive field gently sloping towards the Tweed, within a mile from Berwick; and in April of the same year he fought under the leadership of his uncle, Earl Warenne, at the battle of Dunbar, when the Scottish army under Baliol was signally defeated. Scotland then falling under the English yoke, Edward constituted Henry de Percy governor of Galloway and Ayr. Sir William Wallace soon, however, began to awaken the patriotism of his countrymen and to obtain advantages over the English. The earl of Warenne was ordered to suppress these popular risings; and he sent his nephew (Henry de Percy), and Lord Clifford with an army into the west of Scotland; and they came up with the Scottish host near to Irwin. Inferior in numbers to the English and weakened by internal dissension, the Scottish army surrendered without a battle to Percy and Clifford, on the condition of safety to their lives and estates. The heroic Wallace, however, was not a party to this submission. Rewards were showered upon Henry de Percy; in consideration of his great and faithful services a grant was made to him, by the king, of all the lands in England as well as in Scotland which belonged to Ingelram de Baliol, and which had descended to his heir Ingelram de Umfraville, then in rebellion against the king. After this he was

* The pedigrees given of the Percys between the conquest and the acquisition of Alnwick barony are confused and even contradictory. I have endeavoured to give a clear and correct account of the succession; though a very brief one, as not immediately bearing on our history.

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repeatedly engaged in the Scottish wars. Robert Bruce had been crowned at Scone in 1306, and had again roused the valour of the Scots, when Edward, though feeling the decay of age, summoned Henry de Percy, and other barons, to enter Scotland with all the forces of the northern counties in the beginning of summer; but before the time of rendezvous arrived, Robert Bruce was defeated by Aymer de Valence at Methven. Bruce, however, did not lose heart, though most of his supporters were slain or scattered; but about Michaelmas, appeared in Cantire with a band of hardy followers, whence he sent some of his own people to collect the rent of his lands in Carrick. Henry de Percy hastened to defend these estates, which had been granted to him by Edward; but Bruce, passing the Frith from Cantire, surprised Percy at night, slew some of his men, seized his war horses and plate, and compelled him to seek refuge in Turnberry Castle, where he was besieged by Bruce. Edward, receiving intelligence of the danger to which Percy was exposed, sent forces to his relief; and Bruce being unable to cope with them, retired to fastnesses in the highlands. This was one of the last acts of the infirm king of England, who was then afflicted with an incurable disease, under which he sunk at Burgh-on-the-Sands, on the 5th of July, 1307, when making another attempt on the liberties of Scotland.

For some time Henry de Percy appears to have enjoyed the favour of his new sovereign Edward II., from whom he received several grants. In 1311, he obtained from the king the custody of the bishoprick of Durham, with the castles, lands, and tenements belonging to it; and in the same year he had the custody of the manor of Temple-Wereby, belonging to the Knights Templars, who were charged by Pope Clement V. with being guilty of apostacy, idolatry, heresy, and other sins.* He was made governor of both Scarborough and Bamburgh Castles in 1312. For a time, however, he was arrayed against his sovereign. The extravagant attachment of the king to his favourite, Piers Gaveston the Gascon, the honours and estates he heaped upon him, conjoined with the rapacity and insolence of this worthless minion, roused the hostility of the barons of England; and they insisted that Gaveston should be banished from the kingdom. The weak king clung to his favourite; but the barons, among whom was Henry de Percy, raised an army and advanced

* Rym. Fœd., Vol. II., pp. 131, 153.

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against the royal party, who retired, first to Newcastle and then to Tynemouth, where the king and Gaveston embarked with a small retinue and proceeded to Scarborough Castle. The favourite remained there, believing himself safe, until the king, who went to York, should return with an army for his relief. The earl of Pembroke and Henry de Percy laid siege to the castle, and Gaveston surrendered on capitulation, Pembroke and Percy pledging their faith that no harm should happen to him. The barons, however, regardless of this pledge, doomed him to be beheaded on Blacklow Hill, near to Warwick Castle. Enraged with Percy for this treatment of his favourite, the king ordered his escheator to seize on all the lands, tenements, goods, and chattels of Henry de Percy. The storm, however, was for a while calmed; a pacification was concluded between the barons and the king; the barons on humbling themselves before him were fully pardoned, and the property of Henry de Percy which had been seized by the king was restored.

Besides adding Alnwick barony to his possessions, Henry de Percy purchased the lordship of Corbridge in Northumberland. Alnwick Castle, which had fallen into a ruined state, was almost rebuilt by him in the style of the period. After spending a bustling life in warfare and in the accumulation of property, he died, at a comparatively early age, in 1315 (being then only about 42 or 43 years of age), and was buried in Fountains Abbey. "In Fountains Abbey lieth he before the sacrament, which abbey he endowed with great lands."

He was married to Eleanor Fitz-Alan, whom he appointed guardian of his estates, and who survived till 1328; her shrine in Beverley Minster is one of the most beautiful and highly finished of the period—"a peerless gem of flowing decorated work." Henry de Percy's charitable deeds were not notable; he founded a chantry for two priests in the chapel of Semar for the health of the soul of Eleanor his wife, and all her ancestors; and he gave to the monks of Salley lands, and the advowson of the church of Gairgrave.* The chronicle of Alnwick Abbey says of him, that "he was a magnanimous man, because he would not suffer injury from one without a heavy revenge, and so strenuously governed his servants, that they were feared in the whole realm of England." In this eulogy we see only the dark stern warrior. He left two sons, Henry and William; but the heir being a minor,

* Dug. Mon., I., p. 842.

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the king, on the 30th July, 1312, took possession of his lands.

ARMS.—*Gold, a blue lion rampant—Blue, five golden fusils.*
CREST.—*A sort of fan,* not peculiar to Percy.*

Here we first meet with the blue lion rampant as a Percy device. "It is possible," says Mr. Longstaffe, "that the lion was assumed in remembrance of Joceline of Lovaine, differenced from the cinctures of the later dukes of Brabant, or it might be only indirectly allusive to the ducal house through the lords of Arundel, who descended from Queen Adelicia and perhaps used a lion in reference to her descent."

## HENRY, SECOND BARON PERCY OF ALNWICK.

Henry de Percy was only sixteen years of age when his father died. His career was distinguished; and he appears to have been a man of greater ability and higher accomplishments than his father. "This Henry," says the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, "was, beyond all his ancestors, the most famous and powerful." He in his youth always displayed so much power in tournaments and exercises with the lance as to attain the highest honour. Being a minor when his father died, the custody of Alnwick Castle, with the manor and vills of Alnwick, Swynhou, Tughall, Alnham, Denwick, and Swynelocheles, were committed to John de Felton, who was constituted constable of the castle; and who had to maintain forty men of arms and forty hobelars in the castle, against Scottish enemies and rebels.†

Henry de Percy, even when a minor, was highly favoured by the king. One year after the decease of his father, he received a grant of the lands in Northumberland which belonged to Patrick Dunbar, earl of March;‡ this included Beanley, which was held under great sergeantry—a tenure which was not subject to the ordinary feudal conditions, but required the service of *Inborg* and *Hutborg*, or, as otherwise expressed, of inborough and outborough between England

* Longstaffe's Percy Heraldry.

† Abb. Rot. Orig., 8 Edw. II., Ro. 6. Hobelars were light horse soldiers—the cavalry of the border land; the origin of the name is doubtful; some derive it from *hobille* (French), a coat of quilted stuff; but it is more probably from *hobin* (French), a little short-maned horse.

‡ Rot. Lit. Claus., 8 Edw. II., p. 1. m.

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and Scotland. Several explanations of this service have been given, but the most probable is, that the baron was obliged to bear or convey the royal communications between the two kingdoms. While still under age, the king gave to him, in 1318, the custody of the castle and manor of Alnwick, with appurtenances, for the defence of the castle against Scots enemies and rebels, without anything being thence rendered to the king. In this year, all men capable of bearing arms, from twenty years of age to sixty, in the country north of the Trent were summoned to resist the Scottish invasion.*

Henry de Percy obtained livery of his lands in 1322; and in the same year he was made governor of Pickering Castle, and of the town and castle of Scarborough. At York, in 1324, he received the honour of knighthood; and for this imposing ceremony he was supplied with apparel out of the king's own wardrobe.

From an early period of his life to its close he was frequently engaged in the wars with Scotland. Repeated inroads had been made by the Scots into England, and all attempts to bring about peace having failed, Edward II. made large preparations to repel and avenge an expedition led by Robert Bruce in 1322; the warden of the marches was ordered to arm all the horse and foot of the border district, and an English army marched without resistance as far as Edinburgh; but finding no adequate supply of provisions, they returned, and in their route spoiled Holyrood and Melrose, and burnt Dryburgh, in revenge of similar atrocities committed by the Scots in England.† David, earl of Athol, was afterwards appointed by the king of England head warden over Northumberland, and Henry Percy was required to be obedient to him, and to keep a sufficient garrison in Alnwick Castle. Wearied out with these incessant wars, Edward endeavoured to bring them to an end; and in 1323, in effect acknowledged the independence of Scotland, and agreed with Bruce to a truce for two years. But neither kings nor truces could quell the turbulence of the border insurgents; and to such extreme distress and fear were many of the inhabitants of Northumberland reduced at this time, that they entered into engagements with the Scottish marauders to pay a kind of black mail to be free from aggression.

* Rot. Scot., Vol. I., p. 190. † Fordun.

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Henry Percy gave important aid to the queen of England and Prince Edward, when in 1326 they sought the destruction of Spenser, the rapacious favourite by whom the king was led. Percy, with his forces, joined the queen at Gloucester; and this service bringing him into favour with her party, he obtained the custody of Skipton Castle; and was afterwards appointed one of the regency, "to have the rule and government of the kingdom during the minority of Edward III."

War broke out in 1326 between England and Scotland. The Scots enemies and rebels, at night having surprised some castles and fortalices in Northumberland, the king commanded Henry de Percy to fortify and provision Alnwick Castle, and the bishop of Durham to do the same to other castles in Northumberland. Henry de Percy undertook to keep the march towards the northern part from the 14th of February to Whitsunday with one hundred men-at-arms and one hundred hobelars, and with his own men as many beyond as he pleased; and in payment of this service he received one thousand marks.* Percy, however, soon found that this force was insufficient for the defence of the borders; for frequent raids were made into England which he could not resist. To meet one of these invasions in 1327, the young king, Edward III., led a large army into the north; but the Scots, under experienced generals, passed through desert and rugged paths, so that the English, who attempted to follow, were exhausted with toil, hunger, and watching. Crossing, under the skilful guidance of Douglas, what was deemed an impassable bog, two miles in length, the Scots escaped, on a dark moonless night, to their own country, laden with plunder. Disheartened by their want of success, the English army was disbanded. Ever on the alert to take advantage of the carelessness of their foes, the Scots soon after laid siege to the castles of Norham and of Alnwick; the former was taken, but the latter made a successful resistance, and three Scotch knights, William de Montalt, John de Clapham, and Malis de Dobery, with some others, were slain before its walls.†

All attempts for a lasting peace had proved abortive, mainly because the king of England was unwilling distinctly to admit the independence of Scotland; but after the murder of the weak and unfortunate sovereign Edward II., the queen dowager and her paramour Mortimer, who governed England

* Rym. Fœd., II., p. 688.

† Fordun, l. XIII., c. 12.

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in the name of the young king, became so odious to the people of England, that they found it necessary to obtain peace with Scotland on any terms. Powers were therefore given in 1327 to Henry Percy and William de Zousche to negotiate a lasting peace; and the result was a treaty between the two kingdoms, which was sanctioned by the parliament held at Northampton, and ratified by Edward on the 4th of May, 1328; the claim of sovereignty over Scotland was given up by England; and to cement a cordial union, it was agreed that Joan, the sister of Edward, should be married to David, the son and heir of Robert Bruce. The interests of Henry Percy were not neglected; for in accordance with this treaty, he had restored to him the lands and possessions he formerly held in Scotland, and of which he had been deprived during the wars. He was appointed one of the justiciaries and commissioners for causing the peace to be kept along the borders of Northumberland; and it was part of his duty to perambulate the ancient boundaries; and, in concert with men from Scotland, to revise them whensoever this was deemed needful. Not long after this, on the 7th of June, 1329, died Robert Bruce—a great man, who will be held in honour throughout all time, for the valour, the wisdom, and indomitable fortitude which he evinced in delivering his country from foreign bondage.

The time, however, had not yet come for a cordial and lasting peace between the two countries; and a cause was soon found, after the death of Robert Bruce, to open again the flood-gates of war. Percy's estates in Scotland had been restored to him; but those of Henry de Beaumont, Lord Wake, and others, had not been delivered up. These powerful barons sought redress by endeavouring to change the dynasty of Scotland. An expedition headed by Lord Beaumont, a man of ability and experience, sailed from Ravenspur near the Humber, to the Frith of Forth, with the avowed object of placing Edward Baliol on the throne of Scotland. The English forces landed at Kinghorn, and achieved over the Scots a victory so marvellous, that it appears like a romance intruded into history. A little English army of three thousand men overthrew a great Scottish host, and slew thirteen thousand on the battle field at Duplin.* Baliol was crowned at Perth on the 24th of September, but his triumph was short; his throne like an unsubstantial dream

* Hemingford.



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rapidly faded away before the end of the year. While at Annan in supposed security, he was suddenly attacked at the dead of night by Randolph, Douglas, and Frazer, with a chosen band of a thousand men, and he was compelled to flee half naked on a horse without a saddle, across the Solway Sands to seek refuge in England, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him.

Secretly had the king of England countenanced this aggression upon Scotland; and its partial success awakened his ambition, to achieve what his grandfather nearly accomplished —the supremacy of England over Scotland. Some Scottish raids across the borders gave a colourable pretext to his leading a powerful army into Scotland. In 1333 he besieged Berwick, but a Scottish army came to its relief. A battle was fought at Halidon Hill near Berwick, where the Scots were signally defeated; Boece says they lost fourteen thousand men. Berwick in consequence surrendered; and Baliol with an army of twenty-six thousand men advanced into Scotland, and reduced nearly the whole under his power. Henry Percy was present at the battle of Halidon Hill; and on the 23rd of July was made governor of Berwick and one of the guardians of the eastern side of Scotland.* Along with Ralph Neville, William de Shareshall, and Thomas de Bamburgh, he attended, as deputy of the king of England, two meetings of the Scottish parliament, to seek confirmation of the convention between him and Baliol, wherein Baliol had bartered away the independence of his country. At the parliament held at Perth, there were granted to Henry Percy by Edward Baliol, the pele of Lockmaben with the valleys of Allendale and Moffatdale, which had formed part of the estate of Randolph, earl of Murray. This gift, however, he did not long enjoy; but King Edward III., on September 4th, 1334, gave to him, in compensation for its loss, the castle and town of Jedburgh, the towns of Bon-Jedburgh and Hassyden, and the forest of Jedburgh; and he also granted to him fifty marks yearly out of the customs of Berwick, and the custody of the castle there, for which, one hundred marks had to be paid to him in time of peace, and £200 in time of war. Annandale was given to Edward de Bohun.†

Notwithstanding the success of Edward, the feelings of independence and heroism, which the brave Robert Bruce

* Knyghton, 2564. Rot. Scot., I., p. 256. † Rot. Scot., I., p. 280.

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had kindled in the minds of the Scots, could not be extinguished. To the poor tool of the English king they would not submit; and a formidable confederacy was soon formed, which compelled Baliol to seek refuge in England. Edward was again in Scotland, in 1335, with an army to regain his lost authority. On his return to England, he halted at Doddington on the 1st of November, and he was at Alnwick from the 3rd to the 9th of the same month; and while there agreed to a truce with Sir Andrew Murray, one of the guardians for Scotland. Notwithstanding this, England waged incessant war with Scotland during the succeeding seven years; Edward fighting for dominion, and Scotland for independence. Frequently was Henry de Percy engaged in these movements; and we find that for his services he received, in 1336, two hundred marks from the exchequer.

To repel an invasion made in 1337, the various holders of baronies and manors were summoned to assemble at Newcastle accompanied by a number of their vassals; Gilbert de Umfraville had to bring with him thirty men-at-arms and fifty hobelars; Henry de Percy sixty men-at-arms, twenty hobelars, and twenty archers; Ralph de Neville the same number; John de Grey twenty men-at-arms; John de Acton two men-at-arms.*

Henry Percy in 1340 undertook, in conjunction with Gilbert Umfraville, Ralph Neville, and Anthony Lucy, to set forth at their own costs, two hundred and ten men-at-arms and two hundred and twenty archers to serve against the Scots. All these efforts, however, could not crush the spirit of Scotland; for in 1342, a little before the return of the young King David Bruce from France, the English had been driven out of every part of Scotland except Berwick; and now when their own country was freed from their foes, the Scots began again to ravage the English border; while Edward engaged in his ambitious attempts in France, could not, for a time, repel the aggressors. A truce, however, was made to last for three years, but it was ill-observed by both parties.†

The year 1346 was disastrous both to France and Scotland; the former was overcome at Cressy, and the latter at Neville's

* Rot. Scot., I., p. 508, where the names of others are given.

† In "Rotuli Scotiæ," Vol. I., there are copies of the several appointments of Henry de Percy to be keeper of the marches of Berwick, &c.; and orders to the collectors of the customs in Berwick to pay him salaries due out of the customs on wool, leather, and wool-fells.

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Cross. Urged by his ally the king of France, David Bruce invaded England with a large army of thirty thousand men, with which he ravaged the country, and advanced as far as Durham. Edward, king of England, was in France; but according to the romantic history of Froissart, Queen Phillipa manifested the spirit of a heroine; and, to drive back the invasion, summoned the peers and prelates of the realm with their followers to meet at York. An army of sixteen thousand valiant men rose in reply to her call. She is said to have led this army as far as the battle-field, and before leaving to have addressed them—entreating them to do their duty well in defending the honour of the king, and for the love of God. She then retired to Newcastle to await the issue.* It is doubtful, however, whether the queen took so prominent a part in these events.

The Scottish army was arrayed on the moor-lands westward of Durham, in three divisions; the right wing being led by the earl of Moray and Sir William Douglas; the left wing by Robert the high steward of Scotland; and the centre by the king himself. The English army in four divisions marched past Neville's Cross to attack the enemy; the right wing being led by Lord Percy, Gilbert de Umfraville, and other northern barons; the left wing by Sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire; the centre by Ralph Lord Neville, along with his son, the archbishop of York, and Lord Hastings; and the reserve, consisting chiefly of horsemen, were under the charge of William Ross, Thomas de Grey, Robert de Ogle, John de Coupland, and others; the whole was commanded by Lord Neville.

The church lent her aid to the English army; a large crucifix was carried before the ranks; and the prior and monks of Durham bore the holy corporax cloth of Saint Cuthbert, elevated on the point of a spear, from the convent to a little hill adjoining the battle-field; and around it they knelt, praying heaven to aid the English host.

On an autumn morning at nine o'clock, on the 17th of October, 1346, the trumpets sounded on both sides and the battle began. For some time it was fought with varying success. The archers of the English left wing carried death into the division of the Scots led by Moray and Douglas—the former was killed and the latter captured. But the right wing of the English, commanded by Percy, was broken by

* Froissart's Chronicles, Book I., Chap. 137.

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the assault of the Scots division led by the high steward; it was saved from total defeat by the aid of the reserve division. The central divisions of the two armies gallantly fought against each other; and though the victorious archers, under Sir Thomas Rokeby, attacked the right flank of the Scottish battalion, the brave Scottish king still maintained his ground; but, at this critical moment, the high steward and the earl of March led their division from the field; and it is feared that they perfidiously deserted their king in this hour of peril, for no attempt was made by Lord Percy's forces to pursue them. Percy's division then attacked the right flank of the king of Scotland's centre, which being now hemmed in on all sides, nothing was left for them but death or captivity. Gallantly did King David defend himself against his numerous foes; his nobles bravely rallied round him, till most of them were slain; of escape there was no hope, yet still the king fought manfully, though badly wounded by an arrow in his leg and by another in his face, till John Coupland, a Northumbrian squire and famous warrior, struck the weapon out of the king's hand, and in this defenceless condition he was taken; before, however, being captured, he struck Coupland's face with his gauntlet with so much force as to knock out two of the squire's teeth. The battle lasted but three hours; the Scots were completely defeated and pursued as far as the Tyne. Their loss was great; it has been estimated at fifteen thousand, but this is doubtless an exaggeration.*

The king elated with this victory, lost no time in forwarding to the barons of the northern parts of England a letter of thanks for the successful display of their "most excellent fidelity and valour;" and along with this, he indulges in strong expressions of pious thanksgivings—to the Lord Jesus Christ, who disposes of events throughout the heavens and the earth, gracing him and his lieges with high honours; and praises and thanks he offers in the language of humility and fervid devotion. Such are the sentiments uttered on contemplating the result of a fearful slaughter scene! Lord Gilbert de Umfraville, Henry de Percy, Ralph de Neville, John de Mowbray, Thomas de Lucy, Thomas de Rokeby, Thomas de Grey, Robert de Ogle, John de Coupland, Robert

* Robert White, who has done much as a poet and historian to illustrate the borders, has given a full and critical account of this battle in a remarkably able memoir in the "Archæologia Æliana."

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Bertram, and William D'Eyncourt are thus thanked by their king.* The character of the English heroes in this battle is drawn by the chronicler of Lanercost.

The Northumberland squire having secured so rich a prize, lingered not on the battle-field; but, forcing his way through the crowd, rode off with the captive king, and never halted till he reached Ogle Castle on the river Blyth in Northumberland. The queen, it is said, displeased at this, demanded him to bring to her the king of the Scots; but Coupland declared that he would give his captive to no man or woman, excepting to his own lord the king of England.† His valour and loyal service were, however, appreciated and richly rewarded by his sovereign. His chivalry gained him wealth and fame; he was created a knight banneret, and received a grant of £400 a year out of the customs of London, and £100 a year out of the customs of Berwick, until other equivalent lands were granted to him. Ultimately to him was given by the king, one moiety of the barony of Wooler along with other fees. He was also made sheriff of Northumberland, and retained for six years that office, which was then profitable as well as dignified. For some time too, he was governor of Roxburgh Castle, and along with Henry de Percy, warden of the marches. The pipe rolls evidence that he was connected with Alnwick; for in 18th Edward III., to John Coupland was committed for his good services, the custody of three messuages and eight acres of land in Alnwick, and also of other lands in Prendwick, Great Ryle, and Reaveley, which belonged to William de Rodam, senior, who was an enemy among the Scots.‡

The loss of this battle and the capture of the king was a heavy blow to Scotland, which was soon afterwards invaded by the English. Lord Percy was, on the 20th of March,

* Rot. Scot.

† The Scots magnates as well as the king were sent to the tower of London in December, 1346; but the ransom of these prisoners had to be paid to their respective captors. A list of them is given in Rot. Scot., I., p. 678.

‡ John Coupland married Joan, sister of Henry del Strother, of Kirknewton. Knyghton says he was murdered in 1362 by his own countrymen. From an inquisition made in 1363 concerning those who slew him, it appears that he was slain at Bolton Moor by John de Clifford, whose lands in consequence were granted to John de Coupland in fee in 1366; the county of Northumberland had, in the same year, to pay one thousand marks to obtain a pardon for his death—so highly valued was this warrior by his sovereign.

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1347, summoned to repair to Scotland with his quota of men—one hundred men-at-arms and as many archers on horseback; he was allowed as pay, six shillings and eightpence; for his knights, two shillings; his squires, one shilling; and his archers, fourpence per day. John de Coupland supplied twenty men-at-arms and twenty archers. Baliol entered Scotland with ten thousand men on its western side; and Henry Percy and Neville with an army of the same number invaded it by way of Berwick. These hostilities were, however, brought to a close; for a truce was agreed to between France and England, in which Scotland was included; and this truce lasted nearly eight years, though it was often infringed by the turbulent men of the borders. But before the renewal of active hostilities with Scotland, Henry de Percy had ceased to be an actor on the stage of life. The ferocity of border warfare was somewhat tamed by a fearful plague, which in 1348 and 1349 swept over England and Scotland like a destroying angel. This visitation was the most appalling on record; along the borders it destroyed one third of the inhabitants. Not a little of its virulence must be attributed to the incessant warfare, which destroyed the means of subsistence and burnt down dwellings, leaving the miserable inhabitants not slain by the sword, to become the victims of fear, anxiety, exposure, and famine.

Henry de Percy was occasionally engaged in the continental wars; in 1340, he was in the great sea fight between the English and French before Sluys in Flanders, and in consideration of his expenses, £500 were assigned to him out of the public taxes; two years afterwards, he was present at the siege of Nantes in Brittany; and he was again in France with the Black Prince in 1347.

Like his father he seems to have had a keen regard to his own aggrandisement, and he not unfrequently was the recipient of public money and grants of lands. At the early part of his career, he must have kept around him a large band of military retainers; and it would even appear, that, like the leaders of the free companies on the continent, he in a modified way sold the services of his vassals. The contracts made by him for the defence of the borders are curious. In 1327, he bound himself, on the condition of being paid £330 3s. 4d., to keep in his own county in the marches towards Scotland, an army of fifty-nine men-at-arms and two hundred hobelars for twenty-five days; and for payment he had granted to him £150 out of the debts which the prior of

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Lincoln owed, and the residue of £180 3s. out of the port of Newcastle.* By indenture in 1328, he engaged to serve the king with a certain number of men-at-arms, both in time of peace and war, during the term of his life; and for this he was to receive a yearly salary of five hundred marks. This strange contract led to a more strange issue, for it was the means of bringing into the possession of the Percys extensive estates. First, in lieu of this salary of five hundred marks, the king granted to him the castle of Warkworth; and next in 1328, after an act had been passed, making "all retainers in time of peace to be void," the king taking notice in what sort he had retained him, did therefore grant to him and his heirs in recompense thereof, the castle and manor of Warkworth, the manors of Rothbury, Corbridge, and Newburn, which had belonged to Sir John de Clavering, but which on his death without issue devolved on the crown.† Marvellous times these were, when large estates could be tossed about like tennis balls! Another instance may be given: when a banneret in 1326, he represented to the king that there were wages due to him, the sum of £851 14s. 4d. for his service in Scotland; and he obtained an assignation of £200, to be paid out of the tenths due to the crown from the archdeaconry of Cleveland. We hear of one of his retainers, and of the manner in which they served and were remunerated. William, the son of John de Rodhum, was retained to serve him both in peace and war, with one companion, until the full age of John, the son of John de Rodhum; and for this service, in time of war, William de Rodhum had to have apparel as his other yeomen, and hay, oats, horse shoes and nails for six horses, with waggons for six grooms, and recompense for such horses as should be lost in the wars; and in consideration of this service, Percy, who was the feudal superior of Houghton, granted to William the wardship of the lands of John de Rodhum, lying in Houghton, until the full age of the said John.

Henry Percy, in 1327, received from the king the custody of the manor and castle of Skipton. He founded, in 1329, a chantry for two priests in the chapel of Semar to celebrate divine service, for his own soul and the soul of his mother and all their ancestors, endowing it with one messuage, twenty oxgangs of land, and six acres of meadow in Wike

* Cal. Rot., 1 Edw. II., R'lis 25, 26.

† Cal. Rot., 2 Edw. III., Ro. 18.

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within the lordship of Semar. We hear now of few grants to religious houses. The enormous acquisition of lands by bishops, chapters, and monasteries had been an increasing evil, and excited the jealousy and hostility of the sovereigns; it was restrained by acts passed in the reign of Edward I., so that land could not afterwards be alienated to religious bodies without license from the king.

Henry de Percy died on February 26th, 1352. "He, when near his end," says the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, "had a great affection to this abbey, but alas! when detained by a slight infirmity in the castle of Warkworth he died unexpectedly, and was honourably buried in Alnwick Abbey." The events of his life shew that he was an active warrior, and especially pre-eminent in the north from the large number of vassals in his service. He married Imania* de Clifford, who died in 1365; Peeris says:—

> "Lady Ydonye his wife, which was circumspect and wise,
> In Beverlye Minster is tombed in right-costly wise."

According to Leland, this tomb was of white alabaster; but it cannot now be identified.

ARMS.—*A lion rampant—Blue, golden fusils in fess.*
CREST.—*On a chapeau, a lion passant.*

His will made on the 13th of September, 1349, which has been printed in the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, is remarkable as illustrating not his own character only, but the sentiments and habits of the period. Some of the bequests I shall briefly give. He left fifty marcs for wax to be burnt around his body, and to poor ecclesiastics for the good of his soul; twenty shillings to two hundred priests saying psalms for his soul; one hundred marcs for distribution among the poor, and one hundred shillings for oblations on the day of his interment; one hundred shillings for the expenses of his hostelry even to the day after his interment; £20 to be distributed to the poor, on the way, while his corpse was carried to the place of sepulture; £16 to be divided in equal portions among the parish churches of Semar, Nafferton, Lekyngfeld, Catton, Spofford, Topcliff, Petteworth, and Alnewyk; £20 to the chaplains of Semar, and thirty shillings to the church of

* Will of Henry Percy, Test. Ebor., p. 57; other authorities give the name Idonea.



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Fosceton; because formerly he had resolved to go to the Holy Land, and for this journey had set aside one thousand marcs, he willed, that if his son Henry would go this journey in his name, he should have this one thousand marcs; to the abbot of Alnewyk he gave ten marcs; to the preaching monks of Bamburgh twenty shillings; to the Carmelite monks of Alnewyk forty shillings; to twenty chaplains singing for his soul for one year, one hundred marcs; and to thirty-six other churches or ecclesiastical bodies he bequeathed about £80. There are bequests to a great number of persons; to his wife Imania, to his sons Henry, Thomas, Roger, to his daughters Margaret and Isabella, to William de Aton, Gilbert de Aton, Ralph de Neville, and to above sixty others. One very singular bequest occurs; he leaves £200 to satisfy any one in those parts of England through which he had passed either in time of peace or of war, who might complain, that anything had been taken from him by the testator or his people against his will.

## HENRY, THIRD BARON PERCY OF ALNWICK.

Henry, the third Baron Percy of Alnwick, was thirty years of age when his father died, and immediately afterwards, he obtained possession of his lands, excepting those which his mother Imania had for her dower. Though not so distinguished as his predecessors, Henry seems to have been a more amiable and better man than any of them; less of the mere warrior, less grasping in his ambition, and more humane in his disposition. "He was" says the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, "a man of little stature, but brave, faithful, and grateful; and, contented with the lordship left by his father, he desired to obtain the lands and possessions of no one." We look with the more pleasure on the character of this kind-hearted little man, as it contrasts strongly with the character of those who had gone before him.

Before his father's death, he was present at the famous battle of Cressy; and during the fifteen years he enjoyed the barony, he filled several honourable appointments. In 1352, he was one of the commissioners to receive David Bruce, king of Scotland, from Sir John de Coupland, the sheriff of Northumberland, and to set him free according to treaty; but five years elapsed before the unfortunate king regained his liberty. In 1355, King Edward constituted Henry de Percy keeper of the castle of Roxburgh, and sheriff of the

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county for two years, with the farms and profits thence arising.*

Meantime the brave little kingdom of Scotland, despite of the captivity of her sovereign, would not submit to a foreign yoke. By a daring attempt on a dark night, a party of Scots scaled the walls and took the town of Berwick in 1355; but the castle was unsuccessfully assaulted. Edward was then in France, but on hearing of this and other inroads of the Scots, he hastened home; and in January, 1356, arrived before Berwick, which he soon recovered. Henry de Percy was with him, and also witnessed at Roxburgh a few days afterwards, the formal surrender by Baliol to Edward of all his rights to the Scottish throne. Edward, determined to conquer this kingdom and bring to an end the harassing Scottish warfare, marched through the Lothians and burnt Haddington and Edinburgh and other open towns, and laid waste the country around; but distressed for want of provisions, he was compelled to retrace his steps, while the Scots hung in his rear and wreaked a fearful vengeance on all stragglers or parties that came within their power. As these devastations occurred about Candlemas, this English raid was long known as the "Burnt Candlemas;" and many a smoking village in Northumberland afterwards told of the bitter revenge of the Scots. For eleven years David their king had been a captive. Never did England — proud, powerful, generous England—appear more mean than in her treatment of Scotland's kings. Hard terms were wrung from David; he was released in November 1357, on condition of paying to Edward one hundred thousand marks; but although a part of this large sum was discharged, so exhausted was the nation with the English aggressions, that the greater portion was never paid.

Henry de Percy was in 1359 made governor of Berwick; and he was repeatedly one of the commissioners for guarding the Northumberland marches; in 1356, and again in 1365, he was commanded by the king to reside on his own lands on the marches, for the better defence of those parts against the Scots.

He was first married to Mary Plantagenet, the daughter of the earl of Lancaster, who died on the 1st of September, 1362, and was buried in Alnwick Abbey. "Her arms, those of England with a label of five points, are on the inner

* Rot. Scot., I., p. 781.

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entrance of Alnwick Castle."* His second wife was Jane, heir of John de Orby. Henry died on Ascension Day, 1368, and was buried in Alnwick Abbey by the side of his first wife. By her he had two sons, Henry and Thomas, and one daughter, who married one of the heirs of the De Vescys; by his second wife he left one daughter, who was only two years old when he died. He gave to Alnwick Abbey £100, and "frequently" says the chronicle, "bestowed on us many other kindnesses."

ARMS.—*A lion rampant.*
SUPPORTERS.—*Two herons* are looking from the shield. They are scarcely true supporters.

To the time of this lord, we may attribute the construction of the hermitage of Warkworth, one of the most interesting of mediæval antiquities, and over which the charm of romance has been thrown by Bishop Percy in his beautiful ballad of the hermit of Warkworth.

"There scoop'd within the solid rock,
Three sacred vaults he shows;
The chief a chapel, neatly arch'd,
On branching columns rose."

Of its original foundation there is no record; but the style of architecture indicates the period when it was hewn out. The confessional window, the moulding, and some of the ornaments belong to that age of decorated Gothic which prevailed somewhat later than the middle of the fourteenth century. Hartshorn, who according to his theory of history is sometimes imaginative, fancies that this hermitage was founded by Henry Percy, the third lord of Alnwick, in memory of his wife Mary Plantagenet; but of this there is neither evidence nor probability. Mary died in 1362, and her lord in 1368; but in the meantime he married again, and had a son and daughter. The Rev. J. W. Dunn, in an able paper on Warkworth, remarks that this Lord Percy "does not seem to have lamented his loss for any lengthened period, certainly not long enough for the hewing of this hermitage out of a rock." It seems to me too, a fatal objection to the fancy, that there is no Percy device or badge sculptured on any part of the hermitage. Rather with Mr. Dunn would we believe in the tradition embodied in the poem:—"Let that

* Longstaffe's Percy Heraldry, p. 172.

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battered figure be indeed the hermit Bertram, symbolizing, until the very stones shall perish, a bootless bene, a sorrow too deep for tears—and let that recumbent effigy be indeed the maid of Widdrington, his own best beloved, whom unwittingly he slew."* This hermitage may afterwards have been served by one of those hermits, who partly lived in such sequestered spots engaged in religious exercises, and partly wandered about the country collecting alms from the people.

Respecting this hermitage there is, however, a document of much later date, the substance of which I give here that I may not have to refer to it again.

"Henry Percy, the sixth earl, in 1531, in consideration of the service of his well beloved chaplen, Sir George Lancastre, hath done, and for that he shall have in his daily recommendation and praiers the good estate of all such noble blode and other personages as be now levynge, and the soules of such noble blode as be departed to the mercy of God owte of this present lyfe, whos names are conteyned and wrettyn in a table upon parchment signed with thande of me the said erle—do graunte unto the said Sir George, myn armytage bilded in a rock of stone within my parke of Warkworth, with a yerly stipende of twenty merks, and also the occupation of one little grasground of myn called Conygarth, nygh adjoynge the said harmytage; the garden and orteyarde belongyng to the said armytage; the gate and pasture of twelf kye and a bull, with their calves suking; and two young horses goyng and beyng within my said parke of Warkworth wynter and somer; one draught of fish every Sondaie in the yer, to be drawn forenenst the said armytage, called the Trynete draught; and twenty lods of fyrewode to be taken of my wodds, called Shilbotell Wod."

* Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, V., p. 53.

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# CHAPTER IX.

## CASTLE, TOWN, AND BARONY, FROM 1297 TO 1368.

ALNWICK CASTLE REBUILT—INQUISITION INTO THE PROPERTY IN THE TOWN AND BARONY—COMPARATIVE VALUES—FEUDAL CHARGES—DID ALNWICK SEND MEMBERS TO PARLIAMENT?—CONDITION OF THE DISTRICT—HOLDERS OF PROPERTY IN ALNWICK—MIDDLETON FAMILY—RODDAM—CHARTER OF MARKET AND FAIR—PONTAGE—TRADE OF TOWN—CHURCHES—ALNMOUTH.

Before entering on the long and eventful history of the fourth Baron Percy, we may pause again, to look at the state of the castle, the town, and the barony during the sway of the three first Percys.

Time and the assaults of enemies had reduced the great Norman castle of the Vescys to a state of dilapidation; and the neglect of Bishop Bek would add to its ruinous condition. As soon, however, as the first Henry Percy obtained possession of the barony, he began to repair and restore Alnwick Castle; but in a style more magnificent than that of the old stronghold. The best portions of the Norman keep, the ornate zigzag archway and tower, and several parts of the surrounding walls were retained; but before the end of this period, by far the greater portion of the castle was entirely new. The keep was still a cluster of seven round towers, arranged around a large inner court; but the long narrow windows gave place to others of a somewhat larger size, either with a pointed arch, or with straight headings and rounded haunches. Those looking into the court were of larger size still, divided by mullions and ornamented by flowing tracery. The Percy hall, which has but recently been demolished, was there; a tower and a curtain wall divided the area within the outer walls, into an inner and outer bailey; and along the walls of the outer bailey were buildings for lodging the garrison. Within the inner bailey,

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stood the chapel. The gloomy massive barbican and most of the mural towers belong to this period. There were still two defensive ditches—one round the keep, and the other extending from the east side of the outer walls and along the southern side, and bending northward in front of the barbican. *Figure* 2 in *Plate IV.*, is a plan of the castle as renovated by the Percys. There seems, at this time, to have been another bailey outside of the walls of the castle on the west, affording more space for military exercises than the baileys within the walls. Bailiffgate and part of Narrowgate now occupy this space; but the buildings there, being beyond the town walls, which were erected in the fifteenth century, it is probable that the whole area was then open ground. Bailiffgate is commonly pronounced *Belleygate*; and the old name Baileygate—the street of the bailey—corroborates the view of its having been an outer bailey of the castle. Probably too, *Rotten Row* or *Ratten Raw*, a a little to the westward, was the place of exercise for the hobelars or border cavalry, which garrisoned the castle.

Though these great works were commenced by the first Henry Percy, his life was too short for their completion; his son, the second Henry Percy, was the chief builder; of him the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey says—"he in his own time most excellently repaired the castle of Alnwick." Two octagon towers, forming the entrance into the keep, are doubtless his work; for one of the twelve shields of armorial bearings, which ornament the upper part of these towers, is charged with the arms of Clifford, to which family his wife Imania belonged, she being the daughter of Robert Lord Clifford—*Plate V., fig.* 2. Begun about the year 1310, the restorations were finished by about 1350. A noble picturesque building was now this castle, combining the characters of a palace with those of a fortress; it was a fitting residence for the greatest of northern barons, who was here attended by his numerous military vassals, ready at their lord's commands to man the walls and repulse assailants, or to sally forth fully equipped, as men-at-arms or archers, to meet an enemy in the open field. So strong now was this castle, with its lofty towers and massive walls, strengthened by every defence which engineering could then devise, that, during this period, it was never conquered. The art of defence, indeed, was then greatly superior to that of attack.

In the time of war, the castle was filled with soldiers for the defence of the district; it was the great military

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stronghold on the English borders. When John de Felton was constable, in 1315, it was garrisoned by three thousand and thirty-seven men-at-arms and forty hobelars — light armed cavalry mounted on small ambling horses. During the year, he received for farms, rents, pleas, and perquisites of the courts pertaining to Alnwick Castle, £326 10s. 9d. The total sum paid to the garrison for three hundred and sixty-one days was £1137 3s.; and the cost of victualling, of munitions, and of repairs, was £1252 0s. 1d. The fee of the constable was one hundred marks; every man-at-arms was paid twelvepence per day, and every hobelar sixpence. Compared with the present pay of soldiers, these are large sums. In the parliament held at Lincoln, in 1316, there was granted to the king an able foot soldier out of every village or hamlet, and the pay for each man was fixed at a groat a day; even this was about double the wages of a skilled mechanic. When Henry de Percy was, in 1322, commanded by writ to act under the earl of Athol with all his power, he was ordered to leave a sufficient garrison in Alnwick Castle.*

Even in time of peace, many military retainers would be attendant on the baron in this castle—hunting with him in his forests and dining with him in his hall, where feasting and revelry would be enlivened by the minstrel's song. Jousting and military exercises in the baileys would form no little part of the business, if not the pleasure of these warriors. In dignity and power, the baron was like a king within his northern demesne, for here too, he held his courts, dispensing justice and exercising power, even over the lives of such malefactors as were caught committing crime within the barony. Not far from a baronial castle—usually about a mile—was the place of capital punishment; and hence we find near to such strongholds, the *gallow-hill* or the *gallow-law*, or the *gallows-field*. On the Lane Head Farm, about a mile northward of Alnwick Castle, there is still a *gallows-field*, probably the place where capital punishments were inflicted by the baron of Alnwick.

Inquisitions made in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. furnish information respecting the barony of Alnwick at this period; but it would be tedious to give all of these; I shall therefore present a full digest of one made in the 42nd of Edward III., as far as relates to Northumberland; and as this, the most important document of the kind, has not

* Records Chron. Abs., II., p. 328.

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yet been printed, the original will appear in the appendix; but here I shall generally give the modern spelling of places.

This inquisition was made at Newcastle in 1368, by John de Scotherskelf, escheator, before John de Walyngton, Robert de Louther, Gilbert Vaus, William de Rodum, Richard de Cramlington, Robert de Middelton, Richard de Glanton, John Laweson, Robert de Eland, John Forester de Corbrig, William Ayriks, and Robert Hudespeth, jurors, who found that Henry de Percy, the peer, held in his own demesne as of fee tail—the castle and manor of Alnwick, with the towns and other things underwritten pertaining to the said castle and manor from ancient time: viz., the boroughs of Alnwick and Alnmouth, and the towns of Alnwick and Lesbury, Great Houghton, Chatton, Alnham, and a pasture called Swinlees. These he held by homage and fidelity and by service of twelve knights' fees, as parcel of the barony of Alnwick, and also by service of sixty shillings yearly, paid to the king's exchequer. The following are the particulars of this property and their respective values yearly:—Alnwick Castle and manor are of no value beyond repairs; a close below the castle is worth in herbage, two shillings; one hundred and forty-four acres of demesne lands render sevenpence per acre; ten acres of demesne meadow, twelvepence per acre; the free tenants of Alnwick, who hold severally certain burgages and other tenements there, render £11 6s. 8d., and other free tenants three shillings and eightpence for every service, at the feast of St. Cuthbert, in March; a certain free tenant renders sixpence at the feast of the Lord's Nativity; and another free tenant sixpence on the 15th of July; four bondagia and a half, sixty shillings; two water mills, £14, of which the prior and brethren of Holn Abbey are seized of the yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d., granted to them by a former lord of Alnwick; Cawledge Park is worth six shillings and eightpence, and the West Park, twenty shillings, beyond the maintenance of the wild animals; the herbage of a third park Holn, with the pasture of "He-Forthlawe" is worth forty shillings; the perquisites of the Halmote of Alnwick are worth six shillings and eightpence, and the profits of the courts of the borough of Alnwick, six shillings; the mills of North Charlton render one hundred shillings as parcel of Alnwick; the profits of tolls and divers other things sold at the yearly fair and at the markets of Alnwick held on Saturday, are worth sixteen shillings; at Denwick, which is parcel of Alnwick, seventy-six acres of land in the hands of tenants at will, render twenty-five shillings and fourpence, at the rate of fourpence per acre, and nineteen and a half bondagia there are in the hands of tenants, each having one dwelling house and twenty-four acres of land and of meadow—ten of them render thirteen shillings and fourpence each, and nine and a half, six and eightpence each; at Denwick also, three cotagia render



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three shillings each, and one pasture containing three acres renders three shillings; at Alnmouth, a rent called Burghmale of £4 3s. 9d. is paid at the feast of Pentecost and Saint Martin; other free tenants there, pay nineteen shillings and fourpence at the same terms; a fishery there in the Aln renders two shillings; the perquisites of the courts at Alnmouth are worth three shillings and fourpence, and the toll there renders two shillings.

The manor and town of Lesbury, as parcel of Alnwick, render twelvepence in herbage; two hundred and five and a half acres in demesne, sixpence per acre; twenty-two acres of pasture, twelvepence per acre; a water mill yields £10; there are twenty bondagia, sixteen of which render thirteen shillings and fourpence each, and four lie uncultivated, the herbage rendering six shillings and eightpence; eleven cotmen pay twenty-two shillings; one free tenant two shillings; one dwelling house and one hundred and twenty acres of land yield twelve shillings; and the perquisites of the Halmote are worth five shillings.

The manor and town of Great Houghton, which are ruined and wasted, render for herbage three shillings; two hundred and forty acres of demesne land ninepence per acre, and twenty-four acres of meadow twelvepence per acre; of two water mills, the one is ruined, and the other renders one hundred shillings; there are twenty-eight bondagia, eighteen of which are in the hands of tenants at will, each rendering sixteen shillings; the other ten, desolate and lying waste, are now in the hands of tenants at will, each rendering six shillings and eightpence; there are twenty-nine cotagia, eighteen of which are in the hands of tenants at will, each rendering twentypence; the other eleven, which lie waste, render in herbage eleven shillings; the perquisites of the Halmote are worth three shillings and fourpence.

In the town of Chatton, parcel of Alnwick, is a manor ruined, the herbage of which renders three shillings and fourpence; and one hundred and eighty acres of demesne land render sixpence per acre; there are twenty-seven bondagia, eighteen of which are in the hands of tenants at will, each rendering thirteen shillings and fourpence, the other nine are desolated and lying waste, and for herbage each renders three shillings and fourpence; thirteen cotagia render each twelvepence; one water mill £8, of which £4 being paid to the "renowned chapel" at Chatton, there remains to the lord £4; a certain several pasture called "Musgrave Schell" renders for herbage sixty shillings; a park with wild animals called "Kelsowe" is of no value beyond the maintenance of the wild animals; free tenants render £6 14s.; and the perquisites of the Halmotes are worth four shillings.

The town of Alnham he held in his own demesne; and the site of the manor with a garden and two acres of meadow render in herbage six shillings; one hundred and eighty acres of demesne land in the hands of tenants at will, render sixpence per acre,

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and fifteen acres of demesne meadow twelvepence per acre; of eighteen bondagia, twelve are in the hands of tenants at will, each yielding thirteen shillings and fourpence, the other six are wasted and render in herbage twelve shillings; twelve cotagia in the hands of tenants at will render twenty-four shillings, and six, which are wasted, render in herbage twelve shillings; one water mill renders forty-three shillings and fourpence; and free tenants twenty-four shillings and threepence.

A pasture called "Swyleyschels," parcel of the manor of Alnwick, renders in herbage thirty shillings.

The following vills and manors held by Henry of the king *in capite*, as pertaining to the castle and manor of Alnwick, were granted to other persons on feudal conditions.

| Manors. | Sub-feudatories. | Knights' Fees. | Value. | Castle Ward. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | s. d. |
| Shilbottle, Hazon, Guyzance, Rennington, and the fifteenth part of the hamlet of Broxfield | Robert de Hilton | $2\frac{1}{15}$ | | 29 4 |
| Doddington and Weetwood | Sir Thomas Grey | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 100s. | 13 4 |
| Newham | John de Coupland | 1 | 100s. | 6 8 |
| East Chevington and Morwick | John, son and heir of Marmaduke de Lumley, and David de Grey | $1\frac{1}{2}$ | £120 | 20 0 |
| Brunton, Preston, and Screnwood | Sir John de Stryvelyne | $\frac{1}{2}$ | £20 | 17 9 |
| Newton-on-the-Sea and Yerdhill (Earl) | John de Stryvelyne | 1 | 20 marks | 13 4 |
| Horton | David de Grey | $\frac{1}{2}$ | £10 | 6 8 |
| Budle and Spindleston | William de Balden and William de Colville | 1 | £20 | 13 4 |
| Hawkhill and Ewart | Thomas de Gray | $1\frac{1}{3}$ | £20 | 17 9 |
| Adderston | Alic. Chartres | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 100s. | 6 8 |
| North Charleton | Henry de Beumond | $1\frac{1}{2}$ | 100s. | 6 8 |
| Lucker and South Charlton | David de Lokre | 1 | 100s. | 13 4 |
| Littlehoughton | William de Rodum | 1 | 100s. | 13 4 |
| Bilton | Robert de Umfravyle | 1 | 20 marks | 13 4 |
| Howick | Sir Thomas de Gray<br>Nicholus Martoks<br>William del Hall<br>John, son of David de Brigham, and his wife | 1 | 100s. | 13 4 |
| Fowberry and Coldmartin | William de Follebery | 1 | £20 | 13 4 |
| Hetton | Richard Tempest | 1 | £10 | 6 8 |
| Lyham | Alanus de Strother | $\frac{1}{2}$ | £10 | 5 2½ |
| Hamlet of Bartewell (Hoberlaw) | John de Sokpeth | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 100s. | 2 9 |
| One tenth of Swynhoe | Walter de Swynhoe and Alaunus de Heton | $\frac{1}{4}$ | 100s. | 2 0 |
| Rugley | Gido Tias | 1 | £20 | 5 0 |
| Chillingham, Manor and Castle of | Alanus de Heton | 1 | £20 | 13 4 |
| Rock | Robert de Tughale | 1 | | 13 4 |

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The whole of these sub-feudatories held their estates by homage and fidelity to the chief baron, by service of certain proportions of knights' fees according to the extent of the property, by suit of court at Alnwick held from three weeks to three weeks, and by payment on the 15th of July, of a sum for the ward or defence of Alnwick Castle. These particulars are given in the preceding table, which shews also the value of each estate, and the names of the owners according to the original spelling.

Henry also received a rent of £8 out of the manor of Beanley,* which was in the hands of free tenants; sixty-eight shillings and eightpence out of the manor of South Middleton "under Chevyot in Glendale," also by the hands of tenants; he had five oxgangs of land in the town of Wooler, which were in the hands of tenants at will, each oxgang paying ten shillings yearly.

Henry also held of the king *in chief* the castle and manor of Warkworth, with the vills of Birling, Acklington, Rothbury, Newton, Thropton, and Snitter, pertaining to this manor, by service of two knights' fees; the castle and manor are of no yearly value beyond repairs, but the herbage of the mote of the castle renders twelvepence; three hundred and three acres of land sixpence per acre; and a "several pasture called Wolemere" thirteen shillings and fourpence; rents of divers burgages in the town produce one hundred and one shillings; out of the vill of High Buston (*Overbotilston*) a rent of fifty shillings was payable, and another rent of forty shillings out of the vills of High Buston and Togston; a water mill renders £10; and a fishery in the Coquet is worth £13 6s. 8d.; the herbage of a wood called Sunderland renders five shillings; and the perquisites of the court there are worth six shillings and eightpence. At Birling, ten bondagia in the hands of tenants at will, render thirteen shillings and fourpence each. At Acklington, the site of a manor renders four shillings; and seventy acres of land in the hands of tenants at will sixpence per acre; there are twenty-six bondagia in the hands of tenants at will, each rendering thirteen shillings and fourpence, but nine others lying waste render in herbage twenty shillings; a wind mill thirty shillings; the herbage of a park beyond maintaining the wild animals is worth thirteen shillings and fourpence; and the perquisites of the Halmote court three shillings and fourpence. At Rothbury, the site of a dwelling house renders in herbage three shillings and fourpence; one hundred and forty-nine acres of land in the hands of tenants at will render tenpence per acre, and ten acres of meadow with a pasture fifty-one shillings and ninepence; three water mills with tolls and furnage of one bakehouse £8 6s. 8d.; twenty shealings in the forest of Rothbury with herbage £21; rents of divers

* This being held on a great sergeantry tenure, did not render the ordinary military service.

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burgages amount to £4 0s. 12d.; an annual rent called Fensilver to thirteen shillings; the perquisites of the court are worth nine shillings. At Le Newton, eight bondagia in the hands of tenants at will render twelvepence per acre; land called Storland thirteen shillings and fourpence; two cotagia six shillings; and a fulling mill thirty shillings; At Thropton, ninety-four acres of land and sixteen acres of meadow in the hands of tenants at will render twelvepence per acre; eight bondagia in the hands of tenants at will forty-two shillings and eightpence, and work in autumn due by these bondmen to the lord renders eleven shillings; another bondagium renders eightpence, and there are three cotagia, each of which renders three shillings and fivepence farthing, three parts of one cotagium twelvepence, and the tenants of the said cotagia by divers works four shillings and sixpence. Near to Snitter, there are fifty-three acres of land in the hands of tenants at will rendering twelvepence per acre; a pasture called Bradmedowe twenty-one shillings; eighteen bondagia render seventy-four shillings, and by work twenty shillings; there is also a rent in the same place of six shillings; three cotagia render three shillings and fivepence farthing each, and by work eighteenpence; a piece of land called Thirland renders six shillings and eightpence.

Henry held of the king *in chief* the burg of Corbridge, on a farm rent of £40 paid to the king's exchequer, with increment of the same, by service of ten shillings to the king, by the hands of the sheriff of the county; there are in the same place two hundred and fifty-three acres of land in the hands of tenants at will rendering fourteenpence per acre; one manor renders nothing beyond repairs; a piece of land called Waldfleis, with forty acres of meadow renders threepence per acre; rents of divers burgages amount to £4; the herbage of a wood called Lynnels renders forty-two shillings and twopence; a piece of land called Presdestretland, £6 4s. 0d.; the Tolbothe six shillings and eightpence; a waste called Aldhall in herbage twelve shillings; the rent of the mill of Develston is ten shillings; two water mills with toll and one bakehouse render £18; and the perquisites of the court are worth 6s. 8d.

He held also of the king *in chief* the manor of Newburn by service of one knight's fee as parcel of the manor of Warkworth; a capital messuage with a dove-cote in the hands of tenants at will renders twenty-two shillings; two carucates of lands in the hands of tenants at will £10; forty acres of meadow in the hands of tenants at will, with hearth silver (*focagium*) £9; twenty-four husbandlands in the hands of tenants at will £8; eighteen cotagia in the hands of tenants at will eighteen shillings; and one cotagium ruined renders nothing; two water mills in the hands of tenants at will, with a malt-house render ten marks; one fishery in the Tyne in the hands of tenants at will £10; a coal mine in the

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hands of tenants at will forty shillings; the hamlet Botlawe in the hands of tenants at will forty shillings, and Deflawe in herbage fourteen shillings; in the hamlet Wallbottle are sixteen husbandlands in the hands of tenants at will rendering £7, and three parts of one husbandland in the hands of tenants at will six shillings and eightpence; a rent called Plassilver of eighteenpence is collected yearly; and a free farm of fifteen shillings and sevenpence comes out of the vill of Throcklaw.

Pertaining to the castle and manor of Alnwick are the advowsons of the abbey of Alnwick, the temporalities of which are worth £10; of the house of "Holne," worth twenty marcs; of the chapel of Mary of Warkworth, worth forty shillings; of the chapel of Chatton, worth sixty shillings.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The sum of the worth of the manor and castle of Alnwick with the members yearly is . . | 176 | 11 | 5½ |
| The sum of the worth of the manors of Warkworth and Rothbury with the members yearly is . | 158 | 5 | 6½ |
| The sum of the demesne of Corbridge yearly is . | 49 | 14 | 8 |
| The sum of the manor of Newburn with the members yearly is . . . . . | 59 | 0 | 13 |

Sum total £450 3s. 1½d.

Comparing this inquisition with that made nearly seventy years before, in 1289, at the close of the De Vescy period, we must be struck with the depreciation in the value of the estate. Taking that portion which had not been granted to sub-feudatories, but which was partly retained in the hands of the baron, partly granted to free tenants, and partly granted on servile conditions, we find the change very great. The value in 1289 was £475 9s. 6½d.; but in 1368 only £180 3s. 11d. Land had not much altered in value; arable land was sixpence per acre annually in the last period, in the latter sevenpence; meadow land in the first period was fifteenpence per acre, in the latter twelvepence. We cannot compare all the particulars, for the details are not given in the earlier inquisition; but bondagia in the first period were twenty-six shillings and eightpence, and in the last thirteen shillings and fourpence yearly. Mills had not much depreciated; the mills at North Charlton yielded £6 in 1289, and £5 in 1368. The falling off must have been chiefly in the rental of lands let to tenants. Taking the gross sums, Alnwick Manor in the first period is valued at £122 0s. 3¾d., but in the latter at £52 16s. 8d.; Chatton, at £68 16s. 1½d. in the former, and £35 2s. 4d. in the latter; Alnmouth reaches £30 in the former, and only £5 10s. 5d. in the latter; Lesbury,

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£82 14s. 3d. in the former and £33 0s. 11d. in the latter; Longhoughton, £92 7s. 4¼d. in the former, and £34 7s. 0d. in the latter; and Alnham £19 6s. 7d. in the former, and £51 7s. 6d. in the latter period. The value also of the estates of the sub-feudatories had diminished. Chillingham was valued in 1368 at £20, but in 1289 at £40; Horton, which was £40 in 1289, was only valued at £10 in 1368; and it is similar with other estates. But these relative sums do not fully give the amount of depreciation; for betwen the two periods, the English pound had been reduced in weight, so that while the pound in 1300 was equal to 2·871 of the present pound sterling, it was only equal to 2·353 in 1353, shewing a diminution in weight of twenty per cent. Money at the former period was equivalent to above twenty-five times the present value, but in 1350 it was reduced to less than twenty times; so that in 1289 the manor of Alnwick was worth £11,886 18s. 6½d., but in 1362 it was worth only £3,663 4s. 8d., or less than one third. I know not how to account for this change; possibly the incessant war, which raged in the district during this interval, may have desolated it, and rendered the produce of industry uncertain and of little value. The great pestilence, which destroyed from one third to one half of the population, may have left many lands untilled and many herds untended.

Large rents, it will be observed, were derived from mills; for at this period and long afterwards, barons monopolised the trade of millers. In the olden time, querns or hand mills formed of two stones, which could be worked by one or two persons, were in general use, so that each householder ground his corn within his own dwelling; but when barons built either water or wind mills (of both of which we have examples), all the inhabitants of the barony were compelled to take their corn to the lord's mill and to pay a multure or toll for its use. People, however, still persisted in grinding corn with their own hand mills; and therefore, these arbitrary lords sent agents around the barony to destroy the querns; the upper stone, being thinner, was usually broken, so that though many of these primitive mills have been discovered in this district, it is rare to find a perfect upper quern stone.* This monopoly was profitable to the lord, but oppressive to the people. Barons too, monopolised the trade

* It was different in London, where it was ordained "that every one who uses two bushels of corn per week, shall have a hand mill in his house." *Liber Albus*, p. 591.

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of baker; they built ovens, in which people were compelled to bake their bread, and pay *furnage* or toll for their use. The value of one water mill with the *furnage of one bakehouse* in Rothbury amounted to £8 6s. 8d. The manorial bakehouse of Alnwick was situated between Bondgate Street and the north side of the Market.

Other peculiar feudal charges appear in this inquisition. *Fensilver* was paid at Rothbury; both its origin and object are doubtful; by some it has been considered as a remnant of head-pence, which was formerly collected by the sheriff; it seems, however, to have been a baronial imposition and not a national tax; probably a payment to the lord in lieu of personal service against the Scots, and hence called *fen* or *fence* silver. *Focagium* or hearth silver, paid at Warkworth, was a tribute for fire, the object and origin of which are also obscure. *Castle Ward* was chargeable on military tenants, who were bound to defend the stronghold of their lord. Every tenant owing this service to the castle of Newcastle, was originally obliged to send for its defence one man for each knight's fee held by him. But after a while, personal service was commuted into a money payment, which in the case of Alnwick Castle ranged from two shillings to twenty-nine shillings and fourpence yearly; the lowest being for Swinhoe, and the highest for Shilbottle. This feudal service was extinguished in the reign of Charles II. Though bond labour does not appear at Alnwick, it was still performed at Rothbury, where eight bondmen and three cotmen worked for the lord in autumn; and their labour was valued at fifteen shillings and sixpence yearly.

The question whether Alnwick ever sent members to parliament may be considered here; for although representative parliaments were summoned in 1264, in the 49th of Henry III., through the influence of Simon de Montford, yet parliamentary representation did not become an established fact till the time of Edward I. Repeatedly has it been said that Alnwick was summoned to send members; and Willis Brown has been quoted as authority for the assertion, but he makes no such statement; he merely includes Alnwick along with Alnmouth, Harbottle, and Warnmouth, in a list of *boroughs*, which were never summoned to send members. That Alnwick, which at this period was greatly more important than many other places which enjoyed representation, should have been passed by, appears strange enough; but individual towns were not summoned by royal authority; the writs sent

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to sheriffs in the 23rd of Edward I. directs them "to cause deputies to be elected to a general council from every city, borough, and trading town." Sheriffs therefore determined what towns should exercise the electoral privilege. The sheriff of Wiltshire, in the 12th of Edward III., endorsed the return of two members for Salisbury with these words—"there are no other cities or boroughs within my bailiwick," although eight other towns had in previous years sent members to parliament. In the 1st of Edward III., the sheriff of Northumberland returned to the writ of summons, that they were too much ravaged to send any members to parliament; and in the 6th of Edward III., that all the knights were not sufficient to protect the country.*

Towns frequently were desirous of escaping the expensive distinction of sending members to parliament; for they had to pay their deputies not only travelling expenses, but two shillings per day wages, equivalent to at least forty shillings of our money. Through such causes Alnwick may have been excluded in early times from taking part in representative government.

Neither general history nor the public records yield much information of the state of the town at this period. The achievements of kings, even their itineraries, the march of armies, and the deeds of great barons are abundantly told, but it is only incidentally that we catch a view of the condition, the character, and the progress of the great body of the people.

In the early part of this period the district appears to have been in a most wretched condition. The battle of Bannockburn turned the tide of war against England; and the destructive waves which had swept over Scotland surged back against the English border. Robert Bruce in 1315, ravaged the open country as far as Carlisle; and in the following year, the Scots penetrated as far as Richmond, and then directing their course westward, wasted the country sixty miles around and carried off many prisoners. Scarcity and famine followed those ravages; wheat rose to the price

* John de Vallibus and Roger Corbet were returned as knights for Northumberland, on the 5th of April, 1306; but their residence being required in the county on account of the war, John de Dudden and William de Devon appeared in their place; on the 3rd of November, of the same year, John de Vallibus and Richard de Horseleye were returned knights for the county. — Parliamentary Records, I., pp. 172 and 187.



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of sixty shillings per quarter, about eight times its average price; and the Northumbrians were compelled, by want, to live on the flesh of horses, dogs, and unclean things. Bands of lawless banditti, prowling in the district, added to the horrors of the scene.

A gang led in 1317 by Gilbert de Middleton, constable of Mitford Castle, committed great excesses, and did not even spare churchmen. Support was given to him by some border men of influence, irritated it is said by the imprisonment of Adam de Swinburn, the sheriff of the county, who had ventured to address a remonstrance to the king, complaining of the inadequacy of the measures for preserving order in the border land. With the conduct, however, of the men of the north generally, the king appears to have been satisfied, for on the 30th of May, 1316, in a letter of credence addressed to the earls, barons, knights, and free men (*liberi homines*), and all others in the county, he thanks them for their fidelity and valour in resisting the Scots, and in defending his hereditary right and their own personal liberty; he is greatly grieved at the hardships and troubles which they had sustained from the enemy; and when he shall have assembled his army, he intends to proceed speedily with sufficient force to defend them against hostile incursions; John de Felton, constable of the castle of Alnwick, to whom they were to give full faith in all matters relating to the king's intended movements, is well able, he adds, to explain his intentions to them.*

Whatever may have been the cause of the disaffection, the malcontents under Gilbert de Middleton ravaged, plundered, and destroyed. In one of his predatory excursions, issuing from a wood at Rusheyford—between Ferry Hill and Woodham—he seized upon the bishop of Durham and his brother Lord Henry de Beaumont, and upon two cardinals, who had been sent by the pope to ordain the bishop and endeavour to mediate a peace between England and Scotland. After robbing the party of their goods, money, and horses, he dismissed the cardinals, but imprisoned the bishop at Morpeth and his brother at Mitford; heavy ransoms were paid before they were released. All the castles of Northumberland, excepting Norham, Bamburgh, and Alnwick, were taken by these freebooters. Short, however, was the guilty career of Gilbert de Middleton; he was, through the treachery of some of his

* Records, Chronological Abstract, II.

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own men, captured in his own castle of Mitford, by William Felton, Thomas Heton, and Robert Hornecliff, and was sent to London, where he was tried, condemned, and executed.* Part of his band escaped to Horton Castle and joined the gang of Walter Selby, another noted freebooter. "It were a wonderful process" says the *Scala Chronica*, "to declare what mischiefs came by hunger and asseges by the space of xi yeares in Northumberland. For the Scots became to be so proud after they had got Berwick, that they nothing esteemed the Englishman."

By the possession of property in Alnwick at this period, the very old Northumbrian family of Middleton was connected with the town. As early as 1263, we find John de Middleton possessed of "Belsowe," now Belsay; but John, his grandson, who inherited it, had joined his kinsman Gilbert in his rebellion, and suffered the forfeiture of his property, which was in 1318 granted by the king first to John de Crumbewell, and next to Sir John de Strivelyn, a distinguished warrior high in the king's favour. This knight commanded the English forces at the siege of the castle of Loch Leven, in 1335, when they attempted, by erecting a strong wall, to obstruct the flow of the water and overwhelm the castle; but the attempt failed. He was a busy man in the affairs of the north, and by the favour of the king and by prudent marriages, accumulated large possessions. He was first married to Barbara, one of the co-heirs of Adam de Swinburne; and next to Jane, daughter of Richard de Emeldon, by whom it seems he came into possession of property in Alnwick and the neighbourhood. Richard de Emeldon had besides other possessions when he died in 1333, lands in Alnewyke, Ruggeley, Alnemuth, Walden (Wooden), Wooler, Coldmartin, Abberwick, Newton-on-the-Moor, Tyndeley, Sheepeham, Broxfield, Emeldon, Dunstan.

Through his marriages, Sir John Strivelyn became allied to the family of Middleton, as well as of Swinburn; and when he died, many of his possessions passed by virtue of a settlement to John de Middleton and his wife Christiana; and hence we find that John de Middleton, who died in August, 1396, was possessed of the half of Belshowe (Belsay) and many other lands, among which were four tenements and fifty-two acres of land and a meadow with appurtenances in Alnewyk, held on free burgage tenure, and which were

* "Scala Chronica," p. 548. Pakyngton's Chronique, p. 462.

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worth eighty shillings yearly; one burgage in Alnemouth on free burgage tenure worth nothing.*

These estates were in the possession of Christiana his wife in 1421. The present Sir Charles Atticus Monck, Bart., is a lineal descendant of the Middletons; though disconnected with Alnwick, he holds Belsay and other Northumberland estates; his father in 1799 took the surname of Monck in compliance with the will of his maternal grandfather. Honourably is the family known to fame for the heroism displayed in the eighteenth century by Sir William Middleton, Bart., in bravely and successfully battling for the political independence of the county. He was five times returned a knight of the shire during the reign of George II.

A few other scraps may be taken from the public records relating to property in Alnwick.

The sheriff, in 1296 and 1297, accounts for ten shillings owing by William, son of Ralph de Alnewic, for encroachment on a pasture.

In 1329, the king granted for ten years to Robert de Newerk the custody of the lands and tenements which belonged to William de Rodam and Robert de Paxton, lately enemies, at the yearly rent of twenty-four shillings and fourpence, in Alnewyk, Rodom, and Alburwyk. Rodam's property in Prendewyk, consisting of one toft, four cottages, and one hundred and two acres of land were committed to the custody of William de Emeldon for seven years at the yearly rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence.† The Rodams, at this period, were a powerful family; but most of them were rebels; in 1334, the properties of Adam de Rodom and Henry de Rodum, both rebels, were placed in custody;‡

* He held also one tenement and the third part of a tenement, and forty acres of land and meadow in Wolden (Wooden) on socage tenure worth yearly twenty shillings; twelve acres of land in Sonderland-flat near Lesbery, in socage, worth yearly twelve shillings; four tenements and fifty-two acres of land in Emildon and Dunstane held of the duke of Lancaster by knight's service, and worth yearly twenty-two shillings; the manor of Newton-on-the-Sea and a water mill held of the earl of Northumberland on knight's service, and worth yearly £20; the manor of Burnton with a mill by knight's service of the earl, and worth £10; the third part of Tyndeley worth ten shillings in socage, from the lord of Elyngham; one burgage on free burgage tenure from the king, worth yearly five shillings; a pasture called Black Middyngmore, near Warneforde, on socage from the earl, and worth yearly two shillings; one wood called Elwaldsyde on knight's service from the earl, worth five shillings.

† 3 Edw. III., Rot. 12.

‡ 8 Edw. III., Rot. 6.

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and in 1336, the king granted to John de Bunning, of Alnewyk, for his good service, to hold during his whole life, three messuages and eight acres of land in Alnewyk, which belonged to William de Rodum, senior, lately an enemy, at the yearly rent of six shillings and eightpence; two years later, they were granted on the same conditions to Galfred de Wandesford; and in 1370, these lands of William de Rodum, "lately an adherent of the Scots," were committed to Thomas de Motherly. Robert de Manners, Thomas de Hoton, John de Hebburn, John Wendout, and John de Alnwyk had at this period property in Alnwick. In 1334, Robert de Topcliffe was appointed forest bailiff of Alnwick.*

From the judicial inquiry in 1291, it appears that a market and fair were held in Alnwick according to immemorial usage, probably going backward to Saxon times. Bishop Bek, for what reason does not appear, obtained a charter from Edward I. in 1297, to hold a market in Alnwick weekly on Saturday, and a fair on the 17th of March and the six following days. The following is a literal translation of this charter:—

"For the bishop of Durham.

The king to the archbishops, bishops, &c. Know that we have granted, and by this charter have confirmed to the venerable father Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, that he and his heirs for ever may have one market weekly on Saturday at his manor of Alnewyk in the county of Northumberland, and one fair there yearly continuing for seven days, to wit, on the eve and on the day of Saint Patrick and for five days following, unless that market and that fair be to the injury of neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs; and that he may have a free warren in all his demesnes of Alnewyk, Alneham, and Tughale, in the county aforesaid; provided these lands be not within the bounds of our forest; so that no one may enter those lands to

* De balliva forestariæ Forestæ de Alnewyk concessa.

[* *So on roll.*]

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus dilecto nobis Roberto de Topclyve ballivam forestariæ forestæ de Alnewyk, quæ fuit Henrici de Percy, defuncti, qui de nobis tenuit in capite, et quæ, ratione, minoris ætatis . .* hæredis ipsius Henrici, in manu nostra existit; custodienda quamdiu nobis placuerit; percipiendo per annum in balliva prædicta tantum quantum idem Robertus tempore dicti Henrici percepit pro custodia supradicta. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Thorneye, xxxix die Octobris, per breve de Privato Sigillo.—Patent Roll, 8 Edw. II., Part 1, m. 11.

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hunt in them or to take any thing that pertains to warren, without the license and will of the same Anthony or his heirs, under a penalty to us of ten pounds. Wherefore we will and firmly command for ourselves and our heirs, that the aforesaid Anthony and his heirs shall have for ever the aforesaid market and fair at his manor aforesaid, with all liberties and free customs pertaining to this kind of market and fair; unless that market and that fair be to the hurt of the neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs: and that they may have free warren in all their aforesaid lands; provided these lands be not within the bounds of our forest; so that no one may enter those lands to hunt in them or to take any thing that pertains to warren, without the license and will of the same Anthony or his heirs, under penalty to us of ten pounds as is aforesaid. These being witnesses, the venerable fathers W., of Ely, and R., of London, bishops; Hugh le Despenser, Geoffrey de Geynevill, Thomas de Berklaye, Walter de Beauchamp steward of our household, John Buteturte, John de Merk, and others. Given under our hand at Winchelsea the 20th day of August in the year of our reign the 25th, [1297]."—Charter Roll, 25 Edw. I., m. 1.

Another document among the public records tells of the ruined state of an ancient bridge which spanned the Aln in 1347, near the place where the Lion Bridge now stands. Edward III. granted the tolls of this bridge for three years to the men of Alnwick, to enable them to repair it and to pave the town. Especially interesting is this charter, because specifying the amount of toll chargeable on various commodities, it shews the character of the trade of the town at this early period. The town had become important and its trade was considerable; for the charter assumes that the traffic was so great as to yield tolls in the course of three years sufficient in amount, not merely to repair and probably rebuild the bridge, but also to pave the streets. The country extending many miles around Alnwick would then be supplied with merchandise at its markets and fairs, where too the surplus produce of the country would be disposed of. The trades of tanner, skinner, weaver, dyer, fuller, tinner, brazier, and smith were then carried on in the town, as materials necessary for such employments were brought to the markets. The following is a literal translation of this document:—

"Concerning Pontage.

The king to the bailiffs and good men of the town of Alnewyk in the county of Northumberland greeting. Know ye that in aid as well of the bridge of the town aforesaid which is ruined and broken to the serious loss of the men passing by that

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bridge, as of the paving of your town aforesaid, we grant to you, that from the day of the making of these presents, even to the end of three years next following fully completed, you may take by the hands of those in whom you have confidence, and for whom you are willing to be answerable, the customs underwritten on things for sale coming to the said town and passing by the said bridge, &c., as above. Witness, the king, at Westminster, 18th day of April.

To wit, for every horse-load of corn for sale, one farthing; for every cart load of corn for sale, one halfpenny; for every horse, mare, bull, or cow for sale, one farthing; for every skin of a horse or mare for sale, one farthing; for every hundred of skins of goats, stags, hinds, fallow deer for sale, one halfpenny; for every hundred of skins of lambs, kids, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, and squirrels for sale, one farthing; for every horse-load of cloths for sale, one halfpenny; for every entire cloth for sale, one farthing; for every hundred of webs of linen, canvas, cloths of Ireland, Galloway, and Worsted for sale, one halfpenny; for every hogshead of wine or ale for sale, one penny; for every cart load of honey for sale, one halfpenny; for every bundle of cloths for sale brought by a cart, twopence; for every cart load of lead for sale, one penny; for merchandise sold by weight (*averio de pondere*), to wit for a hundred weight, one penny; for every poise of tallow and fat for sale, one farthing; for every quarter of woad for sale, one halfpenny; for every hundred weight of alum, copperas, cream of tartar (*argail*), and verdigrease for sale, one penny; for two thousand onions for sale, one farthing; for ten sheaves (*shavis*) of garlic for sale, one farthing; for every thousand herrings for sale, one farthing; for every cart load of sea-fish for sale, one farthing; for every hundred boards for sale, one farthing; for every mill-stone for sale, one farthing; for every thousand faggots for sale, one penny; for every quarter of salt for sale, one farthing; for every poise of cheese or butter for sale, one farthing; for every cart load of wood and coals for sale by the week, one halfpenny; for every quarter of oak bark for sale, one farthing; for every hundred weight of tin, brass, and copper for sale, one halfpenny; for every bundle of merchandise of whatever kind for sale and every other thing for sale of the value of five shillings not here specified, coming to the said town and passing through that town, excepting wool, wool fells, hides of bulls and cows, and iron, one farthing."—Patent Roll, 51 Edw. III., m. 19.

Some idea of the relative value of different commodities may be gathered from the tolls charged. The general ratio between the toll and the value of an article was one penny to a pound; though this doubtless was modified in its application to particular commodities. A horse load of corn paid

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the same toll as a horse, bull, or cow; their carcasses, however, were not of high value, for the toll on the hide was as much as that on the live animal. Mill-stones were of great value, as their toll was as much as that of a load of corn. Though apparently small in amount, these tolls were a tolerably heavy tax; for money then was worth twenty times its present value. Wheat was four shillings a quarter; a sheep sold for a shilling; in 1361, two hides sold for fifteenpence, a cow brought six shillings, a heifer five shillings, and a bull seven shillings; the wages of skilled workmen were about threepence a day.

The old Norman church, as well as the castle, had become ruinous; for in the middle of the fourteenth century it was renovated and enlarged. Windows and mouldings in the north wall, in the later decorated style of architecture, are remains of this period. Some other information is afforded by the records of taxation on ecclesiastical property. Alnwick Church was still a chapelry connected with Lesbury; in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, about 1291, Lesceby (Lesbury) with the chapels of Houghton, Alnewyk, and Alnmuth, are valued at £70; the abbey of Alnewyc at £30. But such had been the desolating effect of Scottish inroads, that, in the taxation of 1316, two years after the battle of Bannockburn, the ecclesiastical benefices in the deanery of Alnwick are said to be waste and entirely destroyed. Churches and church property were, however, in a better condition in the reign of Edward III.; for in the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* made in 1346, while Yorkshire and Lancashire are returned as deteriorated by Scotch ravages, Corsenside and Holystone are the only Northumbrian parishes in that condition. The parish of Lesbury including the chapels of Houghton, Alnwick, and Alnmouth, was assessed at £76 13s. 4d. for the ninths of corn, wool, and lambs. It may not be uninteresting to add the value of a few other churches in the neighbourhood:—Shiplinbotel was £17 2s., Howick £16, Werkeworth £100, Emeldon £120, Edlyngham £36 13s. 4d., Eglingham £100, Wytingeham £100, Alneham £37 13s. 4d., Angerham (Ingram) £53 6s. 8d., Felton £46 13s. 4d., Routhebery £133 6s. 8d., Alwenton £86 13s. 4d., Haliston formerly £8, was altogether wasted by Scottish enemies.

The little seaports near Alnwick were at this period greatly more important than at the present time. When the infamous Queen Isabella was preparing to make a descent from France on England to dethrone her husband, all ships carrying thirty

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tons and more, were in 1326 commanded to be at Erewell in Suffolk, sufficiently armed and victualled for the defence of the kingdom; and Ralph de Neville, Thomas de Grey, John de Fenwyk, and John de Lilleburn were appointed supervisors for this purpose of the ports and vills of Alemuth, Werkworth, Dunstanburgh, and other northern ports.* In 1333, similar commands were addressed to the bailiffs of the vills of Alnmouth, Warkworth, Emildon, and Bamburgh, to detain all the ships in these ports carrying fifty tuns of wine and upwards, and with all speed to equip them with munitions of war that they might be ready to go forth in defence of the kingdom. Similar commands were given in 1334; and in 1316, the bailiff of the vill of Alemuth was ordered to send such ships of that port sufficiently munitioned and victualled to go to Gascony.†

I may add here that the ancient name of Alnmouth was Saint Waleric; for in the foundation charter of Alnwick Abbey, Eustace de Vescy granted to it in 1147, one measure of land in the *burg of St. Waleric*, to whom the church had been dedicated. Newbigging-by-the-Sea, in Northumberland, bore the same name at an early period; William, the illustrious earl of Northumberland, before he became king of Scotland as William the Lion, granted to William de Vescy a charter to hold a market at Saint Waleric, which was then called Newbigging.‡

* Rymer's Fœd., II., p. 639. † Rot. Scot., I., and Rym. Fœd.

‡ Raine's Memorials of Hexham Priory, I., p. xiv.

FIG. 13

Old Percy Arms—Beverley Minster. See page 112.



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# CHAPTER X.

## HENRY PERCY FIRST EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, AND HOTSPUR.

HIS CHARACTER—ENGAGED IN THE FRENCH WARS—SUPPORTS WYCLIFFE — CREATED EARL — BORDER WARFARE — HOTSPUR — BATTLE OF OTTERBURN—THE PERCYS REBEL AGAINST RICHARD II. AND RAISE HENRY IV. TO THE THRONE—RICH REWARDS—BATTLE OF HOMILDON—REBEL AGAINST HENRY IV.—CAUSE OF THIS REBELLION—BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY—DEATH OF HOTSPUR —EARL PARDONED—REBELS AGAIN—NORTHUMBRIAN CASTLES BESIEGED—EARL SLAIN AT BRAMHAM—LUCY ESTATES—HERALDRY.

Henry de Percy, the third baron of Alnwick, was, according to the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, brought up in his youth, partly at the king's court and partly with his uncle, the duke of Lancaster. He is represented as eloquent, learned, and watchful; in his father's lifetime, he was feared by the Scots, and, by reason of his eloquence in treaties, was somewhat beloved, for he was well learned and watched well, and wisely and maturely and eloquently answered to the things proposed. This eulogy is probably just; for though his actions prove him to have been ambitious, selfish, and turbulent, he was certainly one of the ablest and most distinguished of his family.

He was twenty-six years of age when his father died; but before that time, he had been twice engaged in the French wars in the years 1359 and 1363. To the barony of Alnwick he succeeded in 1368; and, in the course of that year, he was with King Edward III. at Calais; and was afterwards sent into Poitou with an army to the relief of the marches there. He was again in the French wars in 1369, having with him a retinue of eleven knights, forty-eight men-at-arms, forty-seven esquires, and one hundred archers on horse-back.

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Being seized with sickness he soon returned. After this, he was in France again for some time, along with the earl of Lancaster, till a truce was concluded in 1376. In that year he was advanced to the dignity of marshal of England; and in 1377, he was made general of the forces sent to the places in France under English dominion. Such was his magnificence, that he had, as his own retinue, one hundred men-at-arms and one hundred archers, and a ready supply of two hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, all mounted on horseback.*

At this period, his name becomes associated with the early struggles to obtain religious reformation—one of the few acts of his busy life with which we can sympathise. Wycliffe, the precursor of Huss, Luther, and Calvin, who a century later shook the spiritual domination of Rome, had for some time been preaching and writing against the abuses of the Roman Catholic clergy; and several noblemen had become his supporters, either from conviction of the truth of his doctrines, or for political purposes. When Wycliffe was summoned in 1377 before the convocation, he was accompanied by John of Gaunt, the king's son, and Lord Percy, the marshal of England. Courtenay, the presiding bishop, irritated at this daring step, exclaimed, "Lord Percy, if I had known what masteries you kept in the church, I would have stopped you from coming hither." "He shall keep such masteries" replied the duke of Lancaster, "though you say nay." While the venerable reformer stood before the prelates, who were seated, Percy considerately desired Wycliffe to sit down, as he had many things to answer for and would need repose; but the bishop insisting that Wycliffe should stand, a warm altercation arose, which caused the meeting to be broken up, and the reformer retired under the protection of the two lords. A mob of Londoners, who were hostile to the duke, assembled next day to revenge what they considered the insult offered to their bishop, and broke open Percy's house and killed a priest, whom they mistook for him, and afterwards gutted the duke's palace of Savoy. Fortunately for both lords, they were dining at the time of this riot with John of Ipres, a Flemish merchant.

As marshal of England, Henry de Percy officiated at the coronation of Richard II., in 1377; and he was then created earl of Northumberland, being the first of his family who

* Dug. Bar., I., 276.

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enjoyed that dignity. By a special grant, he was privileged to hold all the lands of which he was then seized or which he might afterwards purchase, *Sub Honore Comitatus*, and as parcel of his earldom. Soon after this, he resigned his marshal's rod; and proceeding to his northern estates he engaged with energy in the affairs of the border land.

Henry Percy, however, had for years previously been occasionally engaged in border warfare, for in 1368, he had been appointed one of the wardens of the marches towards Scotland. There is some confusion in the records of the engagements of that period, between the English and the Scots; events of a similar nature are narrated by Scottish historians as taking place in 1372, but by English historians four or five years later. Though a truce had been concluded in 1357 to last for ten years, the turbulent borderers could not refrain from aggressions. Some serious differences had arisen between the two border chieftains, Percy and Douglas; and we find from the rolls of Scotland, that in 1373 and again in 1374, commissioners were appointed to endeavour to settle the dispute and bring about peace with these haughty men;* but the effort seems to have been fruitless. A small cause involved the countries in war. One of the followers of the earl of Dunbar was killed by the English at Roxburgh fair, and the earl demanded redress from the English wardens, but they returning a scornful answer, he dissimulated for a time; on the recurrence of the fair, however, in the following year, he secretly collected his followers, attacked the town, slew every Englishman in it from the least to the greatest, set it on fire, and plundered it. Mutual ravages followed, but the English suffered most. Deeply grieved at these insults and losses, Lord Percy in the following year entered Scotland with seven thousand men to waste and pillage the domains of George, the earl of Dunbar; and passing through the merse of Berwickshire, he encamped by a wood at Dunse. This invasion, if we are to give credit to Fordun, had a ridiculous issue. While the English army were quietly and as they thought securely slumbering in their camps, a few of the peasants and shepherds of the neighbourhood approached to the English encampment stealthily during the night, armed only with rattles made of dried skins filled with pebbles and fixed to the end of long poles, and which were used to frighten away deer and wild cattle

* Rot. Scot., I., p. 955.

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from the corn. These they shook vigourously, and the horrid noise produced, so terrified the English horses, that they broke from their keepers and ran away wildly among the hills. Awakened and alarmed by the noise, the English army finding themselves deprived of their war horses and beasts of burden, fled on foot in disorder towards England, leaving their baggage behind them.* This strange story may be an exaggerated version of events which occurred in 1377 according to English historians; for we are told, that to revenge the burning of Roxburgh, the earl of Northumberland, with an army of ten thousand men, ravaged the lands of the earl of March.†

The siege of Berwick by the earl of Northumberland, in 1378, is interesting as bringing prominently before us the most popular soldier of his age, Henry, the eldest son of the earl. Seven powerful natives of the Scottish border had, a little previously, by a daring attack surprised and taken the castle of Berwick.‡ The earl besieged it with seven thousand archery and three thousand horse, and though defended by only forty-eight determined men, it held out for eight days; on the ninth it was taken and the whole of the brave garrison, excepting the governor, were cruelly put to the sword. Young Percy, then little more than twelve years of age, displayed on this occasion so much intrepidity and courage, that he received the sobriquet of *Hotspur*. Knyghton says "that this Henry is by the French and Scots called *Harre Hatesporre*, because in the silence of the stormy night, others being unoccupied and in quiet sleep, he laboured unwearied, as if his spur was hot, which we call Hatesporre."§

The duke of Lancaster had become obnoxious to the English, and in 1381 sought a temporary asylum in Scotland. Forgetful of his old friendship, the earl of Northumberland treated the duke, in his distress, with disrespect; and on the duke's return from Scotland gave him fresh provocation by refusing, as lord warden, to permit him entering into Berwick. The duke complained to the king, but the earl defended himself with boldness; so feeble, however, was the throne and so powerful these barons, that both of them attended parliament, with numbers of armed retainers; and it was with difficulty that the king composed the quarrel, by inducing the earl to ask pardon of the duke of Lancaster.

* Fordun, II., Lib. XIV., Cap. 28. † Walsing. p 211.

‡ Fordun, II., p. 391. § Knyghton, p. 2696.

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A few years of quiet ensued till the expiration of the truce in 1384, when the Scots renewed hostilities. The duke of Lancaster invaded Scotland, but bad weather and scarcity of provisions compelled him to return without achieving much; on his way homeward, he made an agreement with the earl of Northumberland, that the earl should reside on the marches for their government and defence, with authority to levy forces to repel invasion. For these services he had to be paid; and he received £4000 for maintaining garrisons in Berwick, Carlisle, and Roxburgh, for six weeks.* A truce, however, ended for a time, hostilities. During this truce, the earl's deputy governor of Berwick, corrupted by a bribe, delivered up Berwick to the Scots. The quarrel between the earl and Lancaster still smouldered, and this event blew it into a flame. The earl was, in his absence, accused of treason before parliament by Lancaster, and sentence of death and of loss of estates was pronounced against him. When summoned to meet his accuser, he refused to obey, assigning as a reason, that his presence was required near the marches. His vigorous and successful defence of the borders on this emergency, wiped off the stain which had been cast on his fidelity. He assembled a great force and attempted to regain Berwick; but, finding the weather unpropitious for a regular siege, he resorted to bribery; and by the same corrupt means as those by which it was lost, gained possession of the place. The charge against him was groundless; and the king, after this achievement, pardoned him and restored his honours and possessions.

Short truces, though ill kept, gave a little repose to the two countries; but in 1387 hostilities were renewed, which led to one of the most romantic of border battles. Two Scottish armies crossed the border; the larger body, led by Earls Fife and Strathearn, ravaged Cumberland; and the smaller body consisting of three hundred picked lances and two thousand stout infantry and archers, led by the earls of March, Murray, and Douglas, invaded Northumberland, and wasted and burnt the country as far as Durham. Little opposition was made to these inroads, as Richard II. was then quarrelling with his parliament. The smoke of burning villages gave the first intelligence of this invasion to the barons and knights of the county. The earl of Northumberland sent his two sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, to Newcastle,

* Froissart Chron., I., Chap. 79.

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with all his vassals capable of bearing arms; and he ordered every one to repair thither, but the earl himself remained in security at Alnwick Castle. A large army was soon assembled at Newcastle, consisting of the knights and squires of the county with their followers. Having completed the object of their expedition, the Scots began their return home laden with booty, and lay before Newcastle-on-Tyne for three days. The valour of the border land was displayed in frequent skirmishes, which took place between the Scots and English. From their great courage, the two Percys were always the first at the barriers, where many valiant deeds were performed. The two great border warriors engaged in hand to hand combat; and Sir Henry Percy was overthrown by the gallantry in arms of the Earl Douglas, who won Percy's pennon, the silken streamer fastened near the head of his lance and bearing his insignia, and who in triumph exclaimed —"I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from afar." "By God, earl of Douglas," replied Sir Henry, "you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland; be assured you shall never have this pennon to boast of." "You must come then," answered Douglas, "this night and seek for it. I will fix your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will venture to take it away."* Somewhat of braggarts were both these warriors.

Early in the following morning, the Scottish army began their march homeward; and on the same evening encamped at Otterburn in Redesdale. Here, contrary to the opinion of most of the Scottish chiefs, Earl Douglas, from chivalrous feeling, determined to remain for a few days "to see if within that time Sir Henry Percy would come for his pennon." The Percys greatly mortified with their loss, strongly urged immediate pursuit; but the other English chieftains supposing that Douglas' force was only the van of the Scottish army, objected to this proposal. Intelligence, however, having been brought that the Scottish army was certainly not more than three thousand strong, Sir Henry Percy, greatly rejoiced, called out—"To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe my God, and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and to beat up their quarters this night." On the 19th of August, after dinner, he led an army of six hundred spears of knights and squires,

* Froissart's Chonicles, III., Chap. 125.

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and upwards of eight thousand infantry from Newcastle; and in the evening of the same day arrived at Otterburn. Douglas had expected no attack that night; some of his army were supping, others had gone to sleep, for they had been wearied by an unsuccessful attack on Otterburn Castle. Fortunately for the Scots, the first attack of the English was on the huts of their servants; and the battle cry of "Percy! Percy!" gave the alarm and roused the Scottish warriors. The resistance made in the servants' camp, gave time for the Scottish knights and soldiery to arm and arrange themselves; and skirting the side of a mountain, hard by, the Scots quite unexpectedly fell on the English flank and threw them for a while into disorder. The full moon shone brightly over the battle-field, so that friend could be distinguished from foe. Heroes fought there, and great bravery was displayed on both sides; each party being urged to deeds of valour by their leaders—"Now a *Douglas* was the cry; now a *Percy* rent the sky." None was more valiant than Douglas; seeing his men repulsed, he seized with both hands a battle axe, dashed into the midst of his enemies, and struck all down before him; but advancing too far, he was overpowered by numbers; pierced by three spears, he was borne to the ground and his head was cleft by a battle axe. His fall was kept secret from his army; but when dying, he bid his friends avenge his death, raise his banner which had fallen to the ground, and still shout the battle cry of "Douglas!" The Scots renewed the contest with increased vigour, and defeated the English. Sir Ralph Percy having advanced too far, was surrounded and severely wounded; and he surrendered to Sir John Maxwell. A similar fate befel the rash, but gallant Sir Henry Percy; in the last attack made after the death of Douglas, he encountered Sir John Montgomery, a valiant Scottish knight; long they fought hand to hand with much valour, without hindrance from any one, for all the other knights and squires were engaged in similar rencounters; but Montgomery proved himself the better knight, and Sir Henry Percy was made prisoner. The English lost in killed one thousand eight hundred and forty men, upwards of a thousand were wounded, and more than a thousand were taken prisoners; indeed, almost every Englishman of distinction present was captured. This battle was lost through the rashness of Sir Henry Percy; for his army, though three times as numerous as the Scots, were unable, after a fatiguing march of thirty-two miles, to contend successfully with the

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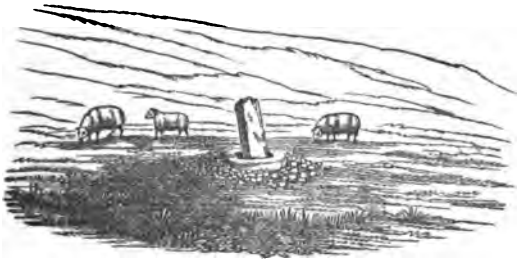
Scottish forces, which were comparatively unexhausted and vigorous. The loss of the Scots was only about one hundred slain, and two hundred taken prisoners; but the joy of the Scots was sadly overcast by the death of Douglas. Soon after the battle, Sir Henry Percy obtained his liberty on paying a ransom, which was so large, as to enable Sir Henry Montgomery to build his castle of Penoon, in Ayrshire.*

A stone marked, from an ancient time, the site of this battle.

FIG. 14



OTTERBURN BATTLE STONE.

But this was removed in 1777, and another rude memorial was raised about one hundred and eighty yards westward of the old stone. This poor structure consists of a stone pillar, which had done service as the architrave of a fire-place in Otterburn Castle, resting on the worn socketed base of the old stone; and these are placed on a circular pedestal of rude masonry tapering to the top.

Some two or three of the finest of our border ballads are founded partly on the incidents which occurred in this battle. In the ballad of "The battle of Otterbourne," the whole struggle is described with much graphic power and pathos, which must have stirred the hearts of Northumbrians when

* Sir Ralph Percy remained in captivity about two years. He seems to have been ransomed by Robert III., king of Scotland, who granted to Sir Henry Preston for his redemption a charter of towns and lands. He was slain by the Saracens in 1400.—White's Otterburn, pp. 74, 110. The account of this battle is derived chiefly from Froissart, with references to Hardyng, Fordun, Barbour, and other ancient writers. An admirable history of it, with memoirs of the warriors engaged in it, has been given by Mr. Robert White; to whom I am indebted for the illustration of the battle stone, and of one of Hotspur's arms—*Fig.* 15.



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the wandering minstrel sung these strains. Though in "Chevy Chase," the most popular of all old ballads, it is said—

> "This was the huntynge off the Cheviat,
> The tear begane this spurn;
> Old men that knowen the grownde well yenoughe,
> Call it the Battle of Otterburn,"—

yet the occasion of this conflict, the place where it occurred, and the incidents described, do not correspond with the historical account of the battle of Otterburn. Probably the bard had no personal knowledge of the scene and the events described in the "Hunting a the Cheviat," and merely gave poetic form to floating traditions of the affray which took place at Piperden, forty-nine years after the battle of Otterburn, and which he confounded with this better known and more important battle.

Some relics of this battle are in the possession of the family of Douglas, of Cavers, who are lineally descended from Archibald Douglas, the hero of the conflict. Different opinions have been given of these relics; but the recent examination of them by my friend, Mr. J. A. H. Murray, has cleared away the mystery. The flag preserved is a standard thirteen feet in length, bearing the Douglas arms—most probably the banner of Douglas, brought home by his illegitimate son; but there is also a relic of Percy, a pair of lady's gauntlets, bearing the white lion of the Percys in pearls, and fringed with silver filigree work; and it is probably the love pledge, which Hotspur carried hanging from his spear, and which was won from him by Douglas before the barriers at Newcastle.*

For some years after this, little that is memorable occurs on the borders. A disposition was shewn on both sides to repress inroads; and commissioners met in 1398 at Hawden Spike, when it was determined to set free all prisoners; stringent regulations were passed to prevent inroads, and meetings were appointed to be held monthly by the wardens, to take cognizance of injuries; and, in accordance with march law, to inflict exemplary punishment on the guilty. Harry de Percy, as English warden, and the earl of March, as Scotch warden, mutually bound themselves by letters to observe these conditions.

* Proceedings of the Hawick Archæological Society.

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The reign of the imbecile Richard II., was drawing to a close. He had in 1399 suspicions of the fidelity both of the earl of Northumberland and of his son Hotspur; they had spoken, he was told, words derogatory to his majesty; and in consequence, he summoned the earl to appear before him; but the earl was refractory, and for this disobedience and other disloyalty, he was proclaimed a traitor and banished from the kingdom.* The king having gone to Ireland, a favourable opportunity occurred for attempting to carry out the treasonable designs, which had been formed, for the subversion of the throne.

The earl, Hotspur, and Ralph Neville earl of Westmoreland, raised the standard of rebellion, and assembled their forces; and with the aid of other powerful barons, they succeeded in deposing Richard and placing the duke of Lancaster on the throne as Henry IV. Richly was the earl of Northumberland rewarded for his services; he was advanced to the great office of constable of England; he was made justice of Chester, constable of the castles of Chester, Conway, Flint, and Carnarvon, general warden of the east marches, governor of the town and castle of Carlisle; and to him and his heirs was given the Isle of Man, which he held by carrying the Lancaster sword on the day of the king's coronation. Four years afterwards, the king "considering the extraordinary labours and fruitful obedience of Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland," granted to him and his heirs the whole county of Douglas; the vales of Eskedale, Lydesdale, and Lawderdale; the lordship of Selkeryk and forest of Etteryck; and all the lordships of the earl of Douglas, with a few exceptions.† On Hotspur too, royal gifts were showered; he was constituted warden of the western marches, sheriff of Northumberland, governor of Berwick and of the castle of Rokesburgh, justice of Chester, North Wales, and Flintshire; to him were granted the castle and lordship of Bamburgh, with the fee-farm of that town for life; he was made constable of the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Carnarvon, and sheriff of Flintshire for life; the whole county and dominion of Anglesey, and the castle, the manors, lands, fee-farms, and rents of Beaumarys

* Frois. Chron., IV., Chap. 105.

† Rot. Scot., II., p. 164; where is given a full list of these Scottish possessions.

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were also granted to him for life.* How extravagant and rapacious were the men of that time!

Soon after Henry IV. had assumed the throne, the relations between England and Scotland were disturbed by the treacherous conduct of the earl of March, who renounced his allegiance to his sovereign, and agreed to yield up his castles, troops, and services to the king of England. The abbot of Alnwick Abbey and the earl of Westmoreland were appointed to treat with him for this purpose. The earl of March along with Lord Percy, at the head of two thousand men, made inroads into the territories of Douglas and penetrated as far as Haddington; but being suddenly attacked by Douglas at Linton, they abandoned their plunder and luggage and fled with precipitation to Bewick. King Henry afterwards invaded Scotland with an immense army, but though achieving little, yet was he remarkable for the leniency with which he treated his enemies. While he was in Scotland, inroads were made into Northumberland by the Scots, who wasted and burnt Bamburghshire.

After a short truce, hostilities recommenced in 1402. One party under Hepburn returning laden with English spoil, was suddenly attacked by the earl of March and his son, at West Nesbit in the Merse; and Hepburn and the flower of the Lothian youth were slain. To revenge this loss, Earl Douglas, in the month of August, 1402, entered England at the head of an army ten or twelve thousand strong, and destroyed and plundered the country as far as Newcastle.

Henry IV. was then engaged with Glendower in Wales; but the earl of Northumberland, Hotspur, and the earl of March collected an army and intercepted, near to Millfield, the Scottish army returning to their country laden with plunder. Douglas, on reaching Wooler and perceiving the enemy, seized on Homildon Hill, a strong position about one mile westward of Wooler. The English advanced to the attack, and Hotspur, eager to reach the foe, was with his usual rashness about to lead his men up the hill, when March, seeing the danger of such an attempt, seized hold of the bridle of his horse and advised him to halt, and to send among the enemy a flight of arrows. Arranged on the hill side, the Scots presented a good mark; and almost every arrow became a messenger of death. The Scots falling thickly around and unavenged, Swinton, a brave knight, exclaimed aloud—

* Rot. Lit. Claus., 1 Hen. IV., p. 4, m. 7.

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"What fascination has seized you my brave countrymen, that ye stand to be shot down like deer, instead of calling forth your ancient valour and meeting your enemies hand to hand. Descend with me to conquer, or fall like men." Accompanied by Adam Gordon and one hundred men, he rushed down the hill; but too few in number, their desperate valour only led them to death. Though brave, Douglas had few of the qualifications of a general; at length he attempted to lead his army down the hill; but the movement was too late; the English archers retired a little and then poured in another flight of arrows so strong, that they pierced through armour; and even Douglas, notwithstanding his well tempered mail, was wounded in five places, though not mortally. The English bowmen here, as in many other battles, won the day; the Scots were completely routed; numbers were slain in the field, and five hundred were in their flight drowned in the Tweed. A field at the base of Homildon, bears, in remembrance of this battle, the name of "The Red Riggs."*

Hotspur, though distinguished by his headlong valour, had the faults of his age; but we may regret, that our northern hero here stained his name by an act of ruthless cruelty. Sir William Stuart, of Forest, was taken prisoner at Homildon, and Hotspur, contrary to the recognised rules of honourable warfare, insisted that he should be tried as a traitor, because he was a native of Teviotdale when it was under English power. Stuart was eloquent and wise, and having a good cause, defended himself so well, that he was acquitted by several juries; yet Hotspur, instead of honouring a brave man, hunted him down with so much keenness, that he dragged him before a jury of his own retainers. Stuart was, of course, condemned, executed, drawn, and quartered, amid the indignant murmurs of the rest of the English.†

The Percys had rendered to King Henry the most important services; and the rewards showered upon them were so abundant and valuable, that their sovereign might reasonably have calculated on their gratitude and fidelity; but they were too powerful as subjects, and too unbounded in their expectations; and their vaulting ambition led them to concoct other traitorous designs. One king they had pulled down, another they had set up; and they now determined to drag from his throne, the king of their own making. The defection

* Pinkerton gives a good account of this engagement. † Bower, p. 431.

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of the Percys has been attributed by some historians and by Shakespeare to resentment at the king's order, not to put to ransom or liberate the prisoners taken at Homildon without his permission; but though this might irritate haughty men, it could scarcely lead to the overthrow of kingdoms, for such orders had not been unusual; and we know, that after this battle, the Percys had no scruple in accepting rich rewards. Doubtless, however, they felt as a grievance the refusal of the king to allow the friends of Sir Edmund Mortimer to ransom him from Owen Glendower, with whom he was a prisoner. The public records disclose another ground of dissatisfaction. Four letters of the renowned Hotspur, and two of the earl his father, are printed in the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England. These letters are interesting as relics of a historic name, and as exhibiting the haughty, captious, and uncompromising character of Hotspur, and the keen rapaciousness of the earl. In one letter, dated 10th April, 1401, from Denbigh, in reply to an injunction of the Privy Council, that he should properly execute his duties on pain of forfeiture, Hotspur exhibits soreness that his loyalty should be suspected. His second letter from Denbigh, of which he was constable, presses for payment of the king's soldiers at Berwick; and in another, on 17th March from Denbigh, he tells of his heavy labour and expense, "which were in truth so unbearable, that he could support them no longer than the end of the month or three or four days afterwards." His fifth letter is the most characteristic; he reminds the council of his repeated application for money due to him as warden; and alludes to sums owing to his father and himself, and to promises made by the treasurer to him, when he was last in London, that if agreeable to the council, two thousand marks should be paid to him before February; he is astonished that £5000 due to his father for the marches could not be paid in good faith; and he thought, that the council either attached too little consideration to the marches, or were dissatisfied with the services of himself and his father; he begged the council not to be displeased, because he wrote ignorantly in his rude and feeble manner.

These letters are in French; but neither the letters themselves nor the signatures appear to be Hotspur's autograph. Probably he could not write.

Two letters were sent by the earl of Northumberland in May and June, 1403, pressing for payment of money due to

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himself and his son. If the money were not paid, he tells the council, they could not meet the king at Ormeston; and such was the lofty estimate he formed of himself and of Hotspur, that he thought it probable, the fair renown of the chivalry of the nation would not be maintained in that place, to the utter dishonour and grief of himself and his son; "if we had been paid" he continues, "the £60,000 since your coronation, then we could better support such a charge; but to this day, there is clearly due to us £20,000 and more;" he then entreats for payment of a large sum.

Four weeks afterwards, the Percys were rebels. Of their treasonable design the king had no suspicion, for when he first heard of their rebellion, he was in route to visit the earl to assist him in opposing the Scots.* While on his march northward, the king in a letter to his Privy Council, says that the object of his march was to support his very dear and loyal cousin, the earl of Northumberland and his son Henry, in the expedition which they had undertaken for him and the realm against his enemies the Scots. Whatever may have been the faults of King Henry, his treatment of the Percys was generous and lenient; indeed, he had no interest in driving such powerful men to revolt; his own circumstances at this time were exceedingly embarassed, and the nonpayment of the enormous claims put forth by them, arose from inability. By a certain class of writers, these letters are represented as a justification of this rebellion; to me, however, they seem to strip the subject of much of its romance. In a rebellion occasioned by a personal money squabble there is no dignity and no patriotism. These overgrown men, notwithstanding the rich rewards they had received, were boundless in their cravings for more; and being possessed of enormous power, they appear, moreover, to have had the ambition of gaining sovereignty in England. A superstitious credulity is said also to have misled them; according to Grafton:—"Owen Glendower and the earl of March and the Percys were greatly abused and deceived by a Welsh prophecy, which made them believe that King Henry was the moldewarpe cursed of God's own mouth, and that they three were the dragon, the lyon, and the wolfe, which should divide this realm between them, by the prophecy of Mawmot Marlyn." In passing judgment on these men, allowance, however, must be made for the state of the times.

* Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council, I., p. 207.

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The English principle of loyalty was but little developed; great barons had been struggling for plunder, power, and supremacy; and the king himself was viewed as a baron, but greater than the rest. "The divinity which doth hedge round a king" had not yet been seen; and the principles of royal succession were far from being established. Loyalty, indeed, as a rational principle actuating free men, is the result of long experience of the blessings of constitutional government.

In carrying out this plot the main actors were unscrupulous, and they did not hesitate to league themselves with the enemies of their country. Douglas the Scot was set free, and Berwick was promised to him, on condition of his joining them with his followers; Owen Glendower, who was endeavouring to set up an independent kingdom in Wales, was admitted into the confederacy; and the king of France was applied to for help. The plot was well designed, and if it had been as skilfully carried out, the king might have been hurled from his throne; but the earl of Northumberland was sluggish, if not timid, and Hotspur shewed only the rashness and valour of the soldier. His father being "sore sick" at his castle, Hotspur took the command of the army, and being joined by his uncle, the earl of Worcester, and by Douglas, marched southwards to form a junction with Glendower. But the king was equally active, and more skilful; he hastened to the Welsh borders, and reached Shrewsbury in time to prevent a union between the insurgents and the Welsh. Although Hotspur was enraged because the Welsh forces had not come up, he yet determined to hazard a battle. A paper was first distributed, emanating from the Percys, charging the king with perjury, oppression, and murder; but of this the king took little notice, as the issue had to be determined, not by the pen but by the sword. At an early hour on the 21st of July, 1403, Hotspur drew up his men on Hateley Field, near Shrewsbury, in front of the king's army; and fourteen thousand men on each side, the best troops in Europe, stood ready for the charge. The trumpets sounded and both rushed to the encounter, *Esperance, Percy!* being Hotspur's battle cry, and *Saint George, for us!* the battle cry of the king. An irresistible charge was made by Hotspur and Douglas, the two most famous warriors of the period; but they were not well supported, and they were hemmed in by the royal troops. The king himself possessed valour as a soldier and wisdom as a general, and supported by his

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chivalrous son, his star was in the ascendant. Hotspur and Douglas did all that mere valour and skill of arms could accomplish, but from the effects of their rashness they could not escape; Hotspur was pierced through the brain, by an arrow from an unknown hand, and "his spur became cold;" Douglas was taken prisoner; and their troops, dispirited by the loss of their leaders, fled, leaving more than half of their companions dead upon the field.

Fortunate it was for England, that this confederacy was defeated; for, if it had been successful, England might have been divided into three kingdoms; or a puppet of a king might have been set up, and the nation rent by lawless factions.

The body of Hotspur was interred, with the consent of the king, by Lord Furnival at Whitchurch, but it was afterwards exhumed. For this very barbarous act, the chronicle of London assigns a political reason; "forasmuch as some people said, that Sir Harry Percy was alive, he was taken up again out of his grave and bound upright between mill stones, that all might see he was dead." This, indeed, was a tribute to his valour, his daring, and popularity. In accordance with the brutal usage of the times, the body was afterwards drawn and quartered, and the mangled remains were exhibited at Shrewsbury, London, Newcastle, York, and Chester. Four months afterwards, his widow, with pious care, gathered the severed members and interred them in York Minster. Thus waned and disappeared the crescent of a heroic personage, whom the genius of Shakespeare, more than the historian, has immortalised. His character drawn by the poet is true to nature. Referring to it, the sagacious Dr. Johnson says—"Percy is a rugged soldier, choleric and quarrelsome, and has only the soldier's virtues, generosity, and courage." Brave he was undoubtedly, and highly skilled in the use of arms; he panted for distinction, and thought it an easy task to pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon; notwithstanding he had few of the higher qualifications of a general, though his dashing valour fitted him as a guerilla chief to carry on border warfare. His boldness and daring, however, captivated the taste of an age when physical force was in the ascendant.

"He was, indeed, the glass
Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves
In military rules, humours of blood;
He was the mark and glass, copy and book,
That fashion'd others."



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And even in our more civilised times, there are many who, while they would not exalt his faults into virtues, yet follow his heroic career with breathless interest, and admire his undaunted courage, and lament that one endowed with some noble qualities, should have fallen so soon and so sadly.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and by her he had one son and one daughter.*

Two illustrations I am enabled to give of the heraldry of this renowned warrior.

FIG. 15

FIG. 16

*Fig.* 15.

ARMS.—*Or, a lion rampant azure, differenced by a label of three points gules;* occurs between 1392 and 1397.

*Fig.* 16.

ARMS.—*Percy and Lucy quarterly, differenced by a label of three points;* occurs between 1399 and 1403.

SUPPORTERS.—*Two lions guardant.*

BADGE.—*A locket,* from which hangs the shield. "The absence of the crescent" as Mr. Longstaffe remarks, "strongly indicates its connection with the earldom."

* Hotspur at the time of his death was in possession of the Talbot lands in Tyndale, which consisted of the manor of Walwykgrange, &c.; and included within them, what is now called Kielder. But how they came into his possession is a mystery. These lands were part of fees, held in 1315 by John Comyn de Badenach, which descended to his two daughters, Johanna, who married David Strathbogie, earl of Athol, and Elizabeth, who married Richard Talbot. Half of these fees passed to Athol and the other half to Talbot. David, earl of Athol, left two daughters, Elizabeth and Philippa; and in 1374, Henry, the first earl of

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The earl of Northumberland, recovered from his real or pretended sickness, was marching to join his son, when he first heard the sad tidings of the death of Hotspur and defeat of his army. Despairing now of success in his schemes, he disbanded his forces and retired to his castle of Warkworth. On being summoned, he deemed it politic to surrender himself to the king at York, where, to save his life, he acknowledged his treason, and meanly excused himself by asserting that his son—the gallant Hotspur—had acted contrary to his wishes and commands. He was pardoned, though he had to be kept in custody till the commotions subsided. Soon after his arrest, reports having been spread abroad that the king was dead and the earl at liberty, his northern retainers assembled in great force and attempted to hold the castles of Alnwick, Berwick, Warkworth, and other fortresses against the king. Alnwick Castle was held by Sir William Worthington, constable, Sir John Wydale, chaplain, William Rodom, John Middelham, Thomas, clerk of Alnwick, and Richard Bonde, who were required to surrender it to Gerard Heron; Warkworth Castle was held by Henry Percy, with John Cresswell, the constable, and Richard Aske, who were required to surrender it to John de Mitford.* The earl of Westmoreland, however, threatening to assault these strongholds with cannon, they were surrendered to the king, in accordance with the agreement entered into by the earl of Northumberland.

Early in 1404 the earl was liberated, and received lenient, if not generous, treatment from the king; his estates were restored to him, excepting the Isle of Man, and the revenue of five hundred marks yearly out of the customs of Berwick; but other lands of equal value were to be given to him; he was, however, deprived of the castle of Berwick, and of the castle and forest of Jedburgh, with their dependencies.† This exceedingly lenient treatment probably arose from a desire

Northumberland, paid to the king £760 to have the custody of these heiresses; and forthwith he caused them to be married to two of his sons—Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Percy, and Philippa to Ralph Percy, both brothers of Hotspur; but by what process Hotspur came into the possession of the Talbot lands is not known; Hartshorne supposes by purchase, but adduces no evidence.—Hartshorne's Feudal and Military Antiquities, p. 260.

* Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council, II., p. 211.

† The castles of Berwick and Jedburgh were, however, restored to him on the 16th of November, 1404. Rot. Scot., II., p. 172.

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to prevent his vassals joining the Scots, and delivering up to them the strongholds held by the earl. On being pardoned and restored to his estates, parliament gave great thanks to the king for these favours; and, at their request and by command of the king, the earl of Northumberland and Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, in token of perfect amity, kissed each other, and took each other by the hand thrice in open parliament; and on a subsequent day, the same ceremony was gone through by the earls of Northumberland and Dunbar.

Notwithstanding the oaths of fidelity he had taken, and the leniency and generosity of the king, discontent still lurked in the bosom of the earl of Northumberland. His son had been slain, his brother executed, of some high offices and of castles had he been deprived, and commissioners had been appointed to compound with his retainers for their share in the rebellion. Such supposed indignities fired his haughty spirit, and it broke forth with volcanic energy. Madly he plunged into another rebellion, and tried again to act the dangerous part of a king-maker. In the summer of 1405, he joined with the archbishop of York, Mowbray, and Bardolf, in a conspiracy to depose King Henry, and raise the earl of March to the throne. The archbishop of York assembled an army of fifteen thousand men near to Shipton Moor; but the earl of Northumberland was again too late to take part in the affray. The earl of Westmoreland, with a small army came suddenly upon the enemy, and, by a dishonourable and treacherous scheme, contrived to scatter their army and seize upon the leaders, who were immediately executed. For his treasonable conduct, the lands and possessions of the earl of Northumberland were again confiscated; but with his followers he escaped to Berwick, whence they made inroads into Northumberland. The military force of Yorkshire was summoned to act against these rebels; and with an army of thirty-seven thousand men, the king proceeded northward to reduce the castles of the earl. Prudhoe Castle immediately surrendered; Warkworth Castle, which was well garrisoned and provisioned, refusing to yield, and the captain declaring he would defend it for the earl, artillery was brought to bear against it, and with so much skill, that at the seventh discharge the besieged implored for mercy; and on the 1st of July the castle was delivered up.* Alnwick Castle was

* Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council, I.

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summoned by the king, but the captains, Henry Percy, of Athol, and William Clifford, replied — "Wynne Berwick ones and you shall have your entent."* The king passed on to Berwick, which Sir William Graystock attempted to hold, but the first shot from a cannon of large bore demolished part of a tower, and caused such consternation, that the garrison surrendered. Before this was accomplished, the earl of Northumberland and Bardolf, taking with them the son of Hotspur, had fled for refuge into Scotland. The king proceeded no further northward, but, on his return, Alnwick Castle was yielded to him without resistance, the garrison being allowed to depart with their horses and harness.

Anxious to lay hold of so troublesome an enemy as Northumberland, the king offered to restore to liberty the prisoners taken at Homildon, if their friends would seize and deliver to him Northumberland and Bardolf; but both of them escaped into Wales, where for a time, they joined Owen Glendower, who was still struggling for the independence of Wales. Northumberland afterwards appears to have spent an unsettled life, always hoping for some event favourable to his rebellious purposes. He crossed over to France and thence to Flanders to seek support; but his principal haunts were along the borders. For the last time, in 1409, the aged earl, along with his friend Bardolf, accompanied by a few Scots and many of his own retainers, raised the standard of rebellion, and penetrated as far southward as Knaresborough. At Thirsk he published a proclamation somewhat in a royal style—"That he came to relieve the English nation from many unjust oppressions, and required all persons that loved the liberty of their country to resort to him immediately with their weapons and armour to assist him." This was a rash and foolish enterprise, and Fordun accounts for it by stating, that Sir Thomas Rokesby, one of his vassals, lured him to destruction by advising him to enter Northumberland with a few men, for such numbers would join him as to enable him to dethrone the king; meanwhile Rokesby as sheriff of Yorkshire was secretly collecting forces to oppose him. This account, though not confirmed by English historians, may be correct. However, it is a fact, that Rokesby attacked the earl's forces at Bramham Moor, and after a sharp conflict slew the earl, mortally wounded Bardolf, and dispersed their army. The earl's head, whitened with age,

* Harding, p. 203.

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was struck off and stuck on a pole, sent to London and set on London Bridge; while his mangled members were exposed at London, Lincoln, Berwick, and Newcastle; after remaining suspended there for more than two months, they were taken down by special precept of the king, and interred by the earl's friends in consecrated ground. According to Peeris:—

"The body of the said earle of Northumberland in Yorke Minster doth lie,
At the right hand of the high altar, right honourably."

Of Hotspur he says:—

"In Yorke Minster this most honourable knight
By the first earle his father lyeth openly in sight."

The earl was thrice married; first to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of the earl of Angus; and through her he came into possession of the lordship of Prudhoe; she died without issue. Peeris says:—

"But or these marriages were made completely,
Elizabeth departed a virgin to God's mercy."

His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Ralph Lord Neville, and by her he had issue three sons Henry Hotspur, Sir Thomas, and Sir Ralph. For his third wife, he took Maud, sister and heir to Anthony Lord Lucy, widow of Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, and mother of Elizabeth, his first wife; by her he had no issue. Through a very extraordinary settlement, he became lord of Cockermouth, and possessor of the estates of the Lucys. This settlement is recorded on the Fine Roll, 8 Richard II., 1384; and with this agrees Peeris' account:—

"And by the said Maud forthwithall
The lord Lucy lands by her guift came to him all,
The said Lady Maud Lucy as I understand,
Married herself conditionally to the aforesaid
Seaventh Henry, first earle of Northumbarland,
As to say that the Lord Pearcy should beare continually
The blew lion and the Lucies silver in his armes quarterly,
Her name hee might not take, issue none had shee;
Therefore she did bind him to bear her armes, as in his armes yee may see.
The honour of Cockermouth came by her, shee gave it freely
To him and to his heires as by the lawe shee might,
Bearinge the foresaid armes of her in memory,
With the blew lyon, the Braband armes quarterly."

The Percy and Lucy arms after this were combined, viz.:—*Or, a lion rampant,* azure quarterly with those of Lucy,

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viz.:—*Gules, three lucies, argent,* or pike fish; these appear in Hotspur's seal—*Fig.* 16, p. 170.

In this earl's time, we first meet with the Percy motto *Esperance,* which was used as a war cry at the battle of Shrewsbury, where Hotspur was slain. Here too, first appear the two Percy badges, the crescent and the locket, which are usually combined. "It seems probable" Mr. Longstaffe remarks, "that the crescent has a reference to the earldom of Northumberland. The other badge has been frequently named fetterlocks, gyves, shackles, and manacles; but it more correctly designated a locket. *A crescent nearly surrounding a castle,* appears on the earl's shrievalty seal in 1396."*—(*Capheaton Archives*).

FIG. 17

SHRIEVALTY SEAL OF THE EARL.

* Longstaffe's Old Heraldry of the Percys, pp. 178, 180.

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# CHAPTER XI.

## SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

HENRY PERCY, SECOND EARL — EARLY LIFE — RESTORED TO HIS ESTATES — BORDER WARFARE — ALNWICK BURNT — CONNECTED WITH DISTURBANCE IN YORKSHIRE — DEFEAT AT SARK — FRENCH WARS — STRUGGLE BETWEEN HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK — EARL SLAIN AT ST. ALBANS — CHARACTER — HERALDRY — HENRY, THIRD EARL — EARLY LIFE — BARONIES OF POYNINGS, FITZPAYNE, AND BRIAN — SUCCEEDS TO THE EARLDOM — BORDER WARFARE — STRUGGLES OF RIVAL HOUSES — SLAIN AT TOWTON — EXTENT OF HIS ESTATES — ATTAINTED — JOHN NEVILLE, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND — STRUGGLES IN THE NORTH — ALNWICK CASTLE TAKEN — ALNWICK, BAMBURGH, AND DUNSTANBURGH CASTLES BESIEGED — BATTLE OF HEDGELEY CROSS — BAMBURGH CASTLE TAKEN — SIR RALPH GREY EXECUTED — HENRY, FOURTH EARL — ESTATES AND EARLDOM RESTORED — SERVICES ON THE BORDERS — BATTLE OF BOSWORTH — SLAIN AT COXLODGE — BURIAL — HERALDRY — WILL.

The vast estates of the first earl of Northumberland, were in consequence of his rebellion, confiscated, and bestowed by the king on his son, John of Lancaster, the duke of Bedford, with the exception of Spofford, which was given to Rokeby, the sheriff of Yorkshire.*

Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, who, but for this confiscation, would have been heir to the barony of Alnwick, was born on the 3rd of February, 1393. His mother was Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March—she whose deep affection for her husband Shakespeare has immortalised:—

> "So came I a widow,
> And never shall have length of life enough
> To rain upon remembrance with mine eyes,
> That it may grow and sprout as high as heav'n,
> For recordation to my noble husband."

* Cal. Rot., 6 Hen. IV., m. 10.

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When only twelve years of age, young Henry was taken by his grandfather into Scotland, where he was placed under the care of Henry Wardlaw, the hospitable bishop of St. Andrew's, along with James, the son of the king of Scotland.* Collins says, that when Henry was sailing with James to France to be educated at the French court, storms drove the vessel ashore at Flamborough Head; the Scottish prince being recognised, both were made prisoners and conveyed to the king of England at Windsor; and so favourably was the prince of Wales impressed with Henry Percy, that it led to the restoration of his honours and estates. If, however, young Percy was at this time at the English court, he must have returned to Scotland; for on being restored to his estates he came to England as a liberated captive. Much there is to admire in the character of Henry V.; besides being a great warrior, he was chivalrous and kind, and in his treatment of Percy we see both wisdom and generosity; for he secured by this a faithful subject, and firmly attached the house of Percy to the interests of his own family.

In 1414, the king, even while Henry was a captive in Scotland, restored to him the dignity of earl of Northumberland. After this, in the same year, a humble petition was presented to parliament by Henry Percy, setting forth—

"That being within age and a prisoner in Scotland, the king had enabled him to be earl of Northumberland, notwithstanding any the forfeiture of Henry, his father, or Henry, his grandfather; he therefore prayeth a general restitution to them in blood, and to all their hereditaments, which were entailed, with free entry into all the same; saving to the king all the lands in fee simple. Thereupon the king granted him all he requested, so as he the said Henry, before his entry into any of the said lands do first, by matter of record prove in the chancery the lands entailed saving as before."†

Henry, however, still remained prisoner in Scotland till 1415, when he was liberated in exchange for Murdock Stewart, who had been taken prisoner at Homildon. The duke of Bedford yielded up the Percy estates of which he had possession; but the king to reconcile him to this generous act, granted to him an annuity of three thousand marks, until lands of equivalent value should be settled upon him. At the parliament held in March, Henry Percy did homage to the king in presence of the peers and commons; and to

* Fordun, l. XV., c. 18, 19.

† Collins, V., p. 383.



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confirm his dignity as earl, the king granted a formal charter of creation and a fee of £20 per annum, *Nomine Comitis*, out of the profits of the county.

The new earl, now warmly attached to his king, entered with zeal into border warfare; for Northumberland was still the chief barrier which arrested the surgings of Scottish hostility. The famous battle of Agincourt had been won by English valour; and Henry V. was using all his efforts to gain the crown of France. Before setting out on his second expedition, such was his confidence in Earl Percy, that he made him general warden of the marches of Scotland, and empowered him to conclude a truce with the Scots, who notwithstanding this endeavoured to take advantage of the king's absence, and under the duke of Albany, advanced towards Jedburgh and defeated a body of English troops. Great armies were in consequence marshalled; but no general engagement took place, though the country on both sides of the border was ravaged and destroyed. When the king set forth on his last expedition to France, the earl was again entrusted with the defence of the borders and the custody of Berwick; and for the latter duty he had to receive £5000 annually in time of war, but half that sum in time of peace or truce. After the death of Henry V. the earl continued to be engaged in these services and was paid for them; in 1422, it was agreed in a full parliament, that the earl of Northumberland should be paid one thousand marks for the custody of Berwick and the East March, and Sir Richard Neville five hundred marks for the custody of the West March toward Scotland.* In 1428, out of ten thousand pounds, the ransom paid by the king of Scotland, two thousand pounds were given to the earl of Northumberland, warden of the East March and captain of the castle and town of Berwick, for the wages of himself and his men.†

In the course of the mutual aggressions which were made in the border-land, the town of Alnwick suffered severely, and was burnt by the Scots, to whose ravages it was exposed from being without walls and defences of its own, and "open to the marches and frontiers of Scotland." A truce, however, was made in 1424; two of the English commissioners negotiating it, being the earl of Northumberland and William Alnwick, keeper of the privy seal.

* Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, III., p. 8.

† Ibid., p. 302.

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Comparative quiet reigned along the borders till 1436, when war broke out again. With a body of four thousand men, the earl of Northumberland advanced towards Scotland; but he was met, on the 7th of September, by William Douglas, earl of Angus, with a Scottish army of about the same number, at Piperden,* on the Breamish, among the Cheviot hills. A fierce battle was fought, and the English were signally defeated. Alexander Elphinston, a distinguished warrior, fell on the Scotch side, with about two hundred more; but the English loss was more serious, fifteen hundred being slain, among whom were Sir Richard Percy and Henry Clennel. Fordun is the only ancient author who mentions this battle; which, however, derives interest, as probably being the conflict, of which floating traditions supplied the materials to the minstrel, who sung the romantic ballad of Chevy Chace—a story which has oftentimes roused the Northumbrian heart as "with the sound of a trumpet." The heroes in both are the Percy and the Douglas, and the scene lies among the Cheviots.

During the years 1442 and 1443, there were serious riots in Yorkshire and other counties, dangerous to the government, arising out of popular discontent with the war in France, which had drained the country of its wealth and population. Great numbers had assembled in Yorkshire, pulling down houses, breaking into parks, destroying water mills, assaulting servants, and even threatening to attack the residence of the archbishop, who had issued processes against the laity for spiritual offences. The earl of Northumberland was charged with having caused these Yorkshire riots by a letter written by him to his officers in the north, and the archbishop desired that the earl might be examined in this matter before the Privy Council. The charge was referred to the arbitration of certain peers, who decided that all damage which had been done to the archbishop's property should be repaired by the earl†—thus casting reproach upon him.

Shortly after the death of Robert II., king of Scotland, a truce was concluded, which lasted till 1448, when through the ambition and turbulence of the border chieftains, war recommenced. Scottish historians throw the blame on the English for this breach. The earl of Northumberland invaded Scotland on the east side and burnt Dumfries. Alnwick

* Fordun, l. XVI., c. 25, p. 500.

† Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council, V., pp. 273–276; 309.

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suffered for this aggression; walls and towers had not yet been raised for its defence. James Douglas, lord of Belveny, "not willing to be in ane Englisch mane's commoun* for ane evill turne, gathered ane companie and brunt Annick; out of the quhilk he gathered ane great prey both of men and guides."† Alnwick Castle seems to have escaped Scottish vengeance, probably on account of its strength; for it had been embattled by the earl, with the king's authority, in 1424.

When attempting to revenge these injuries, the earl of Northumberland suffered a serious defeat. With a numerous army he invaded Scotland, but was met at the river Sark in Annandale, by a Scottish army led by Hugh, earl of Ormand; a bloody battle was fought, and the English were completely routed. Six hundred Scots fell; but the loss of the English was three thousand men, many of whom, in attempting to escape, were drowned in the Solway. The earl of Northumberland was in great danger of being slain or captured; but his son, Lord Percy, hastened to his support, and gallantly rescued his father, though he himself was taken prisoner. This warfare was soon brought to a close, as it was agreeable neither to the king of England nor the king of Scotland; and a peace was established, of which the earl was one of the conservators.

Besides being engaged in all the more important affairs of the borders, the earl at intervals performed other public duties. In 1417 he accompanied his sovereign to the French wars; in 1419 he was commissioned to array the northern forces to resist a threatened invasion of England by the king of Castile. For his good services in Scotland, the king granted him £100 per annum during his life, payable out of the lordship of Bradwell in Essex; in 1423, he had the honourable appointment of ambassador to the general council at Paris, and for this service, the treasurer of the Exchequer was ordered to pay him in advance £606 13s. 4d., being a year's salary at sixty-six shillings and eightpence per diem; and later in life he was appointed constable of England.

The early part of 1452 witnessed the commencement of the long and destructive struggle between the houses of Lancaster and York, for the possession of the English throne; Before it was ended, most of the barons and leading men of the kingdom perished either on the battle field or on the scaffold. Honourable it is to the earl of Northumberland,

* *To be in one's common*, to be obliged to one. Scotch—Jamieson.

† Pitscottie's Chron., p. 63.

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that he forgot not his obligations to Henry V., but remained faithful throughout his whole life, and at last died in defence of his son. So faithful and diligent had he been in defending the borders, that Henry VI. in 1455, in a letter, thanked the earl "for the effectual devoir, diligence, labour, and payn yat ye have put you in aswel in vitailling oure towne and castell of Berwyk, as resisting the malice of our enemies."*

Gentle and pious was Henry VI., but undoubtedly of weak intellect, and utterly incapable of ruling a turbulent people. During his feeble government, Normandy and Guienne were lost to England; a result sufficient in itself to create dissatisfaction among a people fond of warlike triumphs; but the arbitrary and violent measures of the queen and her favourites, who, indeed, held the reins of real power, brought odium and distrust on the government. The duke of York, according to the principles of succession, as defined in modern times, had claims on the throne, and the prevailing discontent encouraged in him the desire to become the king of England. He was, however, a cautious and moderate man in action; and his first steps, in the way of rebellion, were professedly to remove the queen and the duke of Somerset from the administration of public affairs. In 1455 the first blood was drawn in this great contest. The duke of York led an army against the king, who had marched from Westminster with his forces, and was occupying St. Alban's. On the morning of the 22nd of May a great battle was fought, and the Lancastrians were defeated. The king was wounded and taken; and among the slain was the earl of Northumberland. Thus sings Peeris—

"In his ould age at St. Alban's, intendinge his prince to save,
Henry the sixt, alas! hee was slain, and there lyeth in his grave."

He was buried in the Chapel of Our Lady, in the Abbey Church of St. Alban's, along with several other noblemen of the Lancastrian party, who fell in that battle. His effigy, robed in the mantle of a peer, is on the tower of Beverley Minster.

He was a noble man; his character stands out in bold relief, distinguished for honour and faithfulness; and by men in these civilised times, he will be held in high respect for his patronage of learning. In 1442, he gave the advowson of the church of Harncliffe and three acres of land lying within the precincts of that manor to the master and scholars of the University College, Oxford.

* Pro. and Ord. of Privy Council, VI., p. 298.

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He was married to Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, and widow of Lord Spencer; and by her he had nine sons and three daughters. Three of his sons died during his lifetime; his fourth son, Henry, succeeded to the earldom; his fifth son, Sir Thomas Percy, born at Leckenfield, was created earl of Egremont, and was slain at the battle of Northampton in 1460; his sixth son, George Percy, became prebendary of Beverley and rector of Rothbury and Coldebeck; his seventh son, Sir Ralph Percy, born on the 11th of August, 1425, was slain in 1464 at Hedgeley Moor; Sir Richard, his eighth son, fell on Towton field in 1461; and William, the ninth son, became bishop of Carlisle, and died in 1462.

ARMS.—*Percy and Lucy quarterly.*
CREST.—*On a chapeau, a lion statant* tail drooping.
SUPPORTERS.—*Two lions rampant.*

Seal of Henry, earl of Northumberland and lord of the honour of Cockermouth, in 1435.

FIG. 18

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BADGES.—*A lion rampant*, on the keep of Warkworth Castle; *a lion rampant between the horns of a crescent*, with the motto *Esperance*, on a house in Bondgate, Alnwick. To the time of this earl may probably be referred the *crescent and lockets* on one of the capitals in the chancel of Alnwick Church.

FIG. 19

FIG. 20

*Fig.* 19.

*A crescent enclosing a sprig of leaves in flower*, with the motto *l'esperance;* the signet of the countess of Northumberland to a letter from Warkworth.

*Fig.* 20.

*A lion sejant guardant, gorged with the crescent*, with the motto *Je espoyr;* the signet of the earl.

## HENRY PERCY, THIRD EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Henry Percy, who was born at Leckenfield on the 25th of July, 1421, was above thirty-three years of age at the time of his father's death. When a child of about two years old, he was knighted by the duke of Bedford, the same dignity being then conferred on the young king Henry VI. In the year 1441, he was made governor of the town and castle of Berwick and warden of the East Marches; and for this service it was agreed that he should be paid in time of war £5000 yearly, and in time of peace £2500; and for the custody of the castle £500 yearly in time of war, and one hundred marks in time of truce or peace. Eleven years afterwards the terms were altered; and it was agreed that for this charge he should receive £2566 13s. 4d., both in time of peace and war.

He married, in the year 1446, Eleanor, the daughter and sole heir of Richard, who was son and heir of Robert Lord Poynings. Richard having died before his father, Sir Henry Percy on the death of Robert Lord Poynings, in right of his wife, succeeded to the three baronies of Poynings, Fitz-Payne,

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and Bryan; and in the same year had special livery of the castles, manors, and lands belonging to these baronies. He was summoned to parliament on December 14th, 1446, as Baron Poynings, Bryan, and Fitz-Payne, being styled in the writ, *Henricus Percy de Poynings, chevalier;* and with this title he continued to attend other parliaments, till he succeeded in 1455 to the earldom of Northumberland.

As these titles are still affected by the Percy family, a brief notice of the descent may be given.

Adam de Poyning, in the reign of Henry II., was in possession of Poynings in Suffolk; and according to the *Testa de Neville*, Thomas de Poynings held ten knights' fees in Poynings. Richard, who in succession held the barony in the time of Richard II., married Isabella, daughter of Sir Richard de Grey—then called Fitz-Payne; and through her added the Fitz-Payne and part of the Bryan estates to his own.

The family of Fitz-Payne originated with Payne Fitz-John, the brother of Eustace Fitz-John, who held the barony of Alnwick; and so extensive were the estates, that in the reigns of John and Henry III. they paid scutage on fifteen knights' fees. But Robert Fitz-Payne, to whom they descended, having no male issue, entailed his estates in about 1323 on Robert de Grey of Codnor, who took the name and arms of Fitz-Payne, and was the husband of Elizabeth Bryan.

The Bryan family first appear as having estates on the Welsh borders; and one of them, Sir Guy Bryan, was a distinguished warrior, being standard bearer to Edward III. in the notable fight with the French at Calais. Elizabeth, his daughter, married Sir Robert Fitz-Payne, and was the ancestress of Eleanor, the wife of Sir Henry Percy.

There appears, therefore, no inheritance of blood by the Percys from the old Fitz-Paynes, but there is a blood descent both from the Bryans and Poynings. At a subsequent period, there appeared four different claimants to the Bryan estates; and after a legal contest of thirty years, it was agreed that all the claimants should have some of the estates, but that "the earl of Northumberland is, and ought to be taken and reputed as heir general to Sir Guy de Brien." "This would give him," says Mr. Longstaffe, "an exclusive right to bear the Bryan arms."*

* See documents relative to these families, Coll. Top. and Gen., p. 250; and for a succinct statement, Longstaffe's Old Heraldry, p. 189.

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Two years after his succession, he obtained livery of all land, without any inquisition taken for proof of age; and he was discharged of his relief in consideration of his good services on the borders. During his brief career after this, he not only actively engaged in border warfare, but most energetically supported the king in the great conflict between the rival Lancastrian and York parties.

Through the influence of the earl of Douglas, who was plotting against his own country, the peace between England and Scotland was at this time broken. Dreading invasion, the Scots adopted vigorous measures; watchmen were placed at the fords and at other places between Roxburgh and Berwick, to give warning of the approach of enemies; and fires were ready to be kindled on the hills to spread the alarm, and summon forces to meet the foe. Despite of these and other preparations, Earl Douglas, assisted by the earl of Northumberland, made an incursion in 1456 with a considerable body of Englishmen into the merse of Berwickshire, and plundered and destroyed wherever they went. While, however, their forces were scattered over the district, engaged in this horrid work, the earl of Angus and Sir James Murray suddenly appeared with an army; the English were totally defeated; numbers were slain, and seven hundred were taken prisoners; many, however, escaped to England laden with plunder.*

Though victory crowned the arms of the duke of York at St. Alban's he yet acted with moderation, and seemed contented with being made protector of the kingdom. Through the art of the queen, however, his commission was revoked by the peers; and chagrined with this treatment he assumed a hostile attitude, and as no reconciliation could be effected, appeal was again made to the sword. Faithful to his party, the earl of Northumberland fought by the side of the king at the battle of Northampton in 1460, when the Lancastrians were defeated and the king was taken prisoner. Boldly now the duke of York claimed the crown; but after long arguments were heard befofe parliament in favour of and against the claim, a compromise was adopted—that Henry should continue king during his life, and that the duke of York or his heir should after Henry's death succeed to the crown. Margaret, the heroic queen, was, however, free; and she would not sacrifice the rights of her son, but actively excited

* Holingshead.



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her friends to take up arms in support of her family. Public feeling ran strongly in favour of one or the other party; and the whole nation, interested in the struggle, was arrayed in two divisions, one distinguished by the red rose—the badge of the house of Lancaster, and the other by the white rose—the badge of the house of York.

Around the standard of the queen gathered the men of the north; the earl of Northumberland with all his vassals was there; and a royal army numbering twenty thousand men marched southward. To meet this formidable array, the duke of York set off from London with only five thousand men. Near to Wakefield a battle was fought in 1461, when the Yorkists were defeated, the duke himself and two thousand eight hundred of his men slain, and almost all the rest taken prisoners. While indebted to the valour of the northern troops, the royal cause suffered from their lawless conduct. They brought with them their border character; and as they advanced they plundered and burnt churches, monasteries, and private houses without distinction, "made the wealth of London look pale," and alarmed the people of the southern counties, who appear to have been less barbarous than the border men. In the same year the Lancastrians triumphed again at St. Alban's, when the king was rescued from his enemies; but they were sorely beaten at Mortimer's Cross—such was the fickle fortune of war.

The strength of the Yorkists was in London and in the southern and western counties; and when the remains of the scattered troops had been gathered in St. John's Fields, a prodigious multitude of citizens came to view the scene. Edward, the son of the late duke of York, taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, obtained a call from this great assemblage of people to assume the government of the kingdom; and with the consent of a great council of prelates, nobles, and others about London, he, in 1461, ascended the throne of England as Edward IV.

Irreconcilable was now the difference between the two parties, and both nerved themselves for a decisive struggle. King Henry and his friends retired northward, where their chief strength lay. Eager to avenge the loss of many friends, the earl of Northumberland put forth his energies, and, when all were assembled at York, their army numbered sixty thousand men. Similar activity was shewn by King Edward; and by the time he arrived at Pomfret, he had under him a gallant army of forty-eight thousand six hundred and sixty men.

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The duke of Somerset, commander of the Lancastrian army, marched forth on the 28th of March, 1461, to meet the enemy, and some bloody skirmishes were fought at the pass of Ferrybridge; but the great conflict took place on the next Palm Sunday. Never were so many Englishmen marshalled against each other in hostile array. Early in the morning the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, on the fields between Saxon and Towton, about ten miles south of York. The earl of Northumberland, who was in lusty youth and of frank courage, led the van-guard; but when the battle begun, a heavy storm of snow blew wildly in the face of his troops and prevented them seeing the enemy distinctly and taking proper aim with their arrows; but the enemy, being under no such disadvantage, poured in their arrows with fatal effect and compelled the earl, to save his men from being stricken down like deer, to order them to charge with their swords, spears, and battle-axes. A fierce hand to hand conflict ensued; and both parties, inflamed with the bitterest animosity, fought for six hours, when towards evening the Lancastrians were totally defeated and pursued with great slaughter.* The earl of Northumberland "on this evil Palm Sunday" was among the slain. This battle-field was saturated with the blood of thirty-eight thousand Englishmen.

By his wife Eleanor he had issue one son and three daughters. A large blue marble with two effigies on it, and an inscription in brass now erased, in the north choir of St. Denys' Church, York, are supposed to have been his tomb.

ARMS prior to his father's death were *Percy and Lucy quarterly, with a label of three points gules for difference.*
CREST.—*A golden crescent.*

His marriage introduced new coats into his heraldry; for Poynings—*Six pieces barways or and vert, a bendlet gules;* for Fitz-Payne—*Gules, a bentlet azure upon three lions argent passant, guardant;* and for Bryan—*Gold, three blue piles, conjoined at the base;* owing, however, to litigation, the Bryan are not assumed till the next generation.

*Fig.* 21.

CREST for Poynings.—*A black dragon's head between its wings.*

*Fig.* 22.

BADGE for Poynings. — *A key erect, handle uppermost, crowned.* Also *a white unicorn.*

* Hall's Chronicles.

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*Fig. 23.*

BADGE for Fitz-Payne.—*A black curved falchion or scimitar, hilted and tipped gold.*

FIG. 21

FIG. 22

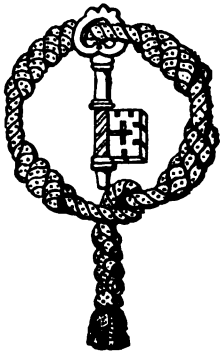

FIG. 23

Under this earl, the Percy estates attained their maximum of territorial extent; and probably presented as large an area of productive lands as was ever held by a British subject. It included the baronies, honours, and manors held by his ancestors—the baronies of Alnwick and of Prudhoe; the manors of Warkworth, Corbridge, and Newburn; the sergeantry of Beanley and other properties in Northumberland; the manors of Topcliffe and Spofford, and eleven other manors in Yorkshire; the honour of Cockermouth and eight and a half manors, and the fourth part of the barony of Egremont in Cumberland; fifty-eight manors in Lincolnshire; the manor of Toston in Leicestershire; two manors in Essex; the honour of Petworth in Sussex; the advowson of several churches and abbeys; and besides these, part of the estates of Poynings, Fitz-Payne, and Bryan, including three manors in Sussex, one in Suffolk, one in Norfolk, seven in Somerset with the hundred of Canyngton, sixteen in Kent with the hundred of Folkestone.

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## JOHN NEVILLE, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

After the death of Henry Percy, the third earl of Northumberland, he was attainted by the parliament which met on November 4th, 1461, and all his estates were confiscated; and on May 28th, 1464, the earldom was conferred by the king on John Neville—Lord Montague.

King Henry VI. and his queen, accompanied by the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, took refuge in Scotland after the battle of Towton. In the month of July, 1461, Alnwick Castle was yielded up by capitulation to Lord Hasting and the garrison were suffered to go at their liberty.*

Though defeated in the field, the bold spirit of Queen Margaret was unconquered. She passed over to France in the following spring and sought help from Louis VI.; but all she gained was a loan of twenty thousand livres, and liberty to levy a small body of troops, of which Sir Peter de Breze, seneschal of Normandy—"the best warrior of all that time"—took the command. She sailed in October, 1462, with a little band of five hundred men and landed at Tynemouth; "but whether afraid of her own shadow or that the Frenchmen cast too many doubts," the whole re-embarked. Her fleet was suddenly overtaken by a tempest; the queen with difficulty escaped in a coracle to Berwick, and the other vessels were driven ashore by the "stormy blasts" at Bamburgh. The soldiers set fire to the ships, and sought refuge in Holy Island; but there they were assailed by "the Bastard Ogle and an esquire called John Manners, with other of the king's retinue;" and many were slain, and near to three hundred taken prisoners. Breze with a few others escaped to Berwick in a fisher's boat.†

These misfortunes did not "in anything abate the haughty courage" of the queen. Leaving her son Edward in Berwick, she entered Northumberland with a great company of Scots and other friends, hoping the Northumbrians would rise in her favour; but few joined her standard. She, however, laid siege to Alnwick Castle, which was under the command of Sir Ralph Grey; and she obtained possession of it, either through the treachery of the commander or from want of provisions. Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Warkworth also fell into her hands. Garrisons were placed by her in all these castles. "They were victualled and stuffed" says

* Chronicles of Fabian.

† Hall's Chronicles, p. 259.

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Warkworth, "with Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Scotsmen."*

Aroused by these movements, King Edward and his council raised a large army in the south of England; and in the month of December, 1462, commenced the siege of these castles. Alnwick Castle was defended by a son of Breze and Lord Hungerford, with a garrison of three hundred men; Bamburgh had also a garrison of three hundred men, headed by the duke of Somerset, the earl of Pembroke, Lord Ross, and Sir Ralph Percy; and Dunstanburgh had a garrison of one hundred and twenty men. Lord Falconbridge, the earl of Kent, and Lord Scales conducted the siege of Alnwick; the earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey headed the besiegers at Dunstanburgh, and Lord Montague and Lord Ogle headed the army at Bamburgh. The earl of Warwick commanded the whole, and his head quarters were at Warkworth Castle; but he rode daily to all the castles to oversee the sieges. Provisions for the army and ordnance for carrying on the siege, were sent from Newcastle.† While these operations were going on, King Edward remained at Durham; whence he issued a mandate on the last day of December to the archbishop of York, charging him to array all the clergy of the province to resist the Scots, who entered his land to the intent, not only of rescuing his enemies of France closed within his castle of Alnwick, but also of giving him battle, "presuming of their customable pride to have dominacion upon our land."‡

Sir Peter Breze with an army of twenty thousand Scotsmen hastened to the relief of these castles; but when he advanced towards Alnwick Castle, both armies were afraid to meet each other; the English withdrew from the siege and the Scots had not the courage to pursue them; perceiving this, the garrison came out from the castle and retired to Scotland with the Scottish host;§ and on the 8th of January, 1463, the earl of Warwick took possession of the castle on behalf of Edward IV. Bamburgh was given up to Edward by Henry, duke of Somerset, in accordance with treaty. The duke and Sir Ralph Percy were received into favour by Edward, and both gave him their allegiance; to the duke was

* Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 2. † Paston Letters, I., p. 273.

‡ Raine's Memorials of Hexham, I., p. cvii.

§ Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 2.

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granted by the king one thousand marks yearly, which, however, were never paid. "And so King Edward was possessed of all England except a castle in North Wales called Harlake."* Sir John Astley was appointed governor of both Alnwick and Bamburgh Castles—an honour which Sir Ralph Grey is said to have expected; and so mortified was he at being passed over, that he deserted the cause of King Edward, and, attaching himself to the Lancastrian party, gave up Alnwick Castle in May, 1463, to Henry VI.

Margaret, the queen, with all her faults, was a heroic woman; and when her adherents were ready to give up her husband's cause in despair, she bravely made one more attempt to regain power. In the spring of 1464 she led into Northumberland a numerous army of Scotsmen, who had been induced, by the license she gave of plundering, to join her standard. Sir Ralph Grey took the castle of Bamburgh by surprise; Alnwick Castle too, fell into the hands of the queen; and the duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy, led away by reports of her success, deserted Edward and joined the queen with all their forces. King Henry VI. was at Bamburgh Castle on this occasion, for he, while there on the 9th of April, 1464, granted a charter to the burgesses of Alnwick.†

Sir John Neville, Lord Montague, who had been appointed warden of the Eastern Marches, displayed at this crisis great vigilance and bravery. On the 23rd of April, 1464, he encountered a party of Henry's forces, led by Sir Ralph Percy and the Lords Hungerford and Ross, on Hedgeley Moor, at the eastern base of the Cheviots, about ten miles westward of Alnwick. Either from treachery or fear, Hungerford and Ross deserted at the onset of the battle. Bravely, however, did Sir Ralph Percy meet his opponents; but his little army weakened by this desertion was defeated; he himself was slain, and while dying exclaimed—"I have saved the bird in my bosom;" meaning says Hall, that he had kept his promise and oath to King Henry VI.; forgetting that he in King Henry's most necessity abandoned him and submitted to King Edward.

A writer in the *Archæologia Æliana* contends that this exclamation had reference to the queen's safety, and not to his own loyalty; for as Hall intimates he could not boast of

* Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 2.

† This Charter is among the Corporation Muniments.

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his faithfulness. Probably, however, the expression was partly allusive to the craven desertion of Hungerford and Ross; and mingled with this might be regret for his own temporary unfaithfulness; and as he fell bravely fighting, while his colleagues had disgracefully fled, he might feel, in his last moments, that the sacrifice of his life vindicated his honour.

Percy's Cross commemorating his fall stands, though worn by time, on the battle field, about fifty yards eastward of the turnpike road between Whittingham and Wooler. It is a square sandstone pillar with the edges cut off. On the four principal sides are sculptured crescents, lucies, and fusils, differently arranged on each; and on the truncated corners are lockets; all these are badges of the house of Percy. "This cross" says a writer in the "Antiquarian Repository," "was erected on the spot where he fell to remind passengers to pray for his soul, and has been much distinguished by the Northumbrians of the circumjacent villages. Here they were accustomed to assemble annually to play at foot-ball, cudgels, and other rustic games; and they have invented circumstances that particularize everything near it. Thus a spring of water that issues not far from the cross, is still called Percy's Well, at which this chieftain is said to have drunk in the heat of the battle. At some distance to the north-west stood two large stones, (one of which was broken to furnish materials when the turnpike road was made); these, although they are several yards asunder, were called Percy's Leap."

Lord Montague, after the battle of Hedgeley Moor, having received reinforcements, attacked on the 15th of May, 1464, the army of the Lancastrians encamped on the Linnels near Hexham, and after a long and bloody struggle totally defeated them. He had been rewarded for his great services by the earldom of Northumberland and the forfeited estates of Percy. All rebels, who submitted, he was authorised to pardon excepting Sir Humphrey Neville and Sir Ralph Grey. Neville was taken and executed at York; but Grey resisted to the last, and defended himself bravely in Bamburgh Castle till the end of July. On the 13th of June, 1464, the earl of Warwick, "with the puissance came before the castle of Alnwick and had it delivered to him by appointment; and also the castle of Dunstanburgh, where my said lord kept the feast of Saint John the Baptist."* Warwick and his brother, the earl of Northumberland, on the 27th of June, laid siege

* MS. College of Arms, L. 9, in Warkworth Chronicle.

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to Bamburgh Castle, and summoned Sir Ralph Grey to surrender. On his refusal, "all the king's great guns were charged at once to shoot into the castle. Newcastel, the king's great gun, and London, the second gun of iron; the which betide the place, that stones of the walls flew into the sea; Dysyon, a brazen gun of the king's, smote through Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes."* A tower was beaten down, and the castle was taken by assault. Grey was so crushed by the fall of the wall, that he was taken up for dead; but recovering, he was sent prisoner to York, where he was condemned and executed as a traitor. According to his sentence, he should have been degraded from knighthood; and the master cook was ready with his apron and knife to strike off his spurs close to his heels; but this part of the sentence was remitted "in consideration of his noble grandfather, who suffered trouble for the king's most noble predecessors." This was the commuted sentence—"Sir Ralph Grey this shall be thy penance; thou shalt go on thy feet unto the townsend, and there shalt be laid down and drawn to a scaffold made for thee, and that there shalt have thine head smite of the body, to be buried in the friars; the head where it pleased the king."† Mercy even in those evil days was refined cruelty.

The Lancastrian party was now effectually subdued, and a long truce of fifteen years having been concluded with Scotland, Edward might have expected to rest in quietude on the throne, to which he had waded through blood; his marriage, however, with Elizabeth Widville, involved him in trouble; and led to the estrangement of the great family of Nevilles, who possessed immense power in the north. Suspicious of their fidelity, and desirous of raising a counterpoise to their power, Edward incited, it is said, the people of the north to petition for the restoration of young Percy to royal favour.‡

## HENRY, FOURTH EARL PERCY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Henry Percy, the son of the third earl of Northumberland, a minor when his father was slain, had been kept by authority of the king in the tower of London; but Edward carried out

* MS. College of Arms, L. 9, printed in Warkworth's Chronicle.

† Ibid.

‡ Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 4.



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his politic design; and on the 27th of October, 1469, Henry Percy was restored to liberty, and appeared at Westminster Palace, where, in the presence of several prelates, peers, and knights, he swore to be faithful to King Edward. He was restored to the earldom of Northumberland, and to the estates of his family; and was appointed warden of the East and Middle Marches in the following year. On Lord Montague, the king conferred the higher dignity of marquis, in order to allay his irritation when he lost the more substantial benefits accruing from the earldom; but he complained that the king had given him "a pye's nest to maintain his estate."*

Soon afterwards, the Nevilles were at the head of a rebellion to depose Edward; and so successful were they at first, that he was compelled to seek refuge in Burgundy. The triumph of the Lancastrians was short, for Edward soon returned to England, invited back by Henry, earl of Northumberland; and on the 14th of April, 1471, he gained the battle of Barnet, where the earl of Warwick, the king-maker, was slain. The marquis of Montague shared the same fate; but it is said, that he fell by the hand of one of his own party, in revenge for apparent treachery, in giving a feeble support to his brother. The battle of Shrewsbury, fought on the following May the 4th, decided, during the lifetime of Edward, the fortunes of the rival factions.

The earl of Northumberland, at this time, was highly popular in the north. In the "Plumpton Correspondence" it is said in 1471—"for great part of the noble men and commons in the northern parts were towards the earl, and would not stir with any lord or noble man, other than with him or at least by his commandment."† He rose high in favour with the king, who in the parliament held at Westminster on the 6th of October, 1472, sitting in the chair of state in the painted chamber, commanded that he should be restored in blood, and that the attainder of his father should be void. In that year, he was appointed warden of the East March, and one of the commissioners for redressing wrongs between the subjects of the two kingdoms; justiciary of the forests beyond the Trent; and constable of Bamburgh Castle.

In the border transactions of this period, the earl appears to have rendered good service to his country. In the month

* Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 10.

† Plumpton Correspondence, p. xxv.

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of September, 1471, a meeting of commissioners of both nations was held at Alnwick, for mutual redress of wrongs committed on the borders, when preliminary arrangements were made. But more important meetings were held at Alnwick during nine days in September, 1473, when more complete regulations were adopted to prevent inroads and punish aggressors. For his service as warden, the earl had to receive two thousand marks yearly in time of peace, and six thousand marks in time of war. In 1474, he was created knight of the Garter; and in the same year, he accompanied the king in an expedition to France; and for this he was paid £1249 14s. 8d., as his first quarter's wages for himself and the forces he had raised.

While civil war raged in England, the disturbances along the borders were not of serious importance. Much was due to the wisdom and benevolent disposition of Bishop Kennedy, for preserving the peaceful relation between the two countries, during the earlier part of the period. Domestic feuds in Scotland and the influence of France led, however, James the king of Scotland to resolve, in 1480, to invade England, even without the formality of a declaration of war; and, though a legate of the papal see, by enjoining a cessation of arms, caused James to dismiss his army, hostilities soon afterwards recommenced, and the summer was spent in mutual depredations. Edward, in 1482, sent a large army to take revenge on Scotland; it consisted of twenty-two thousand five hundred men, and in the beginning of July, it was marshalled at Alnwick. This formidable force was under the chief command of the duke of Gloucester. The van, numbering six thousand seven hundred men, led by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, suddenly crossed the Tweed and entered the town of Berwick; but Lord Hales, the commander of the castle, refusing to surrender and resolutely defending it, four thousand troops were left under the command of Lord Stanley, while the rest of the army marched towards Edinburgh. Scottish affairs were in a state of great confusion from the weakness of the crown and the lawlessness of the nobility, and a truce was agreed to containing conditions unfavourable to Scotland; on the 24th of August, Berwick was given up to the English, after it had been under the dominion of Scotland for twenty-one years. Pleased with this acquisition, the English parliament recommended the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Northumberland, and Lord Stanley to the king, for their services in the Scottish wars.

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The earl was engaged again in 1483, with other commissioners, in endeavouring to adjust differences which had arisen between the two countries; but the death of Edward IV. and the usurpation of Richard III., rendered these efforts of no avail.

The earl of Northumberland attached himself to the cause of the usurper, and accepted from him the office of lord high chamberlain of England. When Henry Tudor, the earl of Richmond, landed in England, in 1485, to combat for the crown, Richard sent for the earl of Northumberland, who joined him with all the forces he could raise. The battle of Bosworth Field was fought on the 22nd of August, when Richard was slain, and the war of the Roses brought to an end; and this fatal issue to Richard, seems to have been due partly to the treachery of the earl. Richard, it is said, had information that he intended to forsake him; be this as it may, the earl stood neutral with his men when the battle was raging; and this bad example affected others. To pierce the secret motives of men in power is always difficult, and sometimes impossible; but the suspicion attached to the conduct of the earl, is strengthened by his being received into favour by Henry VII. soon after the battle of Bosworth Field.

In the first year of Henry's reign, the earl was constituted warden of the West and Middle Marches and conservator of a truce; and two years afterwards, he was one of the commissioners to negotiate for peace with Scotland; but his appointment as lieutenant of Yorkshire embroiled him with the populace and led to his death. The king had engaged in war with France, and to carry it on vigorously, parliament had granted a liberal aid. But this tax, though readily granted, was not cheerfully paid; especially in Yorkshire and Durham, where the popular feeling ran still in favour of Richard III. The commissioners for gathering the subsidy, finding the people mutinous, complained to the earl of Northumberland, whom Bacon calls the chief ruler of the northern parts. Informed of this disaffection by the earl, the king issued peremptory commands, that not one penny be abated of that which had been granted by parliament. The haughty manner in which the earl delivered the king's message to the principal justices and others of the country, brought odium upon himself; he was regarded as the author of an oppression; the people became furious and ungovernable, and broke into his house, and slew him and

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several of his servants. This took place at Coxlodge near Thirsk, on the 28th of April, 1489. Peeris exclaims—

O horrible mischiefe, O most cruell cryme,
In our dayes hath not been seene soe destestable a thinge,
Their awne naturall lords, the commons, so murtheringe.
At Beverley Minster hee lyeth and alsoe Lady Mawd his wife,
In the which minster five priests bee found
Dayly to singe and masses to say
For Lord Henry and Mawd's soule as they bee bound,
And for theire ancestors deceased devoutly to pray,
At an altar by his tombe they singe every day;
And three bead men hee founded there alsoe to continue and pray alway,
Which now the fifth earle and the twelfthe Henry doth maintaine and uphold
Right devoutly, for hee reputeth holy prayer more then treasure or gold.

His burial in the College Church of Beverley was in accordance with his will. His funeral must have been magnificent, as it cost upwards of £1,510, equivalent to about £15,000 of the present money. "A standart for this solemn occasion cost £4; a baner £3 6s. 8d.; his cote armer of Seynet, betyn with his armys £5." The funeral had been arranged by members of the Herald's College, for there is entered—"The reward to two officers of armys for their helpe and payne in ordering the said buriall at £10 the pece, for coming from London, their costs and rewards £20." Thirteen thousand three hundred and forty poor folks that came on the day of the burial received twopence each; five hundred priests twelvepence each; and one thousand clerks fourpence each.

The grave of Maud, his wife, was opened in September, 1678, and her body was found in a fair coffin of stone, embalmed and covered with cloth of gold, and on her feet slippers embroidered with silk, and therewith a wax lamp, a candle, and plate candlestick. The stately altar tomb of this earl is still in a good state of preservation in Beverley Minster.

By his wife Maud, daughter of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, he left four sons and three daughters; Henry, who succeeded him; Sir William Percy, who fought at Flodden; Alan, a priest; and Joceline, ancestor of the Percys of Beverley, Cambridge, and Rochester.

The will of this earl, which was made on the 27th of July, 1485, presents a favourable view of his character as a religious man, kindly disposed, and generous to his friends, servants, and to the poor; for those who had served him while living, he wills that they should be bountifully dealt with after his death. His body he desires to be buried within the College Church of

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St. John of Beverley—"if hit fortune me to departe frome this presente lyve withyne the countie of Yorke." He bequeaths to the prior and convent of the friars in Holn Park £40; to the white friars of Doncaster £20, and of York £20; to the abbot and convent of Alnwick one hundred marcs; all these priors and convents are within a month of his decease to say two trentals for him, and yearly keep an obit on the day of his death; to the prioress and convent of Wilberfosse £10, to the abbey of St. Alban's £20, to the abbey of St. Mary next York ten marcs, "to pray for ye saules of my graunte-modirs, my lorde my fadir soule, my graunte-fadirs, all myne auntcestres saules, and all cristen saules;" to the parsons of Lekyngfeld five marcs, of St. Anne Church London £5, to the vicars of Werkeworth five marcs and of Wresill a hundred shillings, "for my tithes and oblations by me to fore this tyme forgeten." "Also I woll that by ye discrecions of myne executors, to dispose for my saule and ye saules aforesaid, ye some of thre houndreth markes." He wills that Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Meteham, Sir William Eure, and Sir Guy Fairfax be paid their fees during their lives, they doing service to his heirs as they have done to him. All that have offices of his grant are to retain them being true to his heirs. "Also I woll that my gossep Mr William Poteman (who was archdeacon of the East Riding,) have a tonne of wyne of Gascoigne yerelie duryng my lyve and his, to be delyvred at ye porte of Hull to hyme or to his deputy; and after my discess during his lyve two tonnes of Gascoigne wyne." To eight persons now his beadmen he willed that they be found during their lives in meat, drink, and clothing, and that each have yearly thirteen shillings and fourpence in money. He makes provision for his daughters Alianor and Anne, and for his sons Henry, William, Aleyne, Gessilyne; for his nephews Sir Ralph and George Percy, and for the children of Sir Henry another nephew.* Many other bequests are made in this thoughtful will.†

On his tomb are displayed his heraldic insignia—the Percy fusils, the Percy lion, the locket, the crescent, the lucies, Poynings and Bryan. Belonging to his time are also *a lion statant, guardant, gorged with a crescent,* inscribed with *esperance,* supporting what appears to be a banner charged with the Percy and Lucy arms quartered, on the Lion Tower of Warkworth Castle; on the same tower is the crest—*a lion passant, the tail lashed, on a chapeau ermine;* and here too, occurs a badge used only by this earl—*a bascule‡ for Herbert,*

* They were descendants of Sir Ralph Percy, who was killed at Hedgeley Moor.

† Test. Ebor. III., p. 310

‡ A bascule was the counterpoise which helped to lift a drawbridge. Reference must be made to Mr. Longstaffe's Percy Heraldry for an account of this curious badge.

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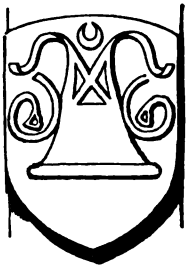
the family of his wife Maud, with the motto *ma comfort*—*Fig.* 24; the same badge, with a crescent is on a window of Beverley Church—*Fig.* 25.

FIG. 24

WARKWORTH.

FIG. 25



BEVERLEY.

*A lion rampant* was on the barbican of Alnwick Castle; and on the old cornice above, were the crescent and locket with a crowned lion supporter on the left side, and the motto *Esperance Ma Comforte.** The crescent and locket are on the head of a buttress of Warkworth Church; a crescent enclosing a locket on the north window of Beverley Chapel—*Fig.* 26; on Hedgeley Cross; and on Highfarlaw (Heohforlaw) Pele.

FIG. 26

BEVERLEY.

FIG. 27

*Fig.* 27.
*Locket between the horns of a crescent;* from Vincent's MS.

* This was restored, but not correctly, a century ago; the original sculptures are preserved in the Castle Museum.

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# CHAPTER XII.

## FIFTH AND SIXTH EARL PERCYS, FROM 1489 TO 1537.

FIFTH EARL PERCY—HIS LOVE OF DISPLAY—ATTENDS QUEEN MARGARET'S PROGRESS THROUGH NORTHUMBERLAND — SIEGE OF TURWIN — STANDARD AND PENNON — BATTLE OF FLODDEN — EARL'S DEATH—HIS CHARACTER—HOUSEHOLD BOOK—HERALDRY — HENRY ALGERNON, SIXTH EARL — IN LOVE WITH ANNE BOLEYN — ARRESTS CARDINAL WOLSEY — LETTER REGARDING ANNE BOLEYN—RAID INTO SCOTLAND—SEEKS TO BE CAPTAIN OF BERWICK—SIR THOMAS PERCY—PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE—EARL'S DEATH—WRESIL CASTLE—LECKINFIELD MANOR HOUSE—HERALDRY.

### HENRY ALGERNON, FIFTH EARL.

Henry Algernon, who, as eldest son and heir, succeeded to the barony of Alnwick and other possessions, was born on the 13th of January, 1478; in 1488, he was created a knight of Bath along with Arthur, prince of Wales; and sometime prior to 1498, he was made a knight of the Garter.

He was a Percy-Lovaine of a new type. His predecessors, with rare exceptions, were brave warriors, ready at the head of attached vassals to fight their own or their country's battles; but the spirit of the old heroism seems never to have kindled in his bosom; he was more at home in gaudy shows than in battle-fields; and he stands pre-eminent for his stately magnificence, which he displayed not only in the grandeur of his military equipment, but also in the semi-regal order of his household.

He had a favourable opportunity of indulging in his taste for display when he attended the princess royal into Scotland. A happy historical event was the marriage of Margaret, Henry the Seventh's eldest daughter, to James the Fourth, of Scotland; for it brought about the union of the crowns of England

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and Scotland, which powerful kings, large armies, and torrents of blood had failed to achieve.

This marriage was celebrated by proxy on January the 25th, 1503, and proclaimed at Saint Paul's Cross, where the *Te Deum* was sung. The peal of bells and blaze of bonfires testified the joy of the citizens. Young, the herald, has left a curious account of the bride's progress through England to the Scottish border.

The king, her father, accompanied her as far as Collyweston, the residence of her grandmother. Afterwards, richly dressed, mounted on a fair palfrey, she was attended throughout her journey, by the chief noblemen of the district through which she passed, all the good towns and villages in her route ringing their bells, and the inhabitants of the country around coming to see the noble company, bringing great vessels full of drink for the use of those who had need of it. At two miles from the city of Tadcaster, the queen was joined by the earl of Northumberland "well horst upon a fayr Corser, with a foot cloth to the Grounde of Cramsyn Velvett, all borded of Orfavery; his Armes vary rich in many Places upon his Saddle and Harnys, his Sterrops gylt, himself arayd of a Gowne of the same Cramsyn. At the opnyngs of the Slyves and the Coller, a grett Bordeur of Stones. His Boutts of Velvett blak, his Spours gylt; and in many places he maid Gambads, plaisant for to see. Allwayes nigh to him wer two Fotemen. Ther Jackets of that sain as before to his devyses. Before him he had 3 Hensmen rychly drest and mounted upon fayr Horsys, their short Jakets of Orfavery, and the Harnys of the sayd Horsys of the same. After them rode the Maister of the Horse, arayd of his Livery of Velvyt, mounted upon a gentyll Horse, and Campanes of Silver and gylt." Many noble knights were in his company; "also ther was hys Officer of Armes named Norhumberland Herault, arayed of his Liveray of Velvet, berring his Cotte." The earl accompanied the queen through the remainder of Yorkshire, through Durham and Northumberland, and as far as Lammerton Kirk in Scotland.

When entering into the city of Durham, the earl "wore a goodly gown of Tynsel furred with Ermines, mounted on a fair courser, with harness of Goldsmith Work, through which were inserted small bells that made a melodious noise."

Three days the queen sojourned in Newcastle, and on leaving, was escorted by the mayor; half-a-mile from the town she was received by Sir Humphrey Lisle, of Felton, and the prior of Brinkburn, with twenty horsemen; and a little further on by Sir Ralph Evers, sheriff of the county, "with many honest folks of the countrie with spears and bows, in Jackets, to the number of 200 horsemen." After resting a night at Morpeth, she recommenced her journey, and, between Morpeth and Alnwick was joined



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by "Maister Henry Gray, Esquier, with one hundred horse." Her route to Alnwick was through Cawledge Park, in which "she kylde a Buck with her bow." Two days she remained at Alnwick, as the guest of the earl of Northumberland, who "maid hyr varey good Chere." On the 28th of July, she left Alnwick and dined at Belford, where Sir Thomas Darcy, captain of Berwick, "had made ready her dinner very well and honestly." Ralph Widdrington joined her here with one hundred horse; and at the entrance of Islandshire, Henry Grey, who was sheriff of that part of Northumberland, took charge of her. On the 1st of August, she was received at Lammerton Kirk, on the part of the king of Scots, by the archbishop of Glasgow and other noblemen, and about one thousand persons; and here the earl of Northumberland made "his Devor at Departynge of Gambads and Leaps."*

The Scottish king and his nobles were also richly appareled; but for splendour, the earl of Northumberland outshone them all; "in the richness of his coat being goldsmith's work, garnished with pearl and stones; and for the costly apparel of his henxmen, and gallant trappers of his horses, besides 400 tall men well horsed, and appareled in his collars, he was esteemed both of the Scots and Englishmen more like a prince than a subject."

He had another opportunity of indulging his taste for display, when, in 1513, he with six thousand men, accompanied a warlike expedition to France, where he took part in the sieges of Therovene and Tournay; and was present at "*The Battle of the Spurs*," where the French cavalry using their spurs instead of their swords galloped away from the English, leaving their general and officers in the hands of their enemies. A curious account is preserved of "The order and hole preparation and carriage of the Right honorable Henry, Earle of Northumberland, when he went to the siege of Turwin in France, in the fifth yeare of the raigne of King Henry the Eighth."†

Extraordinarily magnificent was his display; arrayed he was in the utmost splendour, with doublets, coats, gaberdines, and cloaks of crimson and green satin, ornamented with gold; even his garters were of goldsmith work of gold of Venice with buckles and pendants of gold and enamel. His own pursuivants, herald, standard and banner bearers attended

* Lelandi Collectanea, IV., pp. 271-281.

† This very curious account is printed in the Antiquarian Repository, IV., p. 346.

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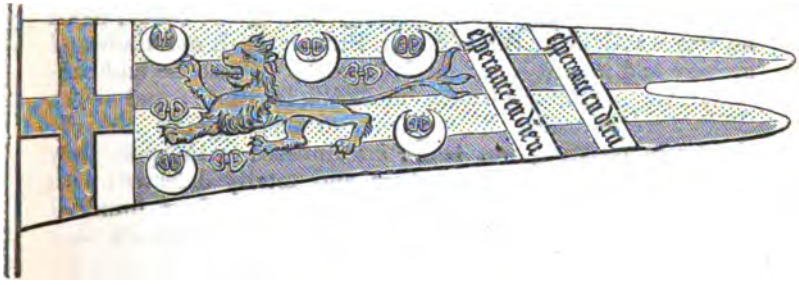
him; and his whole arms were beaten on their coats in oil colours and gold; *Esperaunce*, my lord's pursuivant, had a green damask coat, and three chaplains had red gowns, with three bends of white sarsenet and green, with six crosses, six roses, and six crescents.

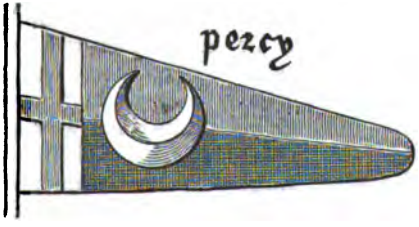
On his *gideholmes*, or small standards, were my lord's device and word with sundry beasts, and sundry powderings. In *Fig.* 28, the beast is the blue lion of Percy, the device is the crescent enclosing the locket, the powderings are lockets, and the word, *Esperance en Dieu;* the colours are the gold and green of Poynings.

FIG. 28




The *pennoncelle*, or diminutive pennon, for his demi-lance, was painted red and black, with livery colours of my lord, with the crescent upon it.

FIG. 29




The war which the king of England was carrying on against France in 1513, broke the friendly relations between England and Scotland. From France, Scotland had often received aid when her more powerful neighbour sought to oppress her, nor was she ungrateful when her friend needed help. There was no difficulty in trumping up an excuse for breaking

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the truce. Andrew Barton,* a famous Scottish sea captain, called by the English a pirate, had been killed by the English and his ships seized, when he was acting under the authority of the king of Scotland; Heron the Bastard, brother of Lord Ford, and the murderer of the Scottish warden, was protected by the English; and the jewels belonging to the queen of Scotland were detained in England. These, though trivial enough in themselves, were deemed sufficient grounds by a warlike people to seek vengeance on England. Soon did the turbulent borderers begin their raids and devastations on both sides of the border. Lord Home at the head of three thousand horsemen, in revenge of the ravages of the English, entered Northumberland, and after burning seven villages was retiring with great booty, when he was way-laid by Sir William Bulmer with one thousand archers and men-of-arms on horseback. These he had concealed among the tall broom on Millfield Plain; and as the Scots were returning, he suddenly attacked them. Bravely the Scots resisted; but being encumbered with spoil, they were shot down by the archers and totally defeated, with a loss of five or six hundred killed and four hundred taken prisoners. This, however, was but the prelude to a more disastrous defeat, which is to be deplored, not only for the sorrow it brought to Scotland, but for the sad check it gave to the progress of its social improvement; for James IV., the king of Scotland, aimed at noble objects; he repaired and adorned many palaces and castles, improved the administration of justice, brought law and order to bear on wild and uncultivated districts that had previously been beyond the range of civilising influences; his navy he had strengthened; and with vigour he had attempted to repress the excesses and lawlessness of the borders. Alas! that such noble movements should have been so soon arrested. With all his generosity he had his faults; led astray by his own chivalrous feeling, he kindled up the excitable war-spirit of his people and entered England with a numerous army.

In the absence of King Henry, who was on the continent, the earl of Surrey advanced to meet the Scots with an army of twenty-six thousand men; and to arouse their religious enthusiasm, he obtained at Durham, the banner of Saint

* About thirty years ago, a heavy sea washed away the loose sand covering a sandstone rock, near low tide mark on the sea shore at Embleton, and there was found cut upon this rock in Roman capitals, ANDRA BARTON.

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Cuthbert, the popular saint of Northumberland. This army arrived at Alnwick on the 3rd of September, 1513; and as heavy rains had broken up the roads they remained all the next day, and Surrey while there was joined by his son, Thomas, the lord admiral, with a considerable body of good forces. From Alnwick, on Sunday the 4th of the month, Surrey sent a herald (Rouge Croix) challenging the king of Scotland to join battle with him on the Friday following. On the 5th, the English army encamped at Bolton, five miles westward of Alnwick, and on the 6th and 7th at Wooler Haugh Head. The two armies joined issue on Flodden Field on the 9th, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon; and when the dark shadows of night fell, the Scots were signally defeated, their chivalrous king slain, and most of his nobles with nearly ten thousand of his soldiers left dead on this fatal battle-field.* This disaster filled the heart of Scotland with sorrow, which found utterance in plaintive songs, in memory of the "Flowers of the Forest that had a' wede away."†

The earl of Northumberland was not engaged in this battle, being then with the king in France; but two Percys were there, Sir William, his brother, and Sir Lionel Percy.

Though the earl had been, on the accession of Henry VIII., appointed warden of the marches, he never distinguished himself in border warfare; but when an invasion from Scotland was dreaded in 1522, he was again entrusted with this important office, from which he is said soon after, by repeated suits to the king, to have obtained a discharge. For this sorry conduct he suffered greatly in reputation, even incurring the contempt of his own tenants. Probably, however, the new regulations introduced by the sagacity of Wolsey, to make the office of warden efficient in the maintenance of order and administration of law, did not harmonise with the lofty notions the earl entertained of his own dignity; and to some border men, indeed, these regulations were especially distasteful, because preventing indolent and unscrupulous wardens and subwardens making a profit out of the lawlessness and misery

* Two very able and full accounts of this battle have been recently given; one by Robert White in Archæologia Æliana, III., New Series; and the other by the Rev. Robert Jones, vicar of Brankston, in the Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, IV., pp. 365-389. This has since been reprinted in a separate volume.

† Hall.

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of the border land. Something the earl attempted in 1527; when by command of the king, his dearest son and heir Lord Percy lay and abode at his castle of Alnwick for defence of the borders against the Scots, he then issued a commission, in royal style "for taking of musters" to George Swinbourne, constable of Alnwick Castle, Thomas Horseley, constable of Warkworth Castle, to his steward of Spofford and Topcliffe, to his constable of Prudhoe Castle, and to his feodary of York, commanding them to view all his officers, servants, tenants, farmers, homagers, freeholders, and inhabitants of Northumberland, "according to the custome of old tyme used," who are charged to wait upon his son to serve the king.*

Soon after this, on the 19th of May, 1527, the earl died and was buried in Beverley Cathedral.

He was married to Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spence, of Spencer Combe, in Devonshire, by whom he had two daughters and three sons; Henry, who succeeded him, and Sir Thomas and Sir Ingelram or Ingram, both of whom took part in Ashe's rebellion.

Vain and excessively fond of pomp and display and having no great share of the bravery of the older Percys, he seems to have been more literate than the barons generally of the period. Skelton he patronised; a coarse satirical poet, then held in esteem, although a priest of malicious disposition and of doubtful moral character, and who wrote a long elegy on the death of the earl's father. The earl left a curious collection of poems engrossed on vellum, chiefly those of Lydgate, the elegy of Skelton, and the history, in a kind of verse, of the Percy family by Peeris, one of his chaplains. He indulged in an odd fancy, in having the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments in Wressil Castle and Leckingfield great manor house covered with a series of moral inscriptions in verse. These verses are like the compositions of the period, affected and strewed with conceits, but they inculcate some good moral lessons; one example may be given:—

A. He that slepithe in somer in winter sufferithe payne,
And he that in youthe is ydyll in age muste nedis complayne,
And he that in youthe withe virtu makithe adyaunce
In age of all grace shall have plenteus habundaunce.

B. An olde proverbe it is meane it is a treasure
Why sholde not youthe at tymes enjiye his pleasure.

Affecting the state of a sovereign, his commands were expressed in a royal style; his household was like a regal

* Ant. Rep., IV., p. 351.

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establishment; officers he kept to record his doings, and a poet laureate to sing the praises and dignity of himself and family; and hence there have been handed down curious and voluminous records exhibiting his manner of life. His household book, which was given to the world by Bishop Percy, presents a striking picture of a singular combination of the feudal grandeur of the olden time, with the stately magnificence of the sixteenth century. He had a council, composed of his principal officers, to establish laws for the government of his household; the constable and bailiffs of his castles waited upon him in succession, and these offices were filled by the younger branches of his family and by gentlemen of dignified descent; they formed, along with the other chief officers the Knight's Board; there were controller, clerk of the kitchen, chamberlain, treasurer, secretary and clerk of the signet, survisor, heralds, ushers, almoner, a schoolmaster for teaching grammar, minstrels, eleven priests presided over by a doctor of Divinity as dean of the chapel, and a band of choristers. The household numbered two hundred and twenty-three persons.*

ARMS.—*Percy and Lucy quarterly.* The earl's MS., probably a copy from his bannerole at the Turwin siege; in the corners are silver crescents and golden lockets; and between the shield and garter are H. P.

FIG. 30

* The whole of this Household Book is printed in the Antiquarian Repertory, IV., p. 9, &c. The details of the mode of living are highly instructive.

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ARMS.—*Quarterly of five.* I., *Percy and Lucy quarterly.* II., *Old Percy.* III., *Poynings.* IV., *Fitzpaine.* V., *Bryan.* Garter plate.

In the earl's signet, there are *a lion rampant* and a locket between every letter of the motto. 1515.

FIG. 31

## HENRY ALGERNON PERCY, SIXTH EARL.

Henry Algernon Percy, the eldest son of the fifth earl, was educated in the house of Cardinal Wolsey; and as one of the train of that powerful minister, whom, indeed, he attended in ordinary, he was in the habit of repairing to the royal court, and there met the beautiful and unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Before the king himself had looked on her with loving eyes, Henry Percy was smitten with her charms, and so far progressed in her affections, that he obtained her goodwill to marriage; and they became little less than contracted to each other. The king, having heard of this, and afraid of losing this beautiful woman, on whom he had for some time contemplated with affection, acquainted Cardinal Wolsey with his love, and desired him to dissuade Percy from prosecuting his suit. The cardinal used his endeavours, both with Percy and Anne Boleyn, to break off their engagement; but Anne seems to have been so much attached to her lover, as to be displeased with the cardinal's interference; whose influence, however, not being sufficient to disunite the lovers, the king sent for the earl of Northumberland to come to court; and so afraid was he of the king's displeasure, that he insisted on his son renouncing Anne Boleyn; and to

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prevent the recurrence of danger, he induced him to marry the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. Even when Anne became the wife of the king, she retained a strong hatred of the cardinal for blighting her early love.*

On his father's death in 1527, Henry Algernon, as heir, succeeded to all his lands. Notwithstanding his early obligations to the cardinal, he, in the same year, signed the articles impeaching his old master, who was now tottering on his lofty elevation, chiefly because of his opposition to the divorce of Queen Catherine. The earl too, signed the famous letter from the peers of the realm to Pope Clement, in 1530, informing his holiness, that if he did not concur in a sentence of divorce they would seek a remedy elsewhere. This was the first bold decisive blow which severed England from the Papal dominion. The great cardinal had been in disgrace and banished from the court since October, 1529; but his enemies, afraid that he might regain the king's favour, sought his destruction. The earl of Northumberland, who was now warden of the Marches, went by command of the king, along with others, to arrest the cardinal, with such diligence and secrecy, that the cardinal, receiving him as a guest, was startled when the earl in a faultering voice said "I arrest you of treason." Dismayed and pensive, the cardinal paused before he replied; and feeling grieved, apparently not so much on account of the arrest itself, but because it was made by one who had served in his own household, he at first refused to obey, until he saw the king's commission. This, however, was not shewn to him; but as he had no remedy, he at length yielded; not to the earl, but to Sir William Welsh as the king's servant.† The fall of this great minister, as told in the pages of Shakespeare, gives a most impressive and touching lesson on the instability of human greatness.

When the brutal Henry VIII., enamoured with another beauty, caused his wife Anne Boleyn to be condemned, he sought also to deprive her of the honour of being his lawful wife, by endeavouring to persuade the earl of Northumberland to admit that she was under a pre-contract and promise of marriage to him. Honourable it is to the earl, that he was not awed by the cruel tyrant, to heap degradation on a persecuted woman. In a letter to Cromwell, the king's

* These interesting particulars are given in Herbert's Life of Henry VIII., Hist. of Eng., II.—1708.

† Herbert, II., p. 146.



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secretary, he says—"I perceive there is supposed a Precontract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examin'd upon mine Oath before the Archbishop of Canterbury and York; but also received the blessed Sacrament upon the same, before the Earl of Norfolk and others of the king's council learned in the spiritual law; assuring you by the said Oath and blessed body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my Damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise of Marriage between her and me."*

Soon after his accession to the earldom, Henry Algernon Percy must have been appointed warden of the Eastern and Middle Marches; for we find him acting in that capacity on the 28th of January, 1528. He met with the Scottish wardens on the Marches to redress grievances, and presided over warden courts to try and punish offenders; but he seldom engaged in the warfare, which despite of truces, was still carried on. In one raid across the borders he took part; and of this he gives an account in a letter to Henry VIII.

"According" he says, "to your most dread commandment, for me to invade the realm of Scotland, and there to destroy, waste, and burn corn and towns to their most annoyances," he took upon him an enterprise into Teviotdale and Merse. On the 11th of December, 1532, at eleven o'clock, he invaded Scotland accompanied with the whole garrison of ——— ? and other Northumbrians; on the following day he sent forth two forays, and at day-break they raised the fire in Douglas in the Lothians, and burnt and wasted the town and the corn there; and also the town and corn of Aldhamstokes, Cobbirspeth, the two towns of Hoprygg, Old Camers, and the towns of Reidtlewes. He also burnt "a town and corn being in his way called Raynton." "Thankes be to God the forreys fleynge stale and batall savely, without loss or hurt did mete at the howre of 12 of the cloke, not being one pele, gentlemans house, nor grange, unbrynt and destroyed; and so recaled towardes England, and in our retourne forreyed all the contrey toward Berwyk, and did bryn, wast, and distroye the townes of Conwodd, Honwodd, 2 Rustayns, Blak Hill, and Hill End, 2 Atons, and wan the barmkyn there; which townes was within the Merse. At which invasion there ys taken many Scottesmen prisoners, there was seaced 2000 noyte and above, 4000 shepe and above, with all the insight, coyn, imployments of houshold, estemed to a great somme." How revolting to thank God for the safe performance of these horrible deeds!†

* Herbert, II., p. 195.

† State Papers, IV., p. 627.

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He must have had somewhat of the love of display for which his father stood pre-eminent; for we find, that Cromwell not only informed him of complaints having been made of his not duly executing justice on the Marches, but also of his having had a sword borne before him from Topcliff to York. He admits that a sword was borne before him, and says—"Good Master Secretary, if that same were taken by the King's Majesty of me to be done in pomp and pride of myself, without his most gracious authority, which I have for the same, it should be unfainedly to my discomfort, for so much as neither duty nor reason can give me a most poor and true subject, to have a sword borne, but only by the honorable authority of his Majesty to me granted, most unworthy."*

This, however, was but a trivial affair; another of his letters presents him in a less favourable aspect. This great earl complains of poverty, and as the captain of Berwick was not expected to recover from illness, he asks for his place and offers a bribe of one thousand marks to Cromwell, if he would procure it for him.

"Of a truth" says he, "the Captain of Berwick, Sir Thomas Clyfford had laid speach, and never likely to recover; to which rome,† good Mr. Secretary, I pray you help me, whereby ye shall not only recover a poor noble man being in decay, but also get yourself much worship, that by your means so poor a man shall be recovered, as I am, and bind me, my friends, and them that shall come after me, ever, (as never the less I am most bounden afore) next the king our Maister, to be toward you and all yours during our lives. And good Mr. Secretary, I shall not fail to give you a 1000 marks for the same, bringing it to pass. And good Mr. Secretary as my trust is in you, do for me now. And Our Lord have you in His keeping. In hast, at Toplyff the 6 Nov. (1535), with the rude and ragged hand of your own ever bounden, most assuredly H. NORTHUMBERLAND."‡

The earl appears to have been attached to the reformed religion; but his brothers, Sir Thomas and Sir Ingram Percy, clung to the old faith, and took part in insurrectionary movements which influenced for a time the fortunes of the Percy family. The smaller monasteries were dissolved in 1536, and nearly ten thousand monks and nuns were set loose, to inflame the passions of the ignorant and stir up rebellion. One of the larger monasteries in the north, Hexham, resisted by force of arms the admission of his majesty's commissioners into the abbey. The walls were bristling with

* State Papers, V., p. 16. † Office. ‡ State Papers, V., p. 34.

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artillery, and numbers of the tenants of the abbey and of the outlawed Redesdale men, who had been summoned both by the common bell and the great fray bell, assembled around the abbey armed "with bills, halberts, and other defenceable wapons, like men ready to defend a town of war."* Sir Thomas Percy was at Hexham at this time abetting this resistance.

But he was more directly concerned in a more formidable outbreak, which was headed by Robert Aske, a man of courage and prudence, and who gave to the undertaking the name of "The Pilgramage of Grace." Sir Thomas Percy was actuated by interested motives, as well as by a regard to the old religion; for, having sought to be declared heir to the earl and been obstructed by the king in the attainment of his object, he out of revenge joined this rebellion.† He raised as many men as he could in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and passed with his followers through York "in complete harness, with feathers trimmed as well as he might deck himself at that time, shewing he did nothing constrained but of a willing malicious stomack against his most natural and dread lord." He circulated writings, placards, and precepts; and then betook himself to Northumberland and called to his aid the notable offenders of Tindale and Hexhamshire—the Herons, the Charltons, the Robsons, and others, famous freebooters. He and his brother, Sir Ingram, summoned meetings of the gentlemen of the county at divers places, under the pretence of making arrangements to defend the country against freebooters; one of these meetings was at Alnwick Castle, whence he would not allow the gentlemen to depart till they swore to aid him in his designs; but all this was done without the authority of the earl, while he was lying sick at Wressil. One man, Edward Bradeforthe, Sir Raynold Carnaby's servant, resisted the authority of these lawless men, and would not pay to Sir Ingram the rents of his master's lands; but he was seized by eighteen men whom Sir Ingram laid in wait for him; and he was taken by force to Alnwick Castle, laid in the stocks there for two nights and a day, and kept in prison for three days longer.‡

Sir Thomas Percy led the first division of the rebel army, which, numbering five thousand men, encamped near Doncaster; but promises of pardon and of inquiry into the

* Raine's Memorials of Hexham, I., cxxviii.

† Froude's Appendix to the Pilgrim, p. 115.

‡ Raine's Memorials of Hexham, I., cxxxvii.

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grievances complained of having been made, this formidable body disbanded. No inquiry following, other plots were formed with which these Percys were connected; and Sir Thomas was seized, tried, condemned as a traitor, attainted, and in 1537 executed at Tyburn. The life of Sir Ingram Percy was spared; but he died soon after in 1538. Seventy-four persons were hung on gibbets in chains in Westmoreland and Cumberland. "The flame" says Froude, "was trampled out; and a touch of pathos hangs over its close—the bodies were cut down and buried by *women*."

The loss of the object of his early love affected the character of the earl of Northumberland; he became reckless and extravagant and plunged so deeply into debt, that he bore the sobriquet of "Henry the Unthrifty," and was obliged to sell Poynings estate and other lands. With his wife he lived unhappily; and he separated from her. The fate of his brother he laid deeply to heart; and as he had no issue of his own, and his brother's children could not inherit in consequence of their father's attainture, "he" says Dugdale, "gave away part of his lands to the king and to others."* On February the 3rd, 1535, he alienated to the king his house of Petworth and other lands in Sussex, his lands in Hackney, and large estates in Lincolnshire and other counties; and his other lands, by another act, were settled on his own male issue, and then upon the king and his heirs in augmentation of the imperial crown; some provision was reserved for his brothers and nephews. He died on the 30th of June, 1537, at his house in Hackney, and was buried in the choir of Hackney Church.

"ARMS.—*Quarterly of five.*—I., *Grand quarter of* 1, *Percy*, 2, *Beaufort*, 3, *Lucy*, 4, *Spenser*, (*Black two ermine bars nebulee*). II., *Old Percy*. III., *Poynings*. IV., *Fitz-Payne*. V., *Bryan*.

CREST.—*A lion passant, the tail extended, on a chapeau.*

SUPPORTERS.—*A lion rampant crowned, and an unicorn ducally gorged and chained.*

Motto, on a scroll, "*Esperance.*" Mr. Way in Proceedings of Arch. Inst., Newcastle, p. 305.

Of the heraldry of this earl, ample illustrations occur in the Herald's College, taken from standards and pennons; and through the kind permission of Mr. Longstaffe, I am able to present several examples, which will be especially

* Dugdale Bar. I., p. 283.

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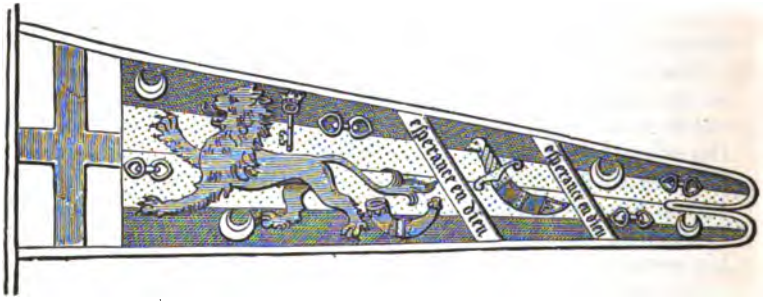
interesting, because giving not only the Percy badges, but also those of Poynings and Bryan. And here too, I express my obligations to my friend Mr. Longstaffe, for the liberal use he has given me of the valuable wood cuts which illustrate the Percy heraldry.

FIG. 32



STANDARD.—"*Paly of thre pesses of thys collers, Rosset, yelow, and tawny,*" *powdered with silver crescents and lockets separately, a blue lion passant. Above him, a silver key, crowned with gold* (for Poynings), *behind him, a blue bugle-horn unstringed, garnished with gold* (for Bryan). *Between the motto-bends, a black falchion sheathed, garnished, pomelled and hilted with gold* (for Fitz-Payne). MS. Her. Coll., I., *2.* There is no motto filled into the original.

FIG. 33

PENNONS.—The same MS. "Algernons." *Red, gold, and rosset, a blue lion passant between three silver crescents.*

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FIG. 34

"Ponynges." *Rosset, gold, and tawny, a silver unicorn passant, ducally gorged and chained in gold, between three silver crescents.*

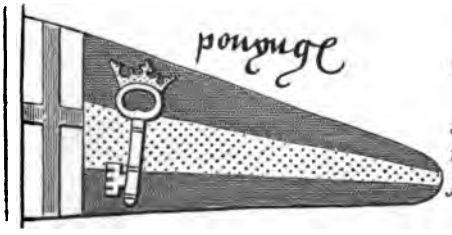
FIG. 35

*Rosset, gold, and tawny, a silver boar statant, ducally gorged and chained in gold, between three silver crescents.*

FIG. 36

"Percy." *Rosset, gold, and tawny, a silver panther statant, powdered with red and blue spots, and crowned in gold, between three silver crescents.*

FIG. 73




PENNONCELLES. — The same MS.

"Ponynges." *Rosset, gold, and tawny, the silver key as before.*

FIG. 38

"Bryan." *Rosset, gold, and tawny, the bugle-horn as before.*

*Red, rosset, red, and rosset, a silver crescent.*

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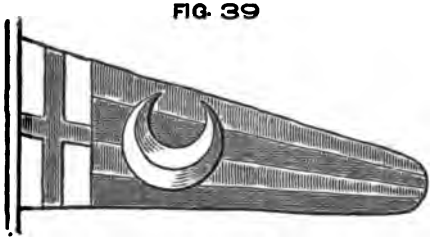
FIG. 39



"Percy." *Red and black, a silver crescent.* Exactly "like the penceles of buckram" used by the previous earl "painted of red and black, with crescents upon them."

The chief residence of the earls of Northumberland at this period was not at Alnwick, but at Wressil Castle in Yorkshire. Leland, who saw it in 1538, says—"The House is one of the most propre beyound Trente and Semeth newly made;" yet it was built in the time of Richard II. It was a splendid building; but during the great civil war it was, in 1650, to a great extent demolished by an order of the Council of State.* Lekinfield Manor House, another principal residence, is now entirely destroyed. Leland says, "it is a large House, and Stondith within a great mote, yn one very spacious courte." Though not so magnificent as Wressil, it afforded more accommodation, for there were in it eighty-three apartments.

* In a letter to Hugh Potter, kept still in memory from his bequest to the Alnwick poor, there is an account of the manner in which it was destroyed. See Ant. Rep., IV., p. 334, where there is also a picture of its remains in 1770.

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# CHAPTER XIII.

## MARCH LAWS AND STATE OF THE BORDERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

MARCH LAWS—ORDER OF THE WATCHES—WARD MUSTERS—DEFENCES OF THE BORDER—MEN OF ALNWICK MUSTERED AT ABBERWICK—DACRE'S RAID—SURREY, WARDEN—RAID INTO TEVIOTDALE—SIR WILLIAM LYLE'S RAIDS—SURRENDER AND EXECUTION—HORRIBLE FORAYS—LORD PARR AT ALNWICK—EURE'S FORAY—THE PROTECTOR—SOMERSET AT ALNWICK—LETTER FROM ALNWICK CASTLE—TEN TOWNS OF GLENDALE BURNT—BOOK OF THE MARCHES.

Henry Algernon Percy, the sixth earl of Northumberland, dying without issue, and the family of his brother being corrupted in blood by the attainder of their father and incapable of succession, the Percy crescent was for a time eclipsed, and the earldom became extinct. By his will, the chief portion of the earl's estates passed to the king; and twenty years went by before this old border family was restored to its dignities and estates.

During the greater part of this interval, Alnwick and Warkworth Castles belonged to the king, and were occupied by one or other of the deputy wardens of the Marches. The border land was then the scene of frequent inroads; indeed, from this time till James I. succeeded to the English throne, there was almost incessant warfare, which was fearfully destructive to both sides of the border.

From their geographical position, and from the wild and lawless character of their inhabitants, the borders were in an abnormal condition; it was only by extraordinary laws and regulations, that even the semblance of order and justice could be maintained. We should have but an imperfect notion of the state of our town and district, without some slight knowledge, at least, of March laws and usages; as they reveal a state of society strangely disorganised. As early as 1249 a series of border laws was agreed to by both nations;



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more particular regulations were made in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.; and fresh arrangements were entered into, as circumstances demanded, in subsequent reigns, until the two nations were united under one king.

Wardens were appointed, both by the Scottish and English kings, and invested with great powers to defend the borders against aggression, and to administer justice in their Warden Courts. Along the borders at convenient places, the principal of which were Redden Burn and Campaspeth, wardens of both sides met to judge offences committed by the subjects of either realm against the other; these meetings were called days of Trewes; and punishments were awarded in accordance with old established usage, or with written law. Offenders who fled, were by the warden chased or pursued in Hot Trodd, with hound and horn, and with hue and cry; and it was lawful to continue the chase into the opposite borders, and to bring the offender, when caught, within the warden's own jurisdiction for trial and punishment.

On the English side there were a warden general, a deputy warden general, and three deputy wardens, one each for the East, West, and Middle Marches. In time of war their duties were important; and as they had to contend with an enemy always on the alert and practised in surprisals and ambuscades, a complicated system of watching both by night and by day was adopted. In the smallest March, the eastern, in which was Alnwick, two hundred and three watchers were engaged at night and seventeen by day. The total number thus occupied throughout the whole of the eastern border cannot be precisely ascertained; but I do not think they would amount to less than two thousand men. The order of the watches made in October, 1552, by Lord Wharton, Lord Deputy General of all the three Marches, under my Lord of Northumberland's Grace, has been preserved; and as it is not only curious in itself, but gives information of the names of the inhabitants of the borders, I shall give those portions which refer to Alnwick and the district around it.

"The Watch to be kept from Hodgecroft to Rung-hole (Roughell*) to be watched nightly with Ten Men of the Inhabitors of Whyttell, Shelbottell, Bylton, Over-boston, Woddon, Nether-boston-grange, and Berling; Setters and Searchers, Rughle and Snepe house.

* Rugley.

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From Mozy-ford unto Birk hill or Kirk-hill* of Alnwyck-more, to be Watched nightly with Six men in the watch of the Inhabitors of Alnwyck-more.

From Chrystofer Armorers to Sheplegate yaite to be watched nightly with Fourteen men of the Inhabitors of Longhoutton, Elmouthe, Lesberry, Ankle,† Denyke, Broxfeld, Ekle,‡ Berneyardes, Belyzate, Cany-gate, and Walker-gate; Setters and Searchers of these Watches the Keepers of the West Parkes, Anwyke and Hull-park.

Overseers of the said Watches, Sir Robert Ellerker, Knight, George Medcalfe, William Harrysone, and Geo. Carre.

The Passages to be kept betwixt Therslehaughe and the Newton, with several watches nightly, and thereto is appointed the Inhabitants of the Towns and Hamlets from Felton-briggend to Caldiche-park, by west the Streyte; Setters and Searchers, William Johnstone, Thomas Robinson, John Meele, and Robert Browne.

From the Newton to Liersheld to be watched by two Men nightly, and thereto is appointed the Town of Edlingtone and the Newtone.

From Liersheld to Bawtonne § to be watched with two Men nightly, and thereto is appointed the Town of Lemeden, and the Broome-Parke; Searchers and Setters of these two Watches, Robert Manners, and Robert Killingworthe.

Overseers of this Watch Robert Lysle and Thomas Swinburne.

From Bowton to Tetlington to be watched with two Men nightly, and thereto is appointed Bowton, Aberwyke, and the Woddhall.

From Tetlington to Haroppeswyer by North the Hill, to be watched with eight Men nightly of the Inhabitors of Tetlingtone, Basden,‖ Sheplay, Est-Ditchburne, West Ditchburne, Eglingham, and Haropp; Setters and Searchers of these two watches Cuthbert Mowe, John Wethered and the Greeve of Tetlingtone. Overseers, Edward Bednell, John Bellingham, Luke Ogle, and Rauf Collingwood.

The watch to be set from Rauf Lillies House to Cokkett, with Four Men nightly of the Inhabitors of West Chevingtone, Eshott, Therstone and Bokenfield; George Matroke and William Hudsone to be Setters and Searchers of these two Watches.

Overseers, John Heron and Anthony Heron.

The Watch to be kept from Wetherington-Park-nook to Cokket, with Fourteen Men nightly, and thereto is appointed Inhabitors of Wetherington, Dreredge, Est Chevingtone, Hadston, Aicklington, Toxden, Haxlaye, Warkworthe, Ambell,

* Both names are given, but Birk hill is the more probable, as the place was on Alnwick Moor; K has been mistaken for B.

† Hawkhill. ‡ Heckley. § Bolton. ‖ Bassington.

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Gloster-hill and Moryke: Setters and Searchers, John Fenwyke, Edward Tromble, John Harford, Edward Clerk, John Wilson, and Persevall Wylkynsone.

Overseers of these Watches, Ser John Wetherington, Knight, John Heron, John Wetherington and Thomas Finche.

The names of the Watch Places and number of the Towns thereunto appointed by Edward Bradford, Baylliff of Emylton and So to South-Charlton.

The Town of South Charlton and Rennington to Keep Watch with three Men nightly at the Gallow.

The Town of Stanford and Roke to keep watch with three Men nightly at the Scotts Close-nooke.

The Town of North Charlton and Rock to keep watch with three Men nightly at the hinding gate.

The Town of Howicke and Craister to keep watch with three Men nightly, at the Karnelaw.

The Towns of Dunstane and Newton to keep watch with three Men nightly at Archeford.

The Town of Emylton to keep watch nightly with three Men at Pyethe-nook.

Edward Bradforthe and the Bayliff of North Charlton to be Setters and Searchers of the said Watches.

The night watchers were set at the day-going, and continued at their stations until the day was light; the day watchers begun their duty at day light, and continued until the day was gone. It was the duty of every watch, on observing the approach of an enemy or suspected person, to give the alarm by blowing of horn, by shout or outcry, and all men were bound, on pain of death, to arise and follow the fray with hue and cry on horse or on foot. Whoever captured offenders was rewarded; and goods rescued from thieves were restored to the owners on paying for their rescue. No man could harbour or help any rebel, fugitive, felon, murderer, whether Englishman or Scotsman, upon pain of death; and no subject could even speak with a Scotsman without license from the warden. All persons coming within the limits of the watch were examined; and those, who were not known, were brought before the bailiffs and constables, and if suspected, they were sent to gaol till tried by the warden. It will be observed, that the regulations of the watch were stringent; men were appointed to set on the watchmen, others as searchers to visit the stations to see that the watchmen were wakeful and vigilant, and above these again were overseers, who were the chief men of the county, and it was their place to see that the watch duty was efficiently performed, and to report from time to time, the

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state of their watches to the deputy warden. The following letter from Lord Wharton to these gentlemen searchers is interesting:—

"I require and will you, in the Kings Majesties Name, that ye make due search throughout all the said Watches, upon Sonday Night next, the 15th of this Instant: And wherein you shall find any default, that you give charge to the Officers where such Defaults are, to bring unto me to Alnewyke, immediately the Offenders, with Declaration in Writing from you, in what order you do find the said Watches; and also, that from time to time, so often as your discretion shall think requisite, you make substantial search throughout your Limits, sending the Offenders unto me in form as before; and upon Saturday, which shall be the Twenty eight Day of this present Month of January, that you certifie me by your Letters to be sent to Alnewyke, how the same Watches are continued and kept, and so every Saturday monthly, from the said 28th to make your Certificate to Alnewyke, where the same shall be received: And that you give knowledge to all the Officers and Subjects within your Circuit of Watch, That whosoever doth not observe and keep the said Watch, and ryse to Fray and following, shall be punished according to the Laws of the Realm, and Commandments given for the same: Fail you not hereof, as ye tender the Kings Majesties Pleasure, the common wealth of the Countrey, and will answer at your perill. And heartily fare you well.—At the Castle of Alnewyke, the 11th of January."

As a further protection against inroads, measures were adopted to give artificial defences to the country. "Considering that help lyeth in strengthening the Country with Inclosures, Hedges, and Ditches," the wardens order, that portions of land convenient for tillage, meadows, or grassing, should be enclosed with ditches five quarters in breadth, and six in depth, double set with quickwood, and hedged above three quarters high. Commissioners were appointed, to direct where the enclosures should be made, and also to cause unnecessary fords and passages by water and land to be stopped up. The following are those appointed for the district around Alnwick:—

"Between the Waters of Cokett and Ayll from Lierchel-burne to the Sea. Robert Lisle of Felton, Thomas Swinburne of Edlingham, John Bednell of Lematone, George Fenwyke of Brenk-burn, George Metcalfe of Alnewyke, Henry Heron of Alnewycke.

From Warnebrigg to the Water of the Aill as Bambrough-shere goeth. Sir John Horsley, Knight, Sir John Foster, Knight, Francis Armorer of Belforth, Rowland Bradforth of Tuggill, George Carr of Lesbury, Edward Bradforth of Emylton.

From the Watef of Aill to Hetton-burne, on the East side of Tyll, unto Bambrough-shere, Rauf Grey, Deputy Warden, Sir Robert Ellerker Knight, Tho. Hebburne of Hebburne, Rob. Collingwood of Bewyke, Thomas Carlisle of Haslerigg, Luke Ogle of Eglingham."*

* Leges Marchiarum, by Nicholson.

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Great baronial and royal castles there were for the defence of the borders, such as Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, Bamburgh, Warkworth, Chillingham, and Edlingham; but, in addition, the whole district was studded over with peles, or fortified houses, which were square or oblong towers—similar to the keep of a small castle—with stone walls of great thickness, and with the lower storey vaulted, from which a narrow winding stone stair led to the dwelling rooms above. But in time the entrance door to these rooms was on the second storey, which was reached by a ladder or wooden stair which could easily be removed; a communication could be made from there to the under room, as at Akeld Pele, through a square opening in the centre of the vault. Scattered around these peles and protected by them were the cottages, forming the vill or little town; and when a raid swept across the borders, the people took refuge in these strongholds, and cattle and moveable goods were placed for safety in the vaulted chamber. Without such defences the border land would have been uninhabitable. In Alnwick parish, besides the embattled abbeys, there were peles at Highfarlaw, at Rugley, at St. Margarets, and at Hobberlaw. There were larger towers—or small castles at Preston and Rock; pele towers there were at Bilton, Shilbottle, Howick, Craster, Little Houghton, Abberwick, Lemmington, Whittingham, Bewick; and indeed wherever a military vassal resided on his own land: church towers, too, as at Longhoughton and other places, were fortified peles.

The whole county was converted, indeed, into a great military camp. The vastness of the precautionary plans indicates the extent of the danger, and shews how insecure both life and property were at this period. When so much time and energy were spent on military preparations and defences, and when, moreover, inroads were so frequent and destructive, not only the cultivation of the soil, but all the productive industries of the county must have been in a low condition. Fortunate it was for Alnwick, that she was now defended by strong embattled walls and towers.

By law every free man was bound to bear his share in public burdens, to defend his country and keep watch and ward; and this duty especially devolved on the men of the borders. The whole able bodied population were therefore trained to the use of arms; and bound to assemble on the muster days of the respective wards, when summoned by the king's commission. A muster day was greatly more important than

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a review day of the present time. "There is never a plough going in Norhamshire nor Bamburghshire that day; it is their principal feast. Every plough has his crown for mustering that day."* The land at that time, especially near the borders, lay in small holdings of five marks each; and every such tenant was bound to appear with horse and armour.† Yet some endeavoured to shirk this duty; fraud had been practised at these musters; they were not full; and hence a command was given in 1558 to the earl of Northumberland, then warden, to cause discreet gentlemen, who were neither Northumbrian nor border men, to go in a secret manner to take the numbers, and see how many were wanting, how many were Northumberland men, and how many were inland men. And this was done, for the warden is afterwards commended for his diligence.

A muster of the men of Coquetdale and a part of Bamburgh Ward was held in 1538 on Abberwick Moor; and the record of it, among the public muniments, tells us of the men of Alnwick who appeared there. Some were on foot armed with a helmet, coat and plate, bow or bill; others had horse and harness. On this occasion, six hundred and forty horsemen and eight hundred and eighty footmen mustered on the moor. The following is a list of the men from Alnwick Parish.‡ Some few of the present inhabitants of the district may find the names of their ancestors there—the Thews, the Stamps, the Strothers, the Rennisons; the Bustons and Wilkinsons of Buston were there too; the Tyndales and Douglas from Chatton; the Elders from Longhoughton.

"The avewe of musters takyn by Sir Cuthbt. Radclffe, Knight Constable Kings Castell of Allnwyke and Robt. Collingwode, Esquyere, the xvii and xviii day of Apryle, the xxxtti yere of our Souerayne Lorde Kinge Henry the Eight, takyn on Abberwyk More, &c.

## ALLNWYKE

Sir Cuthbt. Radcliffe *and his hosehollde Seruants*

Edwarde Radclyffe
Antony Machell
John Cartington the yonger
John Cartington the Elder
Rychert Rowcastell
Thomas Robynson
John Marcam
Robt. Chessman
Robt. Graves
Gylbt. Byrk
Raufe Grene
Henry Jakson
John Harbottell
Rog. Smythe
Georg Erington
John Ayden

*Habell men in horse and harness.*

Thomas Marcam
Patryke Hopkyrk

*Able men not horsid.*

* Col. of State Papers. Foreigh Eliz., 1558. † Ibid.
‡ Archæologia Æliana, IV., p. 159.

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| | |
|---|---|
| The Abbot of Allnwyks | Perscevall Gallon |
| | John Gallon |
| *Seruants.* | Alleyne Schaffto |
| | Georg Bedlande |
| | Robt. Forster |
| | Thomas Hudson |
| | John Thomson |
| *Hable in horse and harnes.* | |
| The Keepers of the Kings Parks | |
| *Colleg Parke* | Hewe Gallon |
| | Willme Clennell |
| | Edward Harbottell |
| *Hull Parke* | Herry Struder |
| | Adam Vrpethe |
| | Edwarde Herryson |
| | Willme Herryson |
| *The West Parke* | John Sawghelld |
| | Willme Armerer |
| | John Carr, balley of Bowmer |
| *Able men with horse and hernes.* | |
| The Towne of Allnwyke | Charles Heslope |
| | John Wyllson the Elder |
| | Thomas Stampe |
| | John Willson |
| | Thomas Ayre |
| | Thomas Ley |
| | John Anderson |
| | Rychert Benet |
| | Edward Thomson |
| | Ryc Taller |
| | John Selle |
| | Charles Stampe |
| | Thomas Herryson |
| | John Atkinson |
| | Thomas Edster |
| | George Carslay |
| | John Herryson |
| | Edwarde Ladyman |
| | John Taller |
| | Robt. Herde |
| | John Nychollson |
| | Robt. Bert |
| | Nycholas Chaneler |
| | Hewe Bennet |
| | Thomas Hatte |
| | John Atkinson |
| | Wellme Bednell |
| | Nycholas Robynson |
| | Georg. Clarkson |
| | Percevalle Gallon |
| *Able men with horse and harness.* | |
| Alwyke | Willme Rede |
| | Edward Caraley |
| | The new cuy'd |
| Alwyke | Walker |
| | James Yonge |
| | Nycholas Arkley |
| | John Hume |
| | John Dawgles |
| | Thomas Thyrkeld |
| | Thomas Anwyke |
| | Edward Crydley |
| | Henry Watson |
| | Thomas Cutter |
| | Dane Sadler |
| | Henry Jobson |
| | Willme Horton |
| | Willme Newton |
| | Thomas Kethe |
| | Willme Bower |
| | Thomas Charson |
| | Willme Swayne |
| | George Humley |
| | John Clay |
| | Thomas Claude |
| | John Clay |
| | Lenard Stell |
| | Cuthbt. Myllner |
| | Robert Clay |
| | James Scott |
| | Ryc Elande |
| | Ryc Clay |
| | Georg Person |
| | Charles Hall |
| | Thomas Taller |
| | Rolande Browne |
| | James Tyndell |
| | Edmonde Stroder |
| | John Davson |
| | John Nellson |
| | Willme Dobe |
| | Vswolde Stannger |
| | Ryc Browell |
| | Robt. Clarke |
| | Rynyone Stroder |
| | Nycholas Smythe |
| | Ryc Taller the elder |
| | Nycholas Watson |
| | George Hulle |
| | Edwarde Awgoode |
| | Willme Robynson |
| | Lyonell Borell |
| | Willme Wobbe |
| | Willme Tayller |
| | James Halle |
| | Rog. Herryson |
| | Willme Watson |
| | Henry Spurnell |
| | John Archeer |
| | George Masson |
| | Ryc. Browne |
| | George Gybson |
| | John Tayller |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Alnwyke | Henry Lang |
| | Thomas Dyxson |
| | Robt. Store |
| | Wenn the taller |
| | Robt. Mason |
| | Cuthbt. Bell |
| | Willme Thomson |
| | George Passe |
| | Leonard Faryley |
| | John Watson |
| | Henry Watson |
| | Thomas Kaverd |
| *Able men wantyng horse and harnes.* | |
| Dennek | Ryc. Gylling |
| belonging to | Robt. Anderson |
| Anwyk | Willme Makson |
| | Roland Dobynson |
| | John Gybson |
| | Ryc. Gibson |
| | Henry Boddene |
| | John Clarke |
| | John Thewe |
| *Able men with horse and harnes.* | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Dennek | John Newis |
| belonging to | Willme Mylls |
| Anwyk | Willme Lighton |
| | Thomas Gybson |
| | Georg. Foster |
| | Willme Waller |
| *Able men wanting horse and harnes.* | |
| Schelldyk | Thomas Stotte |
| belonging to | Wyllme Dobson |
| Anwyk | John Stell |
| | Georg Herryson |
| | Robt. Dykenson |
| | John Dykenson |
| | Ed. Blythe |
| | Ed. Dobson |
| | Thomas Dobson |
| | John Watson |
| *Able men wanting horse and harnes.* | |
| Rugley | Robt. Ranalldson |
| | Robt. Stanton |
| | John Stanton |
| | Thomas Pattonson |
| | Thomas Slenes |
| | Ryc. Browne |
| | Robt. Stelle |
| *Able men wanting horse and harnes.*" | |

This muster may be regarded as the militia of the period; and at this time, Alnwick Parish furnished 171 soldiers, of whom 75 were cavalry and 96 footmen; from the number of the horsemen, it is evident that there were many landowners in the parish.

These musters shew that many towns in the district had then a larger population than at present—Alnham furnished 22 men, Bolton 25, Abberwyk 16, Lemmington 22, Egglingham and Bewick 110, West Lilburn 35, Bamburgh 46, Beadnel 70, Fowberry 37, Rock 19, Stamford 23, Roseden 25, Hamildon 30, Doddington 47.

Alnwick was the head quarters of all this complicated organisation for the defence of the borders; and there a Warden Court was held with all the solemn formalities observed in the superior courts of the realm, for the trial of offenders against March law; and often, indeed, criminals condemned in this court were executed at Alnwick.

A few other illustrations of border movements, taken chiefly from the public records, besides contributing to the history of Alnwick with which they are more or less connected, will throw a broad light on the character of the period.

The marquis of Dorset was warden of the East and Middle Marches in 1523; and Lord Dacre the other warden, made a



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raid into Teviotdale and burnt several villages, returning with a booty of four thousand head of cattle. Writing from Alnwick on the 15th of April to the king, Dorset sent a list of the gentlemen who went with Lord Dacre on this raid.

"Humbly beseeching his Grace to write letters of thanks to these gentlemen, which letters shall be so comfortable, that remembering your goodness, they shall be encouraged from time to time to serve your Highness." "These be the names of the gentlemen that went with my Lord Dacre the last Rode: my Lord Dacre himself; Sir Will. Percy; Sir Henry Clifford; Brereton with 100 of my Lord Lieutenant's men; 100 men of Sir William Compton with certain captains with them; William Heron the senior; the bastard Grey; John Grey of Chipchase with all the name of the Herons and their kin; Sir William Lisle; Ralph Fenwick with all his name and friends and men of Tynedale; Philip Dacres with all Redesdale men: Robert Collingwood with all his servants and kinsmen; the Lord Ogle with all his name and friends." "These gentlemen were omitted in my last letters and accompanied me in the said Rode: Sir William Kynson with 30 with him; Sir Ralph ——— who continually lyes with me here in Alnwick whom I might not well spare; my brother John who took the gowte in the said Rode and never came out of his bed since; my brother Leonard."*

The Earl of Surrey, who had led the van of the English army at Flodden, was appointed to the chief command of the war against Scotland in 1523; and he made another raid into Mers and Teviotdale, burnt Jedburgh and reduced to ruins the Abbey, one of the most beautiful examples of Gothic architecture in Scotland. Vigorous measures he took also for the defence of the borders. To deprive the Scots of forage on the English side, he caused all the corn within five or six miles of the borders to be thrashed and carried further into the country; he gave warning to all towns and villages, that if they were besieged by the Scots, they should be burnt; and he fortified and furnished Wark and Norham Castles to enable them to stand a siege. Beacons were made to warn the country of coming danger; and he summoned all the gentlemen of the county to meet him at Alnwick to advise them where their men should assemble. Berwick, which was in the greatest danger, he fortified, as far as he could, and increased its garrison. The fords in the rivers were destroyed, to prevent the Scots doing hurt, by stealth, to Islandshire, Norhamshire,

* Cottonian MSS. Cal. B. VI.

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Bamburghshire, and Glendale; many times previously this had been attempted, but the English borderers themselves were hostile to it, because the want of these fords would restrain them from making raids into Scotland.* Surrey was at Alnwick on May 4, 1523; and to encourage the patriotism of the people, he said he would pay sixpence a day to those in the bishoprick who had done good service.†

Wark Castle was besieged by the Scots without success. Surrey, in a letter to Wolsey, says—"At the assault of Wark the captain of the first band of French footmen, that came to Scotland, was slain and 9 more with him, and the same night died 22 more, and 8 score sore hurt. Never did men better than they within the castle did, which were but one hundred, and there was within the bas Court about 1,000 men and 500 Scots."‡

A large army was marshalled at Alnwick in November 1523 to oppose the Duke of Albany's attempt to take Wark Castle. Surrey was there on the 5th, and was joined by the earl of Northumberland and other nobles. The advance of these forces towards Scotland, which had for some time been deluged by "marvellous rainy weather,"§ caused the siege of Wark to be abandoned; and as the winter advanced active hostilities were suspended. In 1525 a treaty of peace between the two nations was concluded. The vigorous measures taken by James V. after he assumed the reins of government in Scotland, helped much to bring the border land under the government of law; border chieftains, who had been guilty of excesses he brought to justice; some of the more notorious, such as Adam Scot, the King of the Thieves, and the famous John Armstrong, were beheaded or hung on growing trees; others were imprisoned. These remedies were severe; but the deeply seated disease required sharp remedies.‖

The constant state of warfare along the borders nursed among border men a lawlessness which led them to set at defiance even the rulers of their own country; of this, the conduct of Sir William Lisle, of Felton, is a remarkable example. Sir William Ellerker, the sheriff, sent his servants in 1526 to execute a replevin against him, for an unlawful distress which he had made. This turbulent knight

* State Papers, Vol. IV., p. 41-43. † Cal. Scot. State Papers, Vol. I.

‡ Cott. MSS. Cal. B. VI. § State Papers, Vol. IV, p. 52.

‖ Ellis's original letter, Vol. I.

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viewed this as an affront, and accompanied by a hundred persons, he riotously took away from the sheriff's estate "40 hede of noote;" and he told the sheriff, that neither the king nor any of his officers should meddle within his lordship. A fearless man was Sir William; for while Roger Heron was supporting the sheriff, Lisle told him—"What? meanes thowe to strive with me? woll thowe wynne any thing at my handes? I have ruffelde with the warden and also with the Cardinall, and I trust to pluck him by the nose." For these lawless deeds Lisle along with his son were committed for trial to Pomfret Castle, whence they were removed to the jail of the Castle of Newcastle. Soon, however, they broke the prison, and not only escaped, but also released many rebels, outlaws, heinous felons, and murderers; they then feloniously stole from Widdrington, which belonged to the sheriff, nigh to forty horses, and conveyed them into Scotland; next, accompanied by Scotsmen, they burnt, spoiled, and robbed a town belonging to the sheriff. The whole country seems to have been alarmed by those lawless proceedings. At the assizes both Sir William and his son were indicted of treason and proclaimed traitors; Sir William Clifford was especially charged to apprehend and take them, and the king of Scotland and earl of Angus were requested by letter from the King's Council to aid in their capture. The Lisles, however, had taken refuge in the debateable land, and joined with the broken men of the border, particularly with a band of thieves called the Armstrongs. Sundry times they entered Northumberland and burnt, spoiled, robbed, rieved, and harried many of the king's subjects. The people of Northumberland appearing to use no diligence in resisting these aggressions, the King's Council ordered Sir William Eure, one of the vice-wardens, to lye at Felton with thirty horsemen from the garrison of Berwick, along with sixty of his own men, that he might be able to seize on the Lisles should they resort there; and certain woods and houses were destroyed, which might afford shelter to these outlaws. By these vigorous measures the Lisles were soon brought to bay. The earl of Northumberland, in a letter to the king, dated Alnwick, 28th January, 1527, tells the result:—

"The 21st day of January on Edward Horslay my Lord Legattes servant, and Thomas Errington, my servant, with other of my Lord Legatte's tenants and mine made affray upon William Charleton, otherwise called Wylliam of Shotelyngton,

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the head rebel of all the outlaws, and on Harre Noble, Archbold Dood, and Roger Armestrang; which foresaid rebellious personages had been in the Bishoprick of Durham, and robbed divers persons, and taken away a priest then a prisoner; and in their return and conflict was slain the foresaid Charlton and Noble, and Dood and Armestrang taken. Which two were condemned at a Warden Court, by me holden for the same the 27 of January; and for the outrageous crimes by the said Armestrang committed and done about Newcastell, I caused him to be hanged there in chains, and Archbald Dood in like case at Awnewyke where he had most offended and Wylliam Charleton at Hexsam, and Harre Noble at Heyddon Bryge, where the said conflict was done. Upon which discomfiture, as I suppose, and that it was feared among the other rebels that I would have made a raid upon them in short space. Wylliam Lysle and Humfray his son, with fifteen other of the rebellious personages, as I was coming from mass on Sunday last, they met me in their shirts with halters about their necks, and submitted themselves without any manner of condition unto Your most gracious mercy, they most humble and lowly beseeching Your most gracious Highness of your tender and piteous mercy, or else they were ready to bide the execution of Your Grace's most dreadful laws, according to their demerits. Which persons I straightway committed unto prisons within my poor castle of Alnewyk for safe keeping of them unto such time as I may know further of your most gracious pleasure."

Besides Humphrey, there was a younger son with William Lisle, for whose pardon Tuke in a letter to Wolsey pleads, because he was not past 12 or 13 years old, and had not as it is said offended, "but that he hath been out with his father, peradventure fearing lest he should lack bread at home."

The fate of these outlaws is stated in another letter from the earl of Northumberland on 2nd April, 1528; all the lands of the late William Lisle were to lie to the king's use, "and for the terrible example of all the inhabitants in these parts, William Lysle, Humphrey Lisle his son, John Ogle William Christowe, and Thomas Fenwick, gentlemen of name, chief leaders and most heinous offenders of all the said rebels were, according to their demerits, attainted of high treason, and by me had judgment given to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The execution whereof was accomplished upon them accordingly, only reprieving Humphrey Lysle according to the pleasure of his highness. The head and quarters of them that were executed for high treason, I have caused to be set up upon the donjon of the castle of New-

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castle, and sundry other convenient and open places most apparent to the view and sight of the people, to the high contentment of all the true inhabitants in these parts, and extreme terror of all the said rebels."*

Sir William Lisle merited his fate; for his son Humphrey in a deposition sworn, on the 6th June 1528, disclosed twenty-five different offences of murder, robbery, prison-breach, and arson committed by his father, himself, and their adherents, sometimes accompanied by Scots, at other times by Englishmen only.

Humphrey Lisle was recommended by the earl of Northumberland to the mercy of the king, because he did manfully venture himself and apprehend the notorious offender Hob Elwold. He was pardoned, but not reformed; for in the year 1535, Sir Humphrey Lisle of Felton, Knight, and Alexander Shafto, of Scremerston, were indicted at a Warden Court for divers march treasons; conscious of their guilt they fled, and the earl issued a proclamation against them.†

Some forays both by the Scots and the English in 1532, described by the Earl of Northumberland to the king, give a wild picture of the period. To spite the earl, Launce Carr, with 300 of the Scotts of Teviotdale, on the 10th October, burnt a town of his called Alenam, with all the corn, hay, and household stuff in the town, and also a woman; on the 12th they burnt Newstead, another of his towns, took 200 head of cattle, 26 prisoners, and shamefully murdered two young spryngaldes.‡ Mark Carre promised to the earl of Murray openly before the king of Scotland, that within five days afterwards he would burn a town of the earl of Northumberland, "within three miles," says the Earl, "of my poor house of Warkworth, where I lie, and give me light to put on my clothes at midnight. Upon Thursday at night last, came thirty light horsemen into a little village of mine called Whitell, having not past six houses in it, lying toward Ryddisdaill, upon Shilbotell Moor; and there they would have fired the said houses, but there was no fire to get there, and they forgat to bring any with them; and took a wife being great with child in the said town and said to her, 'Where we cannot give the Lord light, yet we shall do this in spite of him,' and gave her three mortal wounds upon the head and another

* Cottonian MSS. Cal, B. III.

† State Papers, Vol. IV, p. 477, 599; Vol. V. p. 81.

‡ A stripling—a young person.

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in the side with a dagger; whereupon the said wife is dead, and the child in her belly is lost." The inhabitants of the district were roused, to revenge this cruel murder; the beacons were lighted to warn the country and the murderers were pursued with hot trod; nevertheless they escaped. The cruel wrong however was not allowed to pass unavenged. "Upon Friday at night last, 500 of the best horsemen of Glendale were let slip along with men from Berwick to join with George Douglas, who came again into England in the dawning of the day; and before they returned they did damage the provisions of the Earl of Murray at Coldingham, and did burn the town of Coldingham, with all the corn thereto belonging worth 1000 marks sterling; and did also burn two towns near called Branerdergest and the Black Hill, and took 80 prisoners, 60 horse, and 200 head of cattle." A terrible vengeance this; and yet the earl devised that within four nights, *God willing!* Kelso should be burnt with all the corn in that town.

Lord Parr was warden of the Marches in 1543, and in his letter to the council with the king, dated May 24, he gives information of the state of the town and castle at that time. He says—

"I caused also the castles of Alnwick and Morpeth to be viewed and seen, of intent to have made my demore* in one of the same, according to the tenour of the king's majesty's instructions in that behalf. And as for the castle of Morpeth, was so far out of reparation, and so unsweet and unwholesomely kept, that I could not conveniently have lodged therein without great danger of infections and infirmities; and the town of Alnwick is and hath been already soo infected, by the space of these two months past and more, with a hot and dangerous ague, whereof there be many dead, and divers others lying sick therein at this present, that I considered it to be a great peril to draw thither unto me a great resort of the country whereby both the number resident in my house, and other of the country repairing unto me should be in danger of the said infection. Wherefore, as the place most wholesome and clear from all infections, I am determined for a time to make mine abode at the king's majesty's castle of Warkworth, but four miles at the most from Alnwick, the which being something decayed and out of reparation, I have partly caused to be apparelled and put in readiness, and my preparations to be conveyed thither, which I doubt not shall be fully performed, and furnished within these eight days. Which done, I intend to repair thither and there to reside, and from thence

* Stay.

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to remove to the castle of Alnwick, as the infections or infirmities there shall cease, and the occasions occurrent shall require."*

Sir Ralph Eure, a distinguished soldier, had possession of Alnwick and Warkworth Castles for the king in 1545. In the preceding year he had made an inroad into Scotland, and in the most ruthless manner plundered and burnt Jedburgh, Kelso, and many other places. The State Papers tell us, that in this raid 192 towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, parish-churches, bastel-houses, were siezed and destroyed, that 400 Scots were slain and 816 taken prisoners, and that 3386 nolts, 12,492 sheep, 1296 nags and geldings, 200 gayts, 850 bolls of corn, and a great quantity of insight gear were carried off. These devastations were committed chiefly in Teviotdale and in the Merse of Berwickshire. A more extensive enterprise was made in 1545, under the command of Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Laiton; but a small body of Scots, under the command of the earl of Angus, signally defeated the English at Ancrum Moor, slaying both of the English leaders and 800 men, and taking 1000 prisoners.

The protector of the realm the duke of Somerset, in his route northward to war against the Scots, "lay on the night of the 29th of August, 1547, in Alnwyke Castle," then held by Sir Robert Bowes, lord warden of the Middle Marches; "good cheer welcomed him there; in the provision whereof a man might note great cost and diligence and the spending of a liberal heart." The English army would pass through Alnwick two days afterwards. On the 10th of the following month the battle of Pinkie was fought, when the Scots were signally defeated, their loss being estimated from ten to fourteen thousand men.† The hero of the day was the earl of Warwick, lieutenant-general of the English forces, who displayed great courage and skill. Not long afterwards, he became connected with Alnwick as warden general of the Marches; and on the 11th of October, 1551, he was, by Edward VI, created duke of Northumberland, the first who bore that title; an ambitious, unscrupulous, and unprincipled man he was, but yet able and courageous. His powers as warden were great, and he vigorously exercised them to remedy the evils which afflicted the borders. He made a careful survey of the Marches, and personally presided over the Warden Courts held at Alnwick, Newcastle, and Carlisle. Many new and stringent regulations were introduced

* State Paper, Vol. V, p. 299. † Patten's Expedition, p. 28.

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to redress disorders, and a complete system of watch and ward was adopted for the more effectual defence of the borders. He appointed as his deputy Lord Wharton, who was experienced in border affairs, and whose residence at this period was usually at Alnwick Castle.

In the reign of Queen Mary, Thomas Percy, the seventh earl was warden-general, jointly with Lord Wharton. In a letter from Alnwick Castle, on 6th August, 1557, Sir Henry Percy describes a raid into Scotland to avenge a Scottish inroad by Lord James Murray.

"It may please," he says, "your good lordship to understand that upon my repair to Alnwick, sundry gentlemen of this country, with many honest men of the same, repaired thither unto me, with whom I travelled till Wednesday at night last, in such sort, as we were suffered to take very little rest either by night or day; but by the more part of nights and days on horseback attended the invasion of the enemy. And for the better resistance thereof, placed myself, and my company, nigh to the frontiers, as at Eslingtone and other places thereabouts; and yesterday, being the 5th of this instant, about five of the clock in the morning, Lord James and others of Scotland, with all the power they could make in three days assembly of men from Edinburgh hitherward, and with certain pieces of ordnance, did invade on the East March of this realm; minded, as I learned by credible intelligence, to have attempted to win the castle of Ford, and have burnt sundry towns thereabouts, called the *Ten Towns of Glendale*; which their purpose, upon my repair towards them, with a good number of gentlemen, and others of this country, they did quite alter and change. And after they had burnt a house or two, in the town of Fenton, where was taken and wounded to death, as is supposed, one of their best borderers and guides, Richard Davyson, with great haste and more fear (as by plucking off and leaving a great number of white crosses, and the small spoil, or prey of cattle by them seized, did appear) departed home into Scotland before we could in order come to them; which considered, by the discreet advice of the gentlemen, I did enterprise to invade the country of the Marches in Scotland, where we burnt sixteen towns, and won a booty or spoil of 280 neat and 1000 sheep, besides many horses, and some prisoners."

During the remainder of the reign of Mary queen of England, border warfare never ceased. The earl of Northumberland was repeatedly engaged in it; but Sir Henry Percy his brother achieved great distinction, by his activity and courage, rivalling in some degree the fame of his ancestor, the renowned Hotspur.



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Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth, warden of the Middle Marches during the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, removed his wife, children, and household to Alnwick Abbey—the house in which Sir John Forster lived when he was warden. He kept in his own stable forty good horse and good men able to ride them.

Alnwick in 1567 witnessed many bloody executions. Mr. William Drury writes to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton on the 3rd of November, 1567:—"A secret journey by the regent against the thieves of Liddesdale, which was put into execution at Alnwick last market day; he took 36, whereof 13 were presently hanged, 9 drowned, and 14 taken prisoners, but the laird of Ormiston and John of the Park escaped."*

A few extracts relating to the district around Alnwick from "A Booke of the Losses of the Middle Marches of England by the Scotts Theeves, presented at Alnwick 16 April, 1586," still further illustrate the miserable condition of the borders at this period.

"The names of those towns and villages that have been most spoiled in this time of Peace; and all or the most part of them are within six miles of Sir John Forster's dwelling house, and within his office:—Lowicke, New Bewicke, Est Lilborne, Weperdon, Rosden, Elderton, Ingaram, Brandon, Benelye, Fawdon, Glanton, Grange, Lurchild, Lamedon, Awberwick, Ungle, Shilbottle, Shelldikes, Glantles, Whyttle, Buston, Brodewicke, Guisons, Horslye, Scranwoode, Noralhurse, Netherton, Trughett, Warton, Wreghille, Alname, Felton, Alnwiche Park, Colledge Park, Ridsdaile and Tindaile, Rothbury, and all the Country besides." "Goods taken out of the lordship of Bewick by the Scots. East Lilborne, 16 horse and mares, 42 kyne and oxen, 340 sheep, twenty marks worth of household stuff. Old Bewicke, 18 horse and mares, 42 oxen and kyne, 800 sheep, and twenty marks worth of insight. New Bewicke, 18 horse and mares, 30 oxen and kyne, 260 sheep, and insight worth twenty marks. Waperden, 23 horse and mares, 71 kyne and oxen, 340 sheep. Eglingham, 15 kyne and oxen, 6 horse and mares, 40 sheep, insight worth £5." Similar losses were sustained at Branton, Hedgelye, and other places. But not only were the people robbed and spoiled by the Scots, but also by their own landlords; the following is a singular case:—"In most lamentable wise complaining, John Neale, of Elderton, hath dwelt two years by past in Elderton, upon lands there in the government and rule of one Robert Rodhame, of little Howghton, gentleman, and his rent and service for his tenement paid, yet so it is, that

* Cal. of State Papers, Vol. XIV, No. 92 B.

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the wife of the said Rodhame came with two servants and eight Scotsmen, presently come forth of Scotland for that purpose, and then and there has forceably and violently cast your poor suppliant, his wife and children, and goods out of door, and hath imprisoned two of the children in the Tower, and hath put in and planted five Scotsmen in Elderton." Whether redress was given does not appear.

We close our illustrations of this abnormal condition of the borders with some statements from a letter of Sir William Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, dated January, 1596. The distressed people are represented as in despair and the country miserable from the horrible murders committed and the incorrigible pride and disobedience of the ravenous malefactors; touching murders, he cannot yet come to the certain number—but they be great—the manner horrible, killing men in their beds; he takes it Bucklughe will be found guilty of murders above twenty, Sir Robert Carre about sixteen; the Bournes and Younges, followers of Carre, in revenge of their feud for one of their name chanceably slain by Sir Cuthbert Collingwood's man rescuing from him a poor man's goods, have since murdered thirty-five Collingwoods.* The value of the spoils committed in the marches by the Scots since 1587 amounted to £92,989 16s. 1d.† And yet these enormities occurred in the days of the "Good Queen Bess;" wonder it is, that, amid such fiery eruptions and destructive lava streams, there should have been any population or cultivation of soil, or other industrial pursuit in the border land.

The Warden Courts were abolished, by act of parliament, after the two nations were under one king, in the 5th year of the reign of James I.; and criminals on both sides of the borders were afterwards to be dealt with by the counties in which they resided. This act was strongly opposed by the people of Northumberland and Cumberland. Great, indeed, was the benefit resulting from the cessation of border warfare; before the accession of James I., the estates of Lord Grey, of Wark, produced only £1000 yearly; but not long after that event, their annual value increased to £7000.

* From Lansdown MSS.

† Raine's North Durham, p. xxxvi, xlii.

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# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE TOWN, CASTLE, AND BARONY, FROM 1360 TO 1600.

LICENSE TO WALL THE TOWN—CHARTER OF HENRY VI.—BONDGATE TOWER—CLAYPORT TOWER—STREETS—POPULATION OF THE TOWN—OWNERS OF PROPERTY—THE GREYS—OLD BUILDINGS—NAMES OF THE INHABITANTS, 1474—TRADE—EXPORTS—ALNMOUTH PORT, BURGAGES, CHURCH—ALNWICK CASTLE—BARONIAL OFFICERS—COURTS—SURVEY OF ALNWICK IN 1569—BURGESSES—FREEHOLDERS—COPYHOLDERS—FEUDAL CHARGES—CHARACTER OF THE COPYHOLDERS—WILLS—MELVILLE AT ALNWICK—WILLIAM DE ALNWICK, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Some little time before the death of the sixth Earl Percy, Henry the VIII. had severed the connection of England with the pope of Rome. This formed an era in the history of the nation even greater than those arising from changes of dynasty or constitution. Our last chapter on border law and its results presented pictures of the state of the district; but before entering on the history of the seventh earl, we may gather up other fragments, more particularly illustrative of the condition of the town, the castle, and the barony from 1360 to 1600.

Prior to the middle of the fifteenth century, Alnwick was an unwalled town, open to the attacks of enemies, from which it often suffered. However sufficient the strong defences of the castle may have been for the protection of those sheltered within its walls, they could not adequately protect the town itself, which had been ransacked and burnt in 1420 and at other times by the Scots. An open town, however, could not be fortified without royal authority; but, on account of the danger to which Alnwick was exposed from the Scots, Henry VI., in 1433, granted a license to enclose, wall, and embattle it; the following is a translation of this license:—

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"For enclosing, walling, and embattling the town of Alnewyk.
The king to all to whom &c., greeting, know ye that we, in consideration, that the town of Alnewyk, in the county of Northumberland, upon the marches and frontiers of Scotland, lies open and so dangerously, that a great part of the same town has been very lately burnt by our enemies the Scots, have, by the advice and consent of our council, granted license to our right dear cousin, Henry, earl of Northumberland, lord of the said town and of the castle there, and to the Burgesses of the same town, their heirs and successors, that the aforesaid may be authorised lawfully to enclose the said town of Alnewyk and wall around the whole of the aforesaid town, and embattle and machiolate the walls of the same town, and also make and order any other defences whatsoever around or upon those walls, free from any hindrance whatsoever towards the said earl or burgesses, their heirs or executors, by us our heirs or any of our ministers or officers, being made for the future. In testimony whereof, witness the king at Westminster on the first of June.
By writ of Privy Seal."
Patent Rolls, Hen. VI., p. 1 n 6.

It has been commonly represented that, soon afterwards, the earl of Northumberland erected the walls of the town; this, however, is a myth, for little indeed he seems to have contributed to a work so important to the safety of the inhabitants, when border warfare was raging. The burden fell mainly on the burgesses and commonalty, who were poor enough in these evil times; hence for want of means the fortifying of the town made slow progress, and half a century elapsed before it was completed. Still unwalled was the town in 1448, when it was again burnt by the Scots. Three documents, preserved in the corporation archives, throw light on the means used to accomplish the work.

One is a petition to the king from the burgesses and commonalty, stating that the walling of the town has been begun, but for want of funds could not be finished, and praying that a license might be granted without a fee. The following is a copy of this petition:—

"To the king our Sovereign Lord,
Humble beseecheth your highnesse, your humble and trew liegemen, the Burges and comynalte of the Towne of Alnewik in the Counte of Northumbreland; forasmuche as the said towne is adjoynant to the marches of Scotland, and no towne is betwene the said marches and the New Castell upon Tyne, by the wiche your liege people, inhabitants in thoes partyes, may be releved or socowred in tyme of distresse made by the Scotts, and likely daily to be made herafter, for their resistance in that behalf not onely to their grete hurts and losses, but also to the grete prejudise of this your Rcaume; for which causes it hath late pleased your saide highnesse to license the said towne to be closed, walled and embattled; the wiche werke by force thereof your said liegemen have late begun, and the which without grete and notable somes of money cannot be finissbed; And impossable for them to bere withouten your goode graic be shewed unto them in that behalve, please it therfore the same your hygnesse, of your moste bounteous graic in tender consideration of the premisses, to grante to theym, by way of your moste plenteful almes, your said license under your grete seal, in due fourme to be mayd and delivered to theym, withouten any fee or fees therfore in eny wise to be

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youen or yolden, and that this bille, signed with your moste gracieux hande, may be asswel sufficient warant unto your chancellor of England for the making up and ensealing of the said license, as unto the clerc of your hanapier for the delivering unto theym of the same; and they all shall ever pray for the prosperous confirmation of your moste noble and royal estate."

To this petition there is no date, and even the name of the king to whom it was presented is not mentioned. From another document, it appears that Edward IV. as well as Henry VI. granted a license to wall the town; and, therefore, the petition may have been presented to either of these sovereigns; the date would be between the years 1440 and and 1470.

The second corporate muniment, entitled "Letters Patent from Henry VI.;" besides referring to the walling of the town, contains other information, even of more interest, respecting the state of the town. This charter was granted at Bamburgh, on the 9th of April, in the forty-second year of his reign, and attached to it is his great seal. At this time, Henry VI. had been brought into Northumberland to join his adherents, who were again endeavouring to restore him to power; but the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, fought on the 25th of April and 15th of May, 1452, blighted and withered the red rose of England. This charter sets forth, that the burgesses of Alnwick had shewn to the king, that they had within the preceding three years been robbed and spoiled by rebels, and their goods, houses, and mansions burnt and destroyed; he grants to them a free port at Alnmouth, and the privilege of shipping and sending away wool, wool-fels, hides, fish, and coals to other ports, both in and beyond the kingdom; and he further grants to them, for thirty years, £20 out of the customs and subsidies, payable on account of the wool, wool-fels, hides, coals, and fish, in relief of the depredation which the burgesses had suffered; and also to make the port of Alnmouth *and wall the town of Alnwick* and repair the parish church there; he grants further, that officers of the customs, controllers, searchers, and weighers of wool shall be continually in the town and port; and that two fairs shall be held yearly in Alnwick, one at the feast of the Saints Philip and James, for eight days, and the other at the feast of Saint Lucy, for eight days, and a weekly market on Wednesday, and freedom from all tolls or other charges.

The following is a translation of this charter:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, To all to whom the present letters shall come, greeting, Know ye,

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that whereas our humble and faithful lieges, the Burgesses of Alnewyk have represented to us, how they, within the last three years past, have by our rebels, at different times, been robbed and spoiled of all their moveable goods, and their houses and mansions have been burnt, broken down and wasted, to their final destruction, unless we give them relief in this behalf. Wherefore they have besought us, that we would vouchsafe to grant to them the privileges, licenses and franchises underwritten for their relief.

We, considering the premises and their petition aforesaid, and on this behalf favourably inclined, have, of our special grace, granted to the aforesaid Burgesses and their successors to make and establish for ever a free port, in such place or places in Alnemouthe in the county of Northumberland, as to them and to every of them may be most expedient and available; and that the said port may be to them and to every of them, as free in all conditions rules and government, as any other port within our realm of England. And further, the said burgesses and their successors may have, by the tenor of these presents, license at all convenient and suitable times, to ship, load and unload, in the said port of Alnemouthe, wools, skins, wool-fels and hides accruing between the Blithe and the Twede, and coals and fish. And the said Burgesses or any of them, or their successors, their agents, or attorneys, the said wools, skins, wool-fels, hides, coals, and fish so shipped and loaded, may carry beyond the said port of Alnemouthe to such port or ports in district or districts, country or foreign countries, or any other land or country beyond our kingdom, and out as well beyond our jurisdiction as within it; and with the said wools, skins, wool-fels, hides, coals, and fish, they may pass, without any restriction, arrest, trouble, or impediment from us any of our officers whomsoever, provided always, that the said Burgesses and their successors, agents or attorneys may not carry any merchandise beyond the said port to any of our rebels or enemies, without our license, under penalty of forfeiture of the same.

And besides, of our special grace, we have granted to the said Burgesses and their successors, for the term of thirty years next following, to pay only for the custom and subsidies of one sack of wool, shipped in the said port, thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, and of one hundred skins of wool-fels shipped there six shillings and eightpence sterling, and of one last* of hides of the said growth shipped there six shillings and eightpence sterling: And that the said Burgesses and their successors may have power by the tenor of these presents to ship and load, within the said port annually, as many wools, skins, wool-fels, hides, coals, and fish, whereof the customs and subsidies thence due may reach the sum of twenty pounds, without paying anything in respect thereof to us or our heirs, during the said term of thirty years, in relief of the depredations suffered by the said Burgesses, and to the town of Alnewick above specified, and towards the expenses of making the said port, and of the walling of the same town, and towards the making and repair of the parish church in the same place.

And further, of our special grace, we have granted to the said Burgesses, that they and their successors may have within the said town of Alnewick customers, comptrollers, searchers, and weighers for our use, and for the use of the said port, there dwelling continually in manner and form, as the town and Burgesses of Berwick lately had by our grant.

And further, of our special grace, we have granted to the aforesaid Burgesses and their successors for ever to hold and keep two fairs annually in the said town of Alnewick, at two different times of the year, to wit, the first of the said two fairs to begin on the feast of the Saints Philip and James, and so to last and continue for eight days then next following; and the other of the said two fairs to begin on the feast of Saint Lucy thence next following, and so to last and continue for eight days thence next following; so that these fairs be not to the injury of the neighbouring fairs; And that our lieges of

* A last consists of ten dozen.

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every kind, of whatsoever condition or conditions they may be or any of them may be, may freely come to both of the aforesaid fairs, and abide there during the term above specified for both of the aforesaid fairs; And that our said lieges and every one of them may have a free return and passage to such place or places, country or countries, as they intend and propose going or riding to, without any arrest, imprisonment, or disturbance, impediment or vexation being made towards or upon them or any of them by mayors, sheriffs, escheators, constables, bailiffs or any of them or any other officer, or officers for dealing with all manner of actions or demands of whatsoever nature or conditions they may be; Rioters or disturbers of the said two fairs, or any person or persons coming to these fairs and dwelling there, and returning from both of them excepted.

And besides, of our special grace, we have granted to the aforesaid Burgesses and their successors for ever a free market, in the said town of Alnewyk on Wednesday weekly, to hold and to keep, for every description of our lieges, to have and to carry there every kind of merchandise and victuals, according to the manner and custom of any of the best and freest market within the county of Northumberland, to be used or begun so, that this market be not to the hurt of the neighbouring markets.

And further, of our abundant grace, we grant to the aforesaid Burgesses and their successors and to every of them for ever, that they be quit and free from the payment of all kinds of tolls, or of other customs, used in any market, fair, passage, or any other place within our realm of England, as well within liberties and franchises as beyond. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, witness myself, at our castle of Bamburgh, the ninth day of April in the 42nd year of our reign.

NAYLER

by the King himself and the aforesaid date by authority of Parliament."

William de Alnwick, bishop of Norwich, who seems to have looked with kindness on his native town, gave help to the burgesses at this critical period; for in his will, which was proved at Lambeth in 1449, he left ten pounds for the walling of the town, and ten pounds for the building (or restoration) of the church. Still, however, as appears from the third corporate document, the walling of the town was not completed even in 1473. "Letters Patent to gather a collection for building the town wall against the Scots," dated February, 1473, were addressed by the burgesses and commonalty of the town of Alnwick to all the sons of the Holy Mother Church; they state that Edward IV. had granted a license to embattle the town, that the work had been begun, but could not be completed without aid from others, and that John Paterson and Thomas Cirswell had been by them appointed to collect alms and assistance for the work. The following is a translation of this document:—

"To all the sons of our holy mother Chuch to whom and to whose knowledge the present letters shall come, The Burgesses and commonalty of the town of Alnewyk, in the county of Northumberland, Greeting, in Him by whom kings reign and princes rule; Whereas the province of Northumberland, by the loss of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed and of the Castle of

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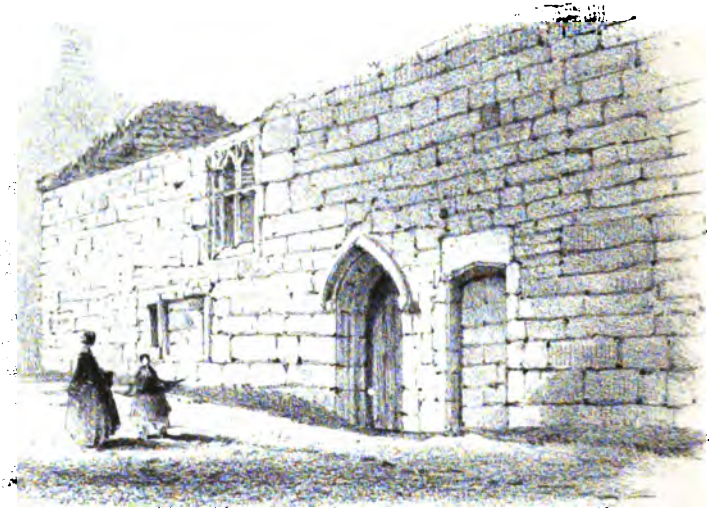

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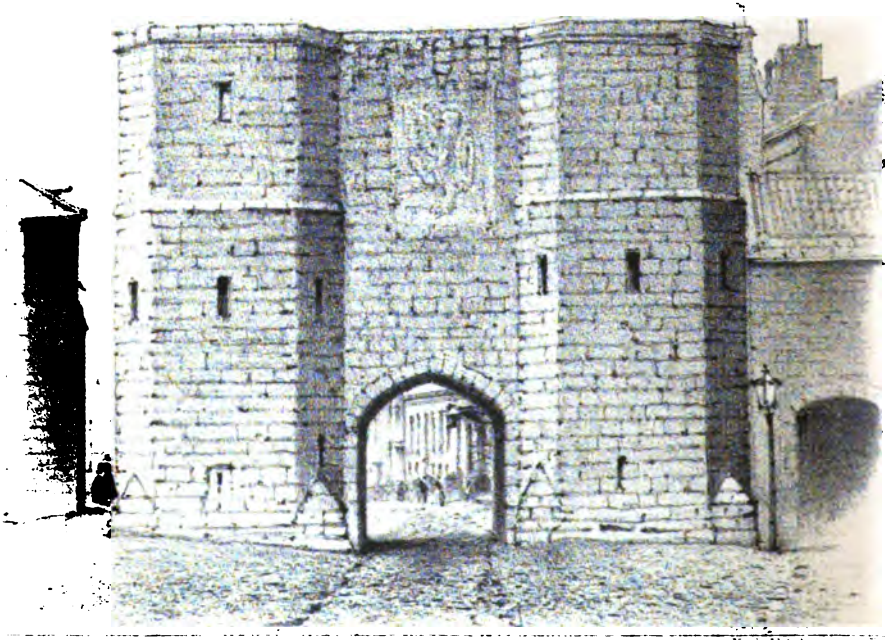

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Rokesburgh, is greatly impoverished and weakened; and no walled town or Borough from the town of Newcastle upon Tyne to Scotland, for the safe custody and defence of the said province, now remains or exists; The most excellent and Christian prince Edward the fourth by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, in consideration of the premises, for the advantage of his realm of England, and the preservation of the province aforesaid, and for safe guard and defence of its inhabitants of the same hath given and granted license to wall, fortify, and embattle the said town of Alnewyk; which work indeed is now begun, but cannot be completed without great and notable sums, which we the aforesaid Burgesses and Commonalty are not able to bear nor are worth, unless we are helped in this matter by the faithful of Christ and the devoted to God of their charity to us: Know therefore, that we the aforesaid Burgesses and Commonalty, by a unanimous assent and consent have ordained, constituted, and in our place put, our beloved in Christ, John Paterson and Thomas Cirsewell, our true and lawful procters and special messengers, jointly and severally, to collect and receive the alms, subsidies, and other charitable gifts of the faithful of Christ, through the whole realm of England, for the public good of the same, and for the preservation of the said province by the same work, given or to be given, bequeathed or to be bequeathed, assigned or to be assigned, in places exempted and not exempted, and to do all other things in this affair as we ourselves might have done had we personally been present. Holding ratified confirmed and allowed all and everything the aforesaid John Paterson and Thomas shall in our name do, or either of them shall do, in the premises. In testimony whereof, the Common Seal of the aforesaid town of Alnewyk is put to these presents. Given the first day of the month of February in the thirteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid Lord King Edward the fourth, after the Conquest of England."

No reference, it will be observed, is made in any of the documents to help received from the earls of Northumberland. Soon after this, however, the town was surrounded by a wall; and the four entrances were defended by strong towers; one was on the south at Bondgate, another on the south-west at Clayport, another on the west at Pottergate, and the fourth on the north at Narrowgate. One only of these ancient towers remains, that of Bondgate, which has erroneously been called Hotspur's Tower; for while no part of the walls or towers could have been erected before 1433, Hotspur was slain in the year 1403.

This well-built tower is still in a pretty good state of preservation. It has three stories, with an arched gateway, above which, on the outside, was the Brabant lion sculptured in relief on a recessed panel, but now so worn and defaced by time, as to be scarcely traceable. Semi-octagonal towers project on each side of the gateway, to give it additional protection; and on the top of the tower are three corbels to support wooden erections, from which to annoy besieging enemies. All the windows in the outside wall looking southward are long narrow openings; but the upper windows in the north wall, looking into the town, are larger and divided by mullions. Erected not earlier than 1450, it is possible



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that this tower may be the work of the second Earl Percy, because impressed with one of his badges. In 1557 it is described "of thre houshe height besyd the batilment and faire turrett; yt ys covered with leade which ys in greate decaye as also the roof of woode;" it was then in charge of the bailiff of the borough, who, under colour of keeping it for prisoners, used it as a granary for corn. Some forty years ago, there were portions of the walls on both sides of the tower, through which were narrow portals for foot passengers. It seems to have been in the possession of the corporation in the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century; they occasionally repaired it; and as a prison it was sometimes used; but it now belongs to the duke of Northumberland.*

Utilitarians complain that this ancient gateway is a nuisance, and would have it taken down, because it is not large enough to allow a free passage to large vehicles, such as caravans; this, however, is but a trifling inconvenience, which might be remedied at no great cost, by widening for a short distance, the road leading from Bondgate to Clayport. Earnestly do we hope that this brave old tower may be carefully preserved; it is the last important relic of the ancient fortifications of the town; and though grim and weather-worn, it is nevertheless a picturesque object, stirring up ancient memories of brave men and heroic deeds, which throw a glory around the town, and possessing an interest, not only to the inhabitants but to strangers who come from a distance. "Look at the tint upon the tower" says Mr. F. R. Wilson in his *Poetry of English Masonry*, "as deep sombre threatening as that of a thunder cloud. Then look at the stones. Huge blocks they are, with the jointings deeply recessed, leaving the edges standing out in rough lines of light."—*Plate VII.*

Clayport Tower, which defended the western entrance of the town, was larger than that of Bondgate, but similar in form, style, and masonry. It belonged to the corporation; indeed, it is reasonable to suppose, that most part, if not all, of the towers and walls belonged to the town, since they had been

* On August the 2nd, 1728, there were paid 1s. for a warrant against Gilbert Carr, 2s. 6d. for the constable to carry him to goal, and 1s. for a lock to Bondgate Tower; next year, 10d. is paid for another lock; in 1740, 2s. 4d. for a stock lock; in 1752, some of Bland's dragoons were kept prisoners in Bondgate Tower, and payments are made for straw and a strong hang-lock; and in 1755, straw was again supplied to six deserters who were confined there.—*Corporation Accounts.*

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chiefly erected under the direction of the burgesses and by funds collected by them. On the 13th of January, 1633, it was "ordered and agreed upon by the Chamberlaynes the xxiiij and the Comon Guild that every freeman of the Towne shall pay iiij$^{d}$ a yeare towards the repayreing of Pottergate towre and Claporte towre." There were several chambers in this tower, in which the companies or incorporated trades held their meetings. In 1709, "it was agreed by the Chamberlains and four and Twenty that the Taylors is to have the new chamber in Clayport Tower, they having paid 40s. for making of itt, and that there shall be Liberty for any other Trade to goe in and through the same room to any other room that shall happen to be built or made." After the erection of the Tolbooth in the market, this tower ceased to be used as a place of meeting. Subsequently the lower part was a work or poor house; but falling into a state of decay, the paupers were removed from it in 1785. The upper rooms were occupied by weavers. There was a narrow outlet through the wall on the south side; but the portal on the north was so wide as to admit the passage of a cart, which, however, was prevented by a turn-stile. On the south side of the gateway was an arched recess over the Tower Well. To improve the western entrance of the town, this tower was entirely removed in 1804, and the old materials, which were sold for £43, were applied to the building of the Union Court in Clayport Street. The site of the tower is indicated by four squared stones marked with the letter T.

Close to the tower on the north side, stood "The Little House," or "House on the Wall," as it was called, which belonged to the corporation, and was let in 1736 for 2s. 6d. yearly; this too was removed in 1794—a poor place—the materials of which sold for only £3 9s. 6d. Some quaint old houses covered with thatch adjoined it—so old looking, that they may have been co-eval with the tower; and when in 1819 they were taken down, the site of the House on the Wall was let for ninety-nine years at a yearly rent of twenty-one shillings to the owner of these old houses; and the space was included in the new houses which were then built.

Pottergate Tower, which defended the north-west entrance, was purchased by the corporation in 1630; and a new tower built on its site. The fourth tower was at the north end of Narrowgate; and on its site stands the last house of that street, projecting beyond the line of the next house, which is the first in Bailiffgate.

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The walls of the town were 20½ feet in height and 6 feet in thickness. I shall endeavour to trace them. From Bondgate Tower they ran in a southerly direction nearly in a line with the modern Hotspur Street, and thence westwards along Greenbat, bending at Monkhouse Square to Clayport Tower, and thence northward following the line of Infirmary Street to Pottergate Tower, and thence down the hill along the south side of the modern Northumberland Street, a distance of about ninety yards; here, in the under part of a garden wall, portions of the old town wall are standing, forty yards in length and in some parts five feet in height; a corner tower seems to have stood here, the remains of which project a little beyond the line of the wall, the masonry being similar in character to that of Bondgate Tower. At this point, the wall made an abrupt change in its direction, and ran southward to Narrowgate Tower. This is corroborated by the old deeds of the brick house, the second in Narrowgate Street, formerly in possession of the Forsters; for in 1612 and 1616 it was boundered on the north by a vennell, (that is a narrow or straight way,) called the Kirk-way; so that at this time there had been a road leading towards the church, either by the side of the wall or over its ruins. In 1628, this lane, "commonly called" it is stated, "the Church Lane," was sold for twenty shillings; and both the lord of the manor and the corporation had claims over it; for a reserved rent of fourpence yearly was payable to each. The wall continued from Narrowgate Tower in an easterly direction, at a little distance from the castle, towards the Bow-burn —the Castle Moat. It is doubtful whether any wall ran on that side of the town boundered by this burn; probably, the castle and the moat formed there a sufficient defence; but the wall on the south-east side would connect the moat with Bondgate Tower. One burgage is said to be boundered by the Castle Close; and another by the Castle Moat. The circumference of the walled town was about one mile.

After the cessation of border warfare, on the accession of James of Scotland to the English throne, these fortifications were no longer necessary; and hence they were neglected and fell into ruin; the wall would be a quarry where the burgesses would find stones for the erection and repair of their houses. Still a considerable part of these fortifications appears to have been in existence in 1681, when Thoresby in his wanderings says—"to Morpeth and after a short stay there, over the moors to Alnwick, an ancient fortified town, with a curious castle and *an old wall.*"

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Since Alnwick was surrounded with a wall, it has not greatly increased in size. It had then all the principal streets; there were the Market Place; Bondgate, where the early holders of bond tenures dwelt; Narrowgate, the Narrow Street; Pottergate, which bore the name of Barresdale; Fenkle, the Corner Street; Paikes Street or Hole, leading from the Market to Bondgate; Walkergate, though without the walls formed part of the borough, for here dwelt the members of the incorporated company of Walkers or Fullers near to the river. Bailiffgate, or properly Baileygate, now occupied the site of the bailey outside of the castle, but its northern side was not considered within the borough; Canongate, or Canonsgate its ancient name, though adjoining Alnwick, had, under the fostering care of the abbey, sprung up as a distinct township and manor with a court of its own. Houses too had been built beyond the walls on the south side; for in "The Red Book of Alnwick," there is an entry in 1483 of a payment of 8d. yearly for a burgage, held by Matthew Bell in Bondgate, *beyond the tower*.*

Though the old town was not greatly different from the present in extent, yet its population was considerably less. Most of the houses appear to have been small and low; many of one storey only, and few, if any, with more than two. The low thatched single storied house near the north end of Bondgate may be taken as a type of the dismal shabby dwellings of this period. Gardens and crofts were, however, attached to most of them; and the land of the parish was generally distributed among the burgesses, many of whom carried on agricultural operations. In recent times, several of these gardens and crofts have been converted into building sites. The records of the Augmentation Office, relating to the Alnwick Chantry, state that in 1545—"there is of Houseing people in Alnwick 1500, within the same parishe." This has been mistaken for the entire population; but *Houseing* or *Howselynge people*, were persons who were of age to communicate at the eucharist, and included all above sixteen years of age. The term seems to come from *huslian*, Anglo-Saxon, to give or receive the sacrament; eighteen hundred *houselynge people* addressed a letter in 1553 to Lord Cromwell; in a tract of the fifteenth century on general confession at Easter, we have "all that sall be *howsyllyt* at this messe knele down on your kneys and saye."† Assuming that the *houseing*

* North. Mem., II., p. 157. † Cat. Vet. Dunelm, p. 195.

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*people* would be about two-thirds of the population, we have therefore, 2,250 as the entire population of Alnwick Parish in 1545. Since then three hundred and twenty years have gone by; and, during that long period, the increase has been three and a quarter times, giving an annual increase of only sixteen persons—a very slow progress. Relatively, however, the town at this early period was important; Gateshead then had only 1000; Barnard Castle, 1017; Morpeth, 1150; the great town of Sunderland, which now numbers 68,000, had then only 1000 *howseling people*. Some places now insignificant had then a considerable population; Widdrington had 1020, Warkworth 900, and Rothbury also 900 *howseling people*.

A few references there are in the public records to persons holding property in Alnwick during this period. Some time prior to 1400, the distinguished family of Grey, renowned in early times for its warriors and in more recent times for its orators and statesmen, was connected with Alnwick by holding property there, consisting of two tenements and fifteen acres of land, of which Sir Thomas Grey was then possessed. He was also the owner of Wark Castle and Manor, of Straidland, of messuages and lands lying in the fields of Bamburgh, of Hawkhill, Middleton, Eworth, Doddington, Earl, the half of Reaveley Manor, the third part of Caldmerton, of Howick, lands in Kilham, Presson, and messuages in Newcastle. He was cousin of Henry Percy, son of the renowned Hotspur, and was born in the middle gate of Alnwick Castle, on the 30th of March, 1384, and was baptized on the same day in Alnwick Church, swathed in a scarlet cloth and wearing round his waist a gilded zone. He rose to distinction, and was trusted; but along with the earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope he conspired against his sovereign, for the purpose of raising Edmund, earl of March, to the throne. The conspirators were executed; and Sir Thomas Grey's head was placed on the tower of Newcastle "to be a spectacle of terror to all beholders." The Alnwick property afterwards passed to Sir William Grey in 1422, and then to Sir Ralph Grey, who, in 1463, was beheaded at Doncaster for adherence to the house of Lancaster. His wife Jaquetta held the Alnwick property in 1470.

At an earlier period still the Greys obtained Howick. In 1289 it was held by Robert Montalaunt and William Ribaud; but John Montalaunt, who seems to have been the son of Robert, took part with the Scots rebels against his own country, and his estates were forfeited. To Sir Thomas Grey, who was a distinguished warrior and was supposed to be the writer of the *Scala Chronica*, Edward II. granted in 1318 in fee one hundred and eight acres of land and six husbandlands in Howick, in the barony of

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Alnwick, and the vill of Chevington, which belonged to John Mountalaunt, lately an adherent of the Scots.* These properties still belong to the illustrious house of Grey.

John Wendout, owner of the manor of Hibburne, of lands in Newton on the Sea, in Earl, East Ditchburn, and Ellingham, had in 1378 a messuage in Alnwick, which descended to his son, and thence to Robert Hibburne; it was in 1448 in possession of Agnes, wife of Robert Hibburne.

Alan de Strother and Alice Syward held lands in Alnwick from 1372 to 1392.

Sir Alan Hetton, the owner of Chillingham Castle and Manor, held half a tenement in Alnwick in 1388; and Sir Henry de Hetton had twenty-four acres there in 1399.

Isabella, wife of William Swan, owner of Little Ryle and of lands in Snitter, Rothbury, and elsewhere, had in 1429 one burgage in Alnwick. Sir Henry Fitz-Hugh, who had possessions in Longhurst and elsewhere, had in 1424 lands in Alnwick.

From the names handed down of owners of property in Alnwick, it may be inferred that several of the gentry of the district lived occasionally in Alnwick. The whole country around was studded over with landowners, who, from the tenures on which they held their estates would often appear at Alnwick, to take part in the defence of the county, and to attend the manorial courts. Convenient it therefore would be for them to have residences in the town; which indeed might be necessary, since from the frequent inroads of the Scots they would oftentimes be compelled to seek the shelter and protection of a walled town.†

Of buildings still remaining in the town, St. Michael's Church, the Chantry House in Walkergate, and one dwelling-house at least, are as old as the fifteenth century. The charter granted by Henry VI., shews that the church was in

* Cal. Rot., 12 Edward II., m. 12., and Cal. Inq., No. 8.

† The records of the baronial courts furnish the earliest information of the names of the ordinary inhabitants of the town; and to some it will be interesting to give those which appear in the rolls from 1474 to 1480. John Pattonson de Clapot, Alne Ramsay tynkler, John Alnewick, Robert Algud, Robert Alder, Thomas Archer, William Atkinson, William Bolden, Matthew Bell, John Botman, John Brown, Richard Belingham, Chreastene Bownes, Edward Browell, George Begot, John and Robert Brandlinge, John Butyman, Robert Baxter, John Bradley, John Clerk, John Crawford, Arthur de Chatton, Thomas Creswell, Thomas Davyson, Robert Draner, George Eland, Richard Eston, Robert Ellesden, William Fresell, William Folberry, George Gibson, George Galon, Robert Gordon, Thomas Heli, Thomas Hudson, Robert Hudham, John Inglice, Thomas Jamieson, Patrick

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a ruinous condition in 1464, and helps to fix the date of much of the late perpendicular work seen in the walls and tower. We know that the Chantry House was built a year or two later than 1448; and without much hesitation, we may refer the last house in Bondgate, adjoining to Narrowgate, to the early part of the fifteenth century, during the time of Henry Percy, the second earl of Northumberland. It is a low building of two stories, with thick walls; within are beams of oak, and a hard stone stair winds to the upper rooms; but the most remarkable feature is a stone panel in the front wall above the entrance, on which is carved in high relief, two Percy badges and motto, with another heraldic design—*Fig.* 40. These consist of the *crescent*, on which is the motto *Esperaunce*, and of a *lion rampant between the horns of the crescent*, holding in its paws a shield marked with *two crosiers placed saltire*, or crossways. Another stone, on which is a shield with the Vescy *cross patonce*, is built into the wall of the passage of the same house. The crosiers point to the abbot of Alnwick Abbey; and the combined devices with the other characters of the house, lead to the supposition that it was some dependency of the abbey, probably an ancient hostelry. In the back premises of the same house are seen a fragment of a slender column and a capital of the Early English style of architecture; another Vescy shield is built into the front wall of a house in Narrowgate; and a richly crocketed door head of the decorated style does service as the lintel of a window in Mr. Heatley's house in Bondgate;

FIG. 40

Kirkewed, George Halliday, William Lucas, Richard Makerell, William Mason, George Milne, George Murton, William and Thomas Naddall, Thomas Noblet, Thomas Orpeth, John Neil, Robert Porter, Thomas Paxon, Robert Potter, Thomas Stell, Alan Reed, Thomas Richardson, John Selby, William Robyson, William Richester, John Stanton, John Strother, John Sclaier, William Spearman, John Scharperton, Robert Smith, —— Steynson, Richard Thompson, Robert Thew, Robert Taliour, John Turnbull, Thomas Walker, Michael Watson, Robert Wilkinson, Thomas Watkyn, Robert Warwick, Michael Watson, William Wray, John Gray, John Chamberlain, Thomas Haworth, Robert Scott, Robert Tuggall, William Thrap. In the year 1501, the name of John Alnewyck, chaplain, occurs. No male descendants of any of these families, except that of *Thew*, are now living in the parish.

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these fragments are probably spoils taken from Alnwick Abbey after the dissolution.

Another old house of this period, only recently destroyed to enlarge the White Swan Inn, stood on the north side of Bondgate, not far from the tower; possessing the characters of a pele of the border land, it must have been one of the most important houses in the town. Two stories it had, with walls of immense thickness, the under storey being vaulted with stone, and the entrance being by a low door-way with a pointed arch; long narrow openings passed diagonally through the thick walls, more like loop holes through which to annoy an enemy than windows to admit light; but larger mullioned windows were in the upper storey. Some important personage lived in this pele house in the days of yore—some warrior perhaps, ready to defend himself and the town against Scottish foes.

Important it is to notice the additional evidence of the burgesses being an incorporate body; for at a subsequent period, attempts were made to rob the town of this character. During the time of the De Vescys, as we have seen, the burgesses had a common seal, and in their corporate capacity held lands; in 1474, under their common seal, they appoint collectors of money for the walling of the town; and the charter of Henry VI. recognises them as a corporation, charged with important public duties.

In the fifteenth century the commerce of the town was considerable; the merchants were even exporters of the produce of the district, and traded to distant places. The crafts, mysteries, and fellowships had become incorporated into several guilds, whose records go back into the sixteenth century; and, indeed, some of them, dated 1620, profess to be copies of *ancient* orders. The preamble to those of the cordiners (shoemakers) in 1645, assigns a reason why such earlier records were not then in existence.

"The Auncient orders Institutions and Decrees of our Predecessors, which for the due regulateing and orderinge of this Fraternity of Cordiners, within the Burrough of Alnwicke, were by them Instituted, ordered, and published in writing under their hands: And of late by the distraction and malignancy of the tymes, which the unnatural warres and Inhumanitie, Plundering of our habitationes and Towne Chambers, have been embezzled, Lost and destroyed, are by vs the Alderman, Assistants, and whole Society of the aforesaid Fraternity, Recollected, Revised, and Republished."



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The goods exported, as evidenced by the charter of Henry VI., are such as we might expect from the state of the district. Little land was under the plough, but North Northumberland presented broad pastures and wild moor-lands, on which grazed large numbers of sheep and cattle, and hence there were no exports of corn. Indeed, the corn raised was inadequate for the wants of the district, and supplies had to be imported. Henry Percy obtained, in 1412, a license to carry corn, oats, beans, and peas from Lincoln and Norfolk to Berwick;* and there seems to have been a necessity to import corn into the county even in the time of Henry VIII. In a letter from Lawson to the king in 1533, he states that seven Scottish ships of war had sailed out of Scotland to capture ships laden with corn for Berwick, and he beseeches him "to save the little ships," by giving warning along the coast, that the victuallers may take refuge in safe harbours. Part of the corn was ready, he says, to be sent to *Aylemouth* and Holy Island. Such, however, was the wretched condition of the navy of England, that these war ships of Scotland were unopposed, and swept the seas from the Humber to the Tweed, capturing thirty of the English vessels, laden with corn and other goods.† Wool, wool-fels, hides, fish, and coal were the exports of the merchants of Alnwick from Alnmouth.

As coals were then *exported*, we may infer that they were worked more extensively in the district than at the present time. Coals we know were worked in Alnwick Moor by the burgesses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the early half of the eighteenth century; but more for home consumption than export. Hall and Humberston's Survey of the Barony of Alnwick in 1569 indicates the places where they were mined. William Grey, it says, holds all mines and coal-pits in the fields of Bilton and in the manor of Alnwick, with free passage to Aylemouth, for the term of sixty years, at the yearly rent of £4 14s. 0d.‡

The connection between the town of Alnwick and its port Alnmouth is interestingly shewn by a document preserved

* Rot. Scot., p. 161. † State Papers.

‡ In 1239, Henry III. granted a charter to the burgesses of Newcastle to dig coals in the Castle Field and in the Forth. In November, 1384, Richard II. gave license to John de Nevill to dig for sea coals (*Carbonibus Maritimis*) if they can be found, in the king's demesne of Bamburgh for the use of the garrison of the castle, and for sale. The name *sea coals* was given, because when exported they were sent by sea.

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among the corporation muniments, in which the burgesses agree to make a weir or haven at Alnmouth, and the earl of Northumberland covenants to supply wood for the purpose.

"This Indenture maide the fyvth Daie of December in the xxi^th yere of the reign of oure Soveraign Lorde Kynge Henry the eight, Betwixt maister Thomas franke Clarke, Bachelere of lawe and surveioure of all the lands of the ryght noble erle of Northumberland of the one partie, And George Clarkson, William Bednell, merchands, John Graie, George Watson, Edward Thomson, William Anderson, Burgesses of the town of Alnewyke, with all other coburgges of the seid town in the lewe and name of theym selfe and all other coburgesses of the said town of the other partie, Witnessys that it agreid and convenantyth Betwyne the said parties in manere and forme folowynge: First, the seid Burgesses of the seid town Doth convenand and grant that they of their own propere costs and charge shall make a weyre or a havyn at the town of Ailemouth, so that the seid Erle or his Assigneys do deliver theym sufficient wodde for the same, And also that the seid Erlys Tenints make cariage of the seid wodde as they have promysed. And for this havyn thus to be maide at ther costs and chargis the seid Thomas Franke covenands and grantis of the seid Erles behalf the assignement of sexe oke trees and of other Ramell * sufficyent for the seid warke to be felled and hewyn at the costs and charges of the seid Burgesses. And this the said surveyor of the behalf of the seid lorde and meister convenands and grantith that the seid Erle shall immediately after the makynge of the seid haven or keey conferme and grant unto the said Burgesses by his Wryttynge under his Seale of Armys all such liberties as his noble Anncestours hath aforetyme givyn unto the Burgesses of the seid Town of Alnewyke and Ailemouth. In witness whereof, both the parties above seid to either partie of the seid Indenture enterchangeably hath sette ther sealls the daie and yere above seid.

per me, THOMAS FRANKE, S."

Alnmouth is thus so closely linked with Alnwick, that we may give a brief abstract of the surveys, made at this period, relating to it. From the Conquest, it had been a manor of the barony of Alnwick. In 1569, most of the property was held under burgage tenure; and of these burgages there were sixty-one, all, excepting two, of moderate extent. The following example shews the nature of the tenure and the usual extent of the burgage:—

"Thomas Daund, senior, holds one burgage and one selione † of land, lying between the burgage of Richard Clerkson on the south part, and the burgage of Robert Pyne on the north part, which same burgage the said Thomas holds of the chief lord of the fee, by service thence due and of right accustomed for ever, and renders thence yearly at the feast of Martinmas and Pentecost in equal portions 6d." The rents varied from 6d. to 2s. 6d. yearly. The two larger burgages are the following:—

"Richard Midlam holds one tenement and certain lands and burgages, and renders thence yearly, 19s. 1d.

* Boughs, branches, or lops of trees, from *ramailes*, Norman-French.

† A ridge of land, usually less than an acre.

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The heirs of Richard Clerkson hold one tenement and 60 acres of land called Chalford's Lands, one croft called Baker's Croft, one close called Close Hill, one watery bog called Howle Kyll, one burgage in Aylemouth, and certain lands in the town and fields of Aylemouth, and render thence yearly, 25s. 10d."

There appear to have been only two copyholds; Roger Harryson held 10 acres of land lying in the fields of Lesbury, according to the custom of the Cockermouth Manor, paying 10s. yearly; George Clerkson held one tenement and 60 acres of land and meadow in the town and fields of Aylemouth, on the same tenure, the rent being 60s.

John Hudson then had the warren extending from Howick Burn to the mouth of the Ayle at a rent of 40s. The total sum produced by this manor to the lord of the fee was £9 14s. 1½d.

The church at this period was standing nearly entire "upon the south part of the borough, on a water bank nigh to the haven, with a church-yard;" it was covered with lead. Prior to the reformation, it belonged to Alnwick Abbey and was served by three priests and one clerk; two of them, the master and his fellow, otherwise named the vicar and his fellow, had their living from the abbot and convent of Alnwick; and as part of his living, the vicar had two tenements in Alnmouth, with land appertaining, which belonged to the Alnwick Abbey, and also diverse burgages in Alnmouth, with all manner of tithes of the town, the tithe fish of his own coble, and the tithe fish of all the rest of the cobles. The third priest and the clerk were maintained by the inhabitants of the town. But after the reformation, there was only one stipendiary priest, Roger Spence, who had the petty tithes of the town, and a stipend of 46s. 8d.; the tithes of the fish taken with cobles on the sea were leased to Sir Cuthbert Ratclyff, at a rental of £6 13s. 4d., and of salmon taken in the Aln at 10s. yearly. The clerk for wages had 4d. from every fire-house, but "not well paid," and producing less than 53s. 4d. yearly. At the Chancellor's Visitation held at Alnwick on the 29th of June, 1577, Roger Simpson appeared as the curate of Ailemouth Church, and Edward Spence as parish clerk. It was therefore feared, that after his death, there would be no priest of any understanding or knowledge, who will take upon him the cure; and all for lack of living. "Even so," thus runs the record, "the churche shall decaye, and the inhabitants there be brought to nothinge and in the end the town wast, which plague God avoyd." Notwithstanding this prophetic warning, the church went to ruin; in 1610, there was neither

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bible, homilies, surplice, nor pulpit; and the body of the chapel was in decay; and its utter ruin was hastened by wanton spoliation; John Carr, gentleman, Ralph Carr, gentleman, and Edward Shepherd were presented at the Archdeacon's Court a little after the restoration for taking away the leads, the bells, and stones from Alnmouth Church. After this, it stood a roofless ruin, near the edge of a cliff against which the high tides and stormy waves, breaking with violence, carried away portions time after time, till the worn and wasted walls, tottering on the brink, were blown down by a great gale on the 25th of December, 1806. The church was in the form of a cross; in "Grose's Antiquities" there is a drawing of it as it appeared in 1775.*

The changes in Alnwick Castle during these two centuries were few and unimportant. Under the first and second Barons Percy, it had attained its highest development as a place of defence; and up to the end of this period it was kept in the same character, being little used as an ordinary residence, but generally garrisoned by soldiers, It was only when the baron was of a warlike disposition or compelled by his office as warden, that he dwelt in the halls of Alnwick Castle amidst his armed Northumbrian vassals.

The upper part of the Curtain Wall north of the Barbican is supposed to have been built in the middle of the fifteenth century, as the string course of masonry corresponds with one in the south wall of Alnwick Church.

Of the state of the castle and barony during the sixteenth century, there is full information from surveys; one was made by Bellysys and others in 1538; one by Hall and Humberston in 1567; one by Clarkson in 1569; and another by Mason a little after 1600. From these surveys, but more especially from Hall's and from Clarkson's, I give the following condensed account, preserving to a certain extent the quaint phraseology of the original descriptions:—

Alnwick Castle is a very goodly house—very ancient, large, beautiful, and portly, situate on the south side of the river Aln upon a little Mote. It is well built of stone, and is of great receipt; but neither of itself, nor from its situation of any strength, but for the manner of the wars of that country; and otherwise not able to abide the force of any shot or to hold out

* St. Waleric, to whom the church was dedicated, was the first abbot of the monastery of St. Waleric in Picardy, and died December 12. 622. William the Conqueror gave to this abbey lands in the vill of Takeleve. Cal. Gen., I.. p 9.

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any time if assaulted. The circuit of the walls is 376 yards. There are three principal wards—(*Plate IV., A., B., C.*) In the Outer Ward where the entry is from the town, there is a fair gate house—the Barbican—covered with lead, with two pair of wood gates, and on either side is a Porter's Lodge two stories high, but ruinous and in decay; without this gate is a fair turnpike, double-battled about, with a pair of wood gates in its outermost part; between the Barbican and this turnpike there are a ditch and a draw-bridge; but in 1538 the draw-bridge required to be new made, and in 1567 the ditch was filled up and paved. Northward of the Barbican, in the Curtain Wall, is a turret covered with stone, two stories high (2); and at the north-west corner of this wall stands the Abbot's Tower, of three stories high (3); from this the Curtain Wall runs eastward and joins the Donjon or Keep; and between the tower and Donjon are two little garretts (4, 5).*

FIG. 41

BARBICAN OF ALNWICK CASTLE.

Southward of the Barbican, the Curtain Wall extends to the corner, and in the middle between them is one garrett on the wall. The Curtain Wall turns eastward from this corner tower, and between it and the middle gate house is the Auditor's Tower, of three stories height (13). The Checker House stands on the left hand side of the Barbican, within the walls, two stories high, the

* These were subsequently called the Falconer's and Armourer's Towers.

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upper being used as a court house (18); and on the other side of the Barbican is a house for a stable two stories high (16); and another stable stands between the gates east and west (14). The gate house tower for the middle gate is of three and in some parts four stories height; on the left hand is a strong prison and on the right a Porter's Lodge; the stories above contain hall, kitchen, buttery, pantry, and lodgings for a constable or other gentlemen to keep house in (11).

From this middle gate house the Curtain Wall goeth eastward to the Gardener's Tower, which is three parts round, of three stories height, but not higher than the battlement of the Curtain Wall (9); between this tower and the middle gate are two little garretts in the wall. From this round corner tower, the wall turns to the north-west, to the Ravine Tower, which is three stories high and three parts round, but now so rent as to be ready to fall (8). Further north-westward is the Constable's Tower, three stories high and three parts round (7); and in the north-west corner stands the Postern Tower, three stories high and with a garrett in the north-west corner raised above its battlement (6). Within this inner curtain or bailey, between the middle gate and the garrett east of it, is a house on the Curtain Wall three stories high, partly used as a stable; and on the east end of it a little house, within which is a one horse-miln, now in decay (10). A little from this was another house, used only for keeping hay.

Nigh to the Curtain Wall, between the Constable's and the Ravine Towers, is built one fair chapel, the walls of which are 21 feet high, the length 57 feet, and the breadth 21 feet (12). Before the chapel door is a conduit set with stone and a chest of lead, and to this cistern a goodly course of trim and sweet water cometh in leaden pipes from Howlinge Well (19).

The Brewhouse is between the Constable's and Postern Towers; the Bakehouse joins the Postern Tower; and joined to that is a slaughter house; and joining these on the west side is the site of the Chantry House, of which nothing is now left but one wall.

The Donjon or Keep is set of a little mote made with men's hands, and for the most part, as if it were square, the circuit being 225 yards; "it is a fair and pathe building," with seven round towers and four garretts. Between the garretts are lodgings. The gate house is of two towers, four stories high, and is a stately building. The other towers are all three stories high and covered with lead. Round the Donjon is a trim walk and a fair prospect. Within it is the hall, chambers, and all other manner of houses and offices for the lord and his train. The south side thereof serves for the lords' and ladies' lodgings; and underneath them are the prison, the porter's lodge, and wine cellars, with skullery. The west side is for chambers and wardrobe. On the east side are the hall, kitchen, chambers, and pantry; and underneath the hall is a marvellous fair vault,

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which is the buttery. Undernigh the kitchen is the larder, and at the end of the buttery is a draw-well, which for a long time has not been used. Within the Donjon is a proper little courten for the most part square and well paved with stone. On the west side of the Donjon is raised a little square tower, called the Watch Tower, where lies a watchman with a beacon to be set or hung.

In 1537 there were in the castle 180 bows, 410 bills, 12 sheafs of arrows, and 10 pieces of old ordnance, &c. There was also at this period a Friar's Tower which was then rent, but its situation is now indeterminable.

There is a reference to the chapel of Alnwick Castle in the following extract from records of the priory of Coldingham.

"17 June, 1465, Andrew, bishop of Glasgow, Archibald, abbot of Holyrood House, Mr. James Lindsay, keeper of the Privy Seal, and James Lord Livingstone as ambassadors had come to Alnwick to treat with the commissioners of the king of England concerning peace between the realms, and William Layborn, the papal nuncio, shewed them there a citation against Patrick and John Home, two canons of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar, who had intruded themselves into Coldingham Priory contrary to John Pencher, but which they dared not execute in Scotland owing to the influence of the intruders' kinsman Lord Home. This citation he exhibited to the Scottish embassy—"in vestibulo juxta altare infra magnam capellam in Castello de Alnwick predicto situatum"—in the porch near the altar beneath the great chapel in the castle of Alnwick, in presence of John Neville, earl of Northumberland, Lord Montague, warden of the East and Middle Marches, and others."

Though not residing much at Alnwick, the earls of Northumberland kept up a stately official establishment for the management of the barony. In the surveys made near the close of the period, much curious information is given on this subject. Notwithstanding the increase of the king's prerogative and the gradual growth of the power of the commons, these great northern barons affected the state of petty kings, and seem, indeed, still to have exercised a kind of regal authority. In Hall's Survey, made in 1567, the officers belonging to the "Castell of Alnewyke" are said to be

*The Constable*, the highest, who has charge and custody of the castle, and command over the other officers in the absence of the lord; he occupied the "constable's lodging" and had for his fee yearly £20: *The Porter*, who had the custody of the gate of the Outer Ward and the custody of prisoners; his yearly fee was 100s.: *The Castle-greave*, who attached all offenders either for

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trespass, debt, or otherwise, by commandment, and who saw them safely conveyed to ward, until delivered by order of law; and his fee was 50s. 8d.: *The Receiver and Auditor*, who kept audit in a house called the Exchequer; his yearly fee was £10: *The Feodary*, who looked to all the wards after the death of their ancestors and who kept "substantial records" for preservation of the services due from manors; his yearly fee was 100s.: *A Learned Stewart*, to adminster justice, whose yearly fee was £7: *The Clerk of the Courts*, who kept the lord's court, engrossed the rolls, and took care of the records; his yearly fee was £6 6s. 8d.; *The Foreign Bailiff*, who collected the castle ward and cornage money of the barony and warned the tenants and inhabitants to attend upon the lord or his deputy; his yearly fee was 60s. 8d.

The following were officers at this time:—Nicholas Forster, constable of the castle; Richard Hakke, porter; George Metcalf, receiver and feodary of the barony; Gawin Salkeld, bailiff of Alnwick; Thomas Bates, chief steward of the barony; George Clarkson, clerk of the courts; Thomas Frenche, foreign bailiff; William Grey, bailiff of the castle; Odnell Selby, keeper of Holn Park; Christopher Armorer and Ingram Saukeld, keepers of West Park; John Gallon and Hugh Selby, keepers of Cawledge Park.

To the barony at this time belonged in demesne, according to the same survey, the town and borough of Aylemouth, the towns of Denwyke, Bylton, Lesbury, Houghton Magna, Houghton Parva, Shylbottell, Guysons, Ruglee, Rennyngton, South Charleton, North Charleton, Preston, Tughall, Swynnow, Newham, Lucker, Lyham, Chatton, Fawdon, Aylneham, Awkehyll, Newton-Super-Moram, Newton-Super-Mare, Hausand, Moryke, Est Chevyngton, Howick, Rooke, Fallowden, and Brunton. But though all these places were members of the barony, many of them were not in the possession of the baron, for they had been "freely of ancient time" granted. The following towns rendered service to the barony and were for the most part held by knights' service and by payment of castle ward rent and cornage, viz.:—Hoppen, Edderston, Spendelston, Budell, Elwyke, Doddyngton, Nesbitt, Horton, Hesselrigge, Lyham, Fowberry, Wetwood, Caldmerton, Yardell, Ingram, Ryvell, Hartsyde, Predyke, Chrymondon, Byttlesden, Clenell, Nederton, Borowden, Allenton, Hutton, Ambell, Sharperton, Thurnam, Scrynewood, Hakeley, Chellyngham, Eworth, and Hybborne.

Two parks at this time belonged to the castle—one Holn Park on the west side, within a mile of the castle, well replenished with fallow Deer, and well set with underwoods for cover and preservation of the deer, and having the *Ayne* running through it, is very stately park-like ground; it is for the most part enclosed with a stone wall twenty miles in compass; for this park there are two keepers of the deer, whose yearly fee each is



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0s. 8d. The other (College) Cawledge Park was southward of Alnwick, and was in compass six miles and partly enclosed with a pale which is in great decay, and hence there is no great plenty of deer; there are two keepers each with a fee yearly of 60s. 8d. There were three other deer parks belonging to the earl in the county of Northumberland. An account taken in 1512 of the Deer in the Parks and Forests of the North belonging to the Earl, gives the following particulars:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Holn Park there were of Fallow Deer, | | .. | 879 |
| Cawledge Park | Ditto, | .. | 586 |
| Warkworth Park | Ditto, | .. | 150 |
| Acklington Park | Ditto, | .. | 144 |
| Rothbury Forest, Red Deer, | .. | .. | 153 |
| | Total | .. | 1912 |
| In his other parks in Yorkshire and Cumberland there were of Fallow and Red Deer, | | .. | 3659 |
| | Total | .. | 5571 |

This large number is exclusive of the deer which the earl had in his parks in Sussex and other places in the south of England.

During the fifteenth century the baronial courts were in their glory. "The chief lord of the fee" says *The Red Book of Alnwick*, "was thoroughly answered of all profits, escheats, and other causalities due to him with his rents at terms accustomed duely paid, and his officers every one in their office feared and obeyed; so that in time of service where was there in all the county one gentleman of honour or worship, that had such a company of gentlemen and good servitors as the chief constable of the said castle and barony of Alnwick,"* According to Clarkson's Survey a singular power was exercised by this court; for from ancient time it appointed certain persons to keep good houses to serve travellers and also inhabiters in the town requiring lodging, meat, and drink, and also stabling and horse-meat, no other persons being allowed to provide a feast for payment. This monopoly, however, was broken up in Queen Elizabeth's reign, for Clarkson complains that now the inhabitants have begun to make bridals, and church dinners when their wives were churched, and to take payment for the same.†

* Hist. and Antiq. of North., II., p. 159.

† Ibid, p. 160. Of the baronial courts I shall give a more particular account in a subsequent chapter.

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I shall now give a particular account of the names of the holders of property in Alnwick and of the tenures by which it was held, as contained in the valuable survey of the barony of Alnwick made by Hall and Humberston on the 17th of May, 1569, when the barony was in the possession of Queen Elizabeth. This survey is among the public records.

First we have *the rents of the free burgesses within the town of Alnwick.* Under the first name I give in full the description of the tenure; all the others following under this head held under the same tenure, but the particulars are not repeated.

R. Ogle holds one burgage in the town of Alnwick, with appurtenances, which he holds freely by charter in free socage, by service of suit of court, and renders thence yearly, at the feasts of Pentecost and Saint Martin in winter, by equal payments,* 8d.; N. Walby, as above, 7d.; William Grey, 6d.; William Grey, 8d.; Henry Swinhowe, 7d.; William Grey, James Phylpe, and William Creighton, 6d.; Widow Inskepp holds one tenement, &c., 1d.; the same holds one burgage, 9d.; William Grey, as above, 4d.; the said William holds a burgage on the west part of the said burgage, 7d.; David Harbottell, as above, 7d.; the same David, as above, 6d.; John Watson, 2d.; Ralph Boltflower, two burgages west of above, 12d.; Johanna Wynnyate, one burgage west of above, 6d.; Thomas Trollop, west of above, 3d.; William Grey, one burgage overthrown, lying south of the street called Walkergate, 6d.; the same William, one burgage overthrown, east of the aforesaid, 6½d.; Robert Pallett, one burgage lying east, 14d.; William Grey, one burgage overthrown, east, 7d.; George Grey, 6d.; Margaret Kydnell, 7d.; Harryson, 2d. (all eastward of the preceding); John Stanton,† of Huntercroft, holds one tenement called Huntercroft, 3s.; Richard Bennett, one burgage in the said street, 6d.; Richard Bennett, one burgage in the said street at Castlegate, 3s. 3d.; Hall, one burgage in Alnwick, 8d.; Richard Clark, the same, 12d.; Tristram Grey, the same, 8d.; Thomas Archer, the same, 13d.; Richard Harbottell, the same, 7d.; Robert Taylor, one burgage and other premises, 7d.; John Wylam, one burgage, 6d.; Ayer, the same, 6d.; John Browne holds one tenement in the said town, with all lands, meadows, and pastures to the same belonging, 6s.: George Metcalfe, one burgage, 8d.; the said George, three burgages, 22d.; the said George, one burgage adjacent, 8½d.; Garnet, one burgage, 8½d.; Ralph Boltflower, 4s. 7d.; Edward Bedwell, 16d.; Thomas Young, 10d.; Fell, 10d.; Matthew Lee, 9d.; The Lady the Queen has in her own hands one burgage lately—Aleson, which was wont to render at the feasts aforesaid, yearly, 10d.; William Shell, one burgage, 10d.; Richard Young, 10d.; the heirs of Roger Bednall, 14d.; John Atkinson, east of the aforesaid, 8d.; William Cruston, east, 16½d.; William Curseley, 7d.; the heir of Cursley, 11d.; William Bednell, 8d.; Nich. Arcle, 3s.; Margaret Ladyman, 8d.; Edward Ladyman, 8d.; William Taylor, 8½d.; William Taylor, 2s. 10d.: John Fargus, 18½d.; John Fargus, 10d.; Margarett Styrkett, 12d.; Margarett Styrkett, 7d.; Thomas Watson, 16d.; Nich. Stanton, 16d.; Rob Wilkinson, 6d.; Thomas Cutler, 10d.; John Kannell, 8d.; Cuthbert Anderson, 8d.;

* "R. Ogle tenet unum burgagium in villa de Alnewyck, cum pertinentiis, quod tenet libere per cartam in libero socagio, per servicio sectæ curiæ, et redditus inde per annum ad festa Penticostis et Sancti Martini in hieme equal."

† John Stanton was schoolmaster and pariah clerk in 1577.

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Henry Yonge, 8d.; Thomas Smailes, 10d.; Robert Ladyman, 6d.; George Metcalf, 12d.; Henry Younger, 8d.*

*All burgages situate on the south side of the aforesaid street called Bondgate, beginning on the east side and passing towards the west.*

Nicholas Chandler holds one burgage there as above and renders as above, &c., 6d.; John Gale, 6d.; John Dawson, 8d.; William Bednell, 8d.; John Golfe, 8d.; Pumperte, 12d.; Nicholas Stanton, 12d.; William Bednell, 8d.; John Taylor, 2s. 4d.; Alder, 14d.; Cuthbert Peddom, 9d.; John Dawson, 8d.; William Taylor 8½d.; Michaell Temple, 8d.; Richard Roderford, 8½d.; John Downes, 8½d.; William Herd, 7½d.; Alder, 7d.; Alder, 8d.

*Burgages situate in Market Stede* (i.e. Market Place) *on the south side of the aforesaid street, beginning at the east side and passing towards the west.*

William Bednell, one burgage, 8d.; said William, 8d.; Roger Alder, 6½d.; Clarkson, 6½d.; Thomas Greene, 8d.; Ralph Watson, 9d.; Thomas Greene, 8½d.; William Gallon, 2s. 9½d.; John Skyte, 10d.; John Dawson, 8d.; John Atkinson, 10d.; George Dawson, 8d.; Thomas Person, 10d.; Howe, widow, 10d.; George Dawson, 7d.; Richard Wardhaugh, 8d.; William Henryson, 11d.; Robson, 11d.; Robert Hatson, 10d.; Arthur Watson, 8d.; Thomas Butyman, 8d.; Anthony Fawgus, 12d.; Garrard, 2s. 6d.; Robert Barons, 16d.; Henry Lynge, 8d.; John Scott, 3s.; John Browne, 10d.; Robert Ladyman, 2s. 6d.; George Alder holds four burgages with appurtenances, &c., 5s. 8½d.

*All burgages lying on the west side of the said street, beginning on the south side and passing towards the north.*

Nicholas Swanne holds three burgages with appurtenances, &c., 3s. 2d.; Edward Howett holds one burgage, &c., 20d.; Emota Watson, 20d.; Ralph Clay, 2s. 5d.; George Metcalf, 14d.; Robert Nysebet, 6½d.; William Watson, 6½d.; John Thorbrand, 13d.; Edward Robinson, 18d.; William Stannars, 8d.; George Watson, 8½d.; Robert Barnes, 8½d.; Thomas Howetson, 8½d.; Thomas Watson, 8d.; Lambe, 8d.; Robert Barrows, 8d.; Thomas Forster, 8d.; Thomas Taylor, 12d.; Thomas Craster, 12d.; Jacob Brown, 8d.; Henry Lyng, 4d.; John Scot, 4d.; Edward Chelumpton, 8d.; Thomas Lyng, 8d.; John Lysheman, 6d.; Thomas Greene, 4d.; Emota Strudder, 4d.; the said Emota, 6d.

*All burgages lying in the street called Fenkell Street on the west side, beginning on the south side.*

John Davison holds three burgages, &c., 9d.; Peter Elston, one burgage, 6d.; John Dawson, 8d.; George Watson, 10d.; William Briga, 14d.; Edward Hall, 13d.; George Metcalf, 16½d.; Luke Ogle, 3s. 4d.; John Clarke, 10d.; Edward Stanners, 10d.; Grene, 10d.; Anthony Hall, 12d.; John Johnston, 12d.; Edward Narre, 12d.; Thomas Story, 16d.; Robert Moore, 5d.; Thomas Grey, 7d.; William Rogers, 3s. 8d.; Thomas Watson, 8d.; Henry Estwood, 8d.; Clarke, 6½d.; Richard Bell, 6½d.; Richard Holly, 14d.; Richard Stanton, 6d.; Edward Algood, 10d.; Thomas Harrett, 2s. 10d.; Robert Barwes, 7d.; Holly, 7d.; Mackerell, for the site of the tower called "The Tower," (*this was Pottergate Tower,*) 1d.; George Metcalf holds three overthrown burgages, 2s.; Edward Algood, one burgage overthrown, 6d.; Thomas Story, one burgage overthrown, 17½d.

*All burgages in the street called Barres Dale† on the north side of the street aforesaid, beginning on the west side and passing toward the east.*

George Metcalf holds three burgages, &c., 3s. 2d.; Thomas Story, one burgage, 12d.; Edward Stanners, 12d.; William Grey, one burgage overthrown, 12d.; George Metcalf, two burgages, 14d.; John Browne, one burgage, 7d.; Gilbert Sadler, 7d.; Robert Bullock, 3d.; John Blacke, 8d.; Thomas Grey,

* These burgages were in Walkergate and Narrowgate.

† Pottergate.

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one burgage overthrown, 8d.; John Browne, 7d.; William Grey, 8d.; said William, 7d.; George Robynson, 7d.; Thomas Grey, 4d.; Pyrren, 8d.; John Waller, 7d.; John Stanton, Robert Strother, Olde, and John Gibson hold one burgage, 20d.; Stamford, one burgage, 1½d.; Wytherolde, 2s.; John Taylor, 3s. 4d.; William Grey, 3s. 4d.; said William holds one piece of land with the said burgage adjacent with appurtenances, 10d.; George Metcalf holds the site of a bakehouse in Alnwick aforesaid, 3s. 4d.; John Helter holds one burgage, 12d.

*All burgages with their appurtenances in the street called the Market Place from the west part of the said street, beginning at the south side and passing north.*

William Bednell holds three burgages, &c., 2s. 2d.; Margereta Lighton, for an improvement, held as above, 2d.; George Levewicke, one burgage, 9d.; Thomas Shell, 8d.; Thompson holds one tenement called the Beer-houses with appurtenances, (*now the Town Hall,*) 9s. 8d.; Margaret Clarkson, one burgage, 6d.; Leonard Forster, 10d.; Robert Grey, 8d.; Edward Scott, 4d.; the said Edward, 4d.; John Garrard, 8d.; George Metcalf, 8d.; William Bednall, two burgages, 4d.; John Clark, one burgage, 6d.; John Styte, 12d.; Heirs of George Davison, two burgages, 12d.; Thomas Armorer, one burgage, 8d.; John Henryson and Edward Anwyck hold one burgage, 10d.; William Pye, 12d.; John Waller, 4d.; George Alder, 16d.; William Beadnell, 4d.; Heirs of Thomas Claxton, 8d.; Margaret Claxon, 8d.; William Beadnell, 22d.; Thomas Forster for one tenement in the Market Place and a certain stall without the shop to the same tenement appertaining, 6s. 8d.; Heirs of John Hall hold one stall without the shop lying on the west part of the said stall, 4d.

The sum of the rents of burgages in the town of Alnwick is £12 17s. 7½d.

Next follow the *Rents of the Free Tenants*, who, excepting the owner of Hobberlaw, which was held by military service, had their properties on a tenure similar to that of the burgages of the town; probably, however, differing in this respect—that while the possession of a burgage constituted a burgess and admitted to the privileges of the corporation, these free tenancies had no such effect, because situated beyond the limits of the borough.

William Taylor holds two messuages in Bondgate, and one messuage in Arrogate, and forty acres of lands, meadows, feedings, and pastures in the fields of Bondgate aforesaid, all of which the said William holds freely of the lord by fidelity and suit of court, and renders thence yearly, at the feast of Pentecost only, 9s.; Sir John Forster holds one parcel of land called Brokshawe* by the rent, 6s. 8d.; George Metcalfe holds freely one parcel of land called Squyrrell? containing one acre and a half in Bondgate Fields, &c., 8d.; William Bednell holds freely twenty-four acres of land in Bondgate, &c., 3s.; the said William holds forty acres of land lately John Riggs' in the fields of Bondgate, &c., 19d.; the same William holds one tenement sixteen acres of land in Bondgate Fields, &c., 19d.; the said William holds two acres of land called Swarrells in Bondgate, &c., 9d.; the said William holds one parcel of land called Bednell's Lands containing twenty-six acres in the fields of Bondgate, &c., 2s.; the same William holds ten acres of land in Bondgate, &c., 8d.; George Alder holds one tenement called Bondgate-hall, sixty-four acres of land in Bondgate, &c., 9s. 6d.; the said George holds one tenement called Hubberlaw with certain lands, meadows, feedings, pastures, and woods, containing two hundred acres of land, which he holds by military

* This was originally abbey land, but charged with a reserved rent.

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service of the seventh part of one knight's fee, and rendering yearly 4d.—(besides this "Byrtwell or Uberlow" paid to the castle of Alnwick for castle ward, 23½d. yearly); the said George holds a parcel of land called the Banks and Wakes Knowles containing eight acres of arable lands, &c., 12d.; John Watson holds one acre of land in Bondgate, 2d.; William Bednell, George Metcalf, and William Greene hold eighty acres of arable land in Greensfield, 6s. 8d.; Henry Swinhoe holds a right of way to the moor of Ellingham in Whitehall, 1d.; Michael Shafto holds one toft and one parcel of land containing three roods between the castle and the water of the Ayne (*Aln*), 12d. The burgesses of Alnwick render yearly to the aforesaid earl for common liberty (*right of common*) upon the moor, as by ancient custom they were wont from time immemorial, 2s.;* the tenants of Kanigate (*Canongate*) render annually to the lord for chiminage (*right of way*) from ancient custom beyond the memory of man, 12d.;† the tenants of South Charlton similarly render yearly to the lord for chiminage beyond Rosley-brigg as from ancient custom, 4s.; the tenants of Shylbottell render to the lord annually 6s. 11d., of Rooke (*Rock*) 8d., Rennyngton 8d., and Charleton 8d. for work in autumn, which they were accustomed for antiquity to perform.

The sum total of the free tenants is 81s.

Next come the *Rents of Tenants at Will;* of these there are two classes—copyholders, and farmers or ordinary tenants holding for a term of years. I shall first give the

*Copyholders.*

George Metcalf holds by copy of court one parcel of arable land, called Barnet-syde, with Clarkollhughe, and a parcel of land called Delves in Bondgate Fields, which he holds according to the custom of the honour of Cockermouth, and renders thence annually at the feasts of Martinmas and Pentecost by equal payments, 22s.; the same George holds a parcel of demesne lands called Halflat and another parcel called Angerflat inclosed, containing in the whole thirty acres in Bondgate, all which he holds as above and renders annually, &c., 30s.; William Bridges holds fifty acres of land, parcel of the south demesnes lying in the fields of Bondgate, &c., 15s.; Margaret Clarkson holds a parcel of land in the East Fields, called Knights-furlong, in Bondgate, &c., 10s.; Edward Ladyman holds one tenement with a croft and one husbandland in the fields of Alnwick, &c., 31s. 6d.; William Ladyman holds half a husbandland and fourteen acres of land formerly the lands of Thomas Mydleton, &c., 34s. 4d. Nicholas Chandler holds one toft and one husbandland in Bondgate Fields, &c., 16s. 8d.; Cuthbert Anderson‡ holds twenty-two

* The entry of this charge in a baronial book called "The Red Book of Alnwick," is, in 1474, as follows:—"De villata de Alnwyke at fest Nat. S. Johannis Bap. pro licencia eundi cum averiis suis in Hayden mense vetito per an. ijs."

† The entry of this charge in "The Red Book of Alnwick" in 1474, is—"De tenentibus de Cannogaite, pro licencia via habenda a retro Cannogaite solvend. ad festa Michaelis in fine compoti, xijd." Hartshorn's Antiq. of North., p. 157.

‡ Cuthbert Anderson in 1577 was curate of Alnwick Chapel.

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acres of land in the fields of Bondgate, &c., 22s.; George Browell holds one toft, one croft, and one husbandland in Alnwick, &c., 22s.; William Bednell holds sixteen acres of land called Blyndwell-flat, &c., 16s.; the same William holds a toft with a croft beyond the tower, in the street of Bondgate, and one husbandland containing twenty-two acres of arable land, &c., 22s.; William Bednell holds one parcel of land called Wydropp, 5s.; George Browell holds one parcel of land called Wydropp, 20d.; William Grey holds one parcel of arable land and meadow called Wydropp, 6s. 8d.; John Lynsey holds one parcel of land near Hul Park called Shipley-haugh, &c., 13s. 4d.; Odnell Selby holds one parcel of land called the Peth containing one acre, &c., 12d.; the tenants of South Charlton hold half of the pasture called Chirnside near to Hul Park, &c., 20s.; Sir John Forster holds the other half of Chirnside Pasture, &c., 20s.; Thomas Dobson holds one tenement and one husbandland in Sheldyk (*Shieldikes*), &c., 8d.; John Brown holds one tenement and one husbandland in Sheldyk, &c., 8s.; Robert Dobson and Henry Dobson hold two messuages and two husbandlands in Sheldick, &c., 16s.; William Dunne holds one tenement and twelve acres of arable land and two acres of meadow, &c., 16s.; Cuthbert Dickson holds one built messuage, with all other lands, meadows, feedings, and pasture appurtenant, under the name of one messuage and one husbandland, &c., 8s.; Robert Dickson holds one messuage and husbandland, &c., 8s.; George Taylor holds one built messuage and husbandland, &c., 8s.; Roman Stell holds one tenement and twelve acres of arable land and two acres of meadow, &c., 8s.; Thomas Steele holds one built messuage and one husbandland in Sheldyk, &c., 8s.; all the tenants of Sheldykes hold a certain pasture, called Swynlees from Harecrag, containing fifty-four acres of pasture in common, by their animals depasturing, according to the custom of the honour of Cockermouth, rendering yearly &c., 26s. 8d.; George Metcalf holds one close pasture, called Greensfield Saivghes or Sawghes lying in Calledge Park on the north, and a place called the Strother on south part containing twenty acres, held according to the custom of Cockermouth, &c., 13s. 4d.

The following in the manor of Rugley are held according to the same custom:—John Stanton, one messuage and lands under the name of two and a half husbandlands, rendering yearly &c., 17s. 6d.; John Stele, the same as above, 12s. 3d.; Robert Atkynson, half a husbandland, 8s. 9d.; George Garrett, two husbandlands, 17s. 6d.; Richard Brown, two husbandlands, 14s.; Robert Renatson, two husbandlands, 14s.; John Stanton, the same, 14s.; Thomas Stele, the same, 14s.; John Sleynes, the same, 14s.; all the tenants of Rugley hold two pastures, one of which is called Rugley Wood, the other the Hall Close, held as above, rendering yearly 43s. 4d.

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*The following are the Copyholders in the Manor of Denwyke:—*

William Grey holds one built tenement with all houses built above with one croft and all arable lands, meadows, feedings, and pastures pertaining to the said tenement, all of which he holds by name of one husbandland and a half, with all and singular their appurtenances, at the will of the Lord, according to the custom of the manor, and he renders thence yearly at the feasts of Pentecost and Martinmas, equally, 21s.; the same William holds one built tenement and half a husbandland, as above, 14s.; John Rose holds one messuage with croft under the name of one cottage and husbandland, as above, 21s. 8d.; Richard Gibson holds one tenement and one husbandland and a half, as above, 21s.; Robert Thewe holds one tenement and one husbandland and a half, as above, 21s.; John Clerk holds one messuage and one husbandland and a half, according to the custom of Cockermouth, 21s.; Thomas Shephed, the same, 21s.; John Gybson holds one husbandland with one close, as above, 20s.; John Maxwell holds one tenement and one and a half husbandlands, 21s.; William Thew, the same, 21s.; John Thew, the same, 21s.; William Bawden, one tenement and one husbandland, 14s.; Edward Robynson, one built tenement and one and a half husbandlands, 21s.; the same Edward, one husbandland, 14s.; John Clerk holds a built tenement with seventeen acres of arable land, meadow, and pastures, under the name of one tenement and one husbandland, 14s.; William Waller holds one cottage and one selion of land with appurtenances, 8d.; Edward Robynson, the same, 8d.

The following are the *Tenants at Will*, who appear to have been farmers, though some of them may have been copyholders:—

Nicholas Forster, gentleman, constable of the castle of Alnewyck, holds one close called Castle Close, containing thirty acres of land, which formerly the said Nicholas held at will, and rendered thence yearly at the feast of Michaelmas only, 40s.; George Metcalf holds certain enclosed lands called the North Demesne, containing forty acres of land with appurtenances, &c., rendering annually at Martinmas and Pentecost, £4; Engram Salvid holds thirty acres of enclosed land called the West Demesnes, &c., 30s.; George Kydnell holds one water fulling-mill, situate on the water of Ayne (*Aln*), with the water course, which mill he holds for the term of his life by commission, as he says of Thomas Earl, and renders thence yearly 20s.; William Bednell and John Clerk hold one close of arable land called Wyderopp, in Alnwick, which they hold at the will of the lord, and render yearly 13s. 4d.; Sir John Forster holds one built tenement called Snepehouse with

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all other houses built thereon, at the will of the lord, rendering yearly 40s.; Sir John Forster holds the herbage and pannage* of the whole of Holn Park, at the will of the queen, rendering yearly £6 14s. 4d.; Sir John Forster holds the herbage and pannage of the whole of the West Park within the demesne of Alnwick, containing a circuit of six miles, at the will of the queen, at the rent of £6 14s. 4d.; Sir John Forster holds the herbage and pannage of the whole of Calledge Park, containing a circuit of seven miles, at the will of the queen, at the rent of £12.

### *The House lately of the Brethren of Hulne Parke.*

Thomas, earl of Northumberland, held the site lately the house of the brethren of Hulne Parke with all built houses of the above, gardens, orchards, and three closes to the said site appurtenant, and with all things in lands, meadows, feedings, pastures, formerly appurtenant to the said house, and with pasture for twenty cows and two bulls depasturing in Hulne Park of the said earl, all of which were lately in his hands and occupation, 33s. 4d.

### *Rents of divers towns for certain tolls in the town of Alnwick.*

The inhabitants of the underwritten vills render annually to the Lady the Queen for foreign toll, viz., that they may be quit of toll within the fairs and markets of Alnewyck, and that they may watch according to the custom of the fairs with certain men; viz., the towns of Aylneham 5s., Calmerton 2s. 6d., Fowberry 2s. 6d., Hesselrigge 4s., Heworth 12d., Tughall 3s. 4d., Swynnow 20d., Lesbury 23d., and Hetton 5s.; in all 36s. 6d.

We learn from this survey that some cottages within the town belonged to the manor of Preston. The following is the entry:—

### *Rents of the tenants in Alnwick, Parcel of the Manor of Preston.*

George Metcaulf holds freely his cottages, situate within the town of Alnwick, to hold to himself and his heirs freely by charter and rendering yearly at the feast aforesaid 4d. This apparent anomaly arose from the manor of Preston belonging to the abbot; for there is entered "In rents yearly paid to our Lady the Queen, as of her manor of Preston, late parcel of the priory of Alnewyk, 40s." These cottages being the property of the abbey, and free (in frank almoigne) from the manor of Alnwick, did suit to the abbot as of the manor of Preston; and this relation between them and Preston continued after the dissolution of

* The right of feeding swine in the forest.



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monasteries; but it did not affect the quit rent, which was paid to the baron of Alnwick. These cottages stood in Narrowgate, on the east side, a little below where Fenkle Street joins Narrowgate.

With exception of the families of Thew and Forster, it is questionable, whether a single descendant in the male line of any of the other families holding property in the parish of Alnwick in 1567, is now living there. From this record we find that there were 253 burgages in Alnwick, the quit rents of which amounted to £12 17s. 7½d. yearly; besides, there were in the parish 16 freehold estates in land, and 52 copyhold estates, 17 of which were in Alnwick, 17 in Denwick, 9 in Shieldykes, and 9 in Rugley. As, however, the survey only included properties which yielded rent or service to the baron, there were several other freeholds, not yielding rent or service, of which no account is given. None for example of the estates carved out of the abbey property. Only one burgage in Alnwick then belonged to the baron, who indeed held little property beyond the demesne lands connected with the castle, portions of the three parks, and lands at Shieldykes, Snipe House, and probably Rugley. There were about 200 burgesses in the town, that is owners of burgage tenements; there may have been 50 other owners of houses in Canongate, Bailiffgate, and beyond the walls of the town; and besides these, about 50 others, owners of land yielding no service; so that there would be near to 300 persons possessed of real property in the parish. Next the baron, the largest land owners noticed in the survey, were George Alder, who held Hobberlaw, containing two hundred acres, Bondgate Hall with eighty acres of land, and nine burgages; George Metcalfe, who was possessed of eighteen burgages, two parcels of freehold land, and three copyholds; William Grey, who had eleven burgages and one copyhold; and William Bednall, who had six burgages, six parcels of freehold lands, and three copyholds.

*Quit rents* were not the only charges on property; under the feudal system few tenancies were free from a number of vexatious imposts. Some of these appear in the surveys of this period. As lord of the manor, the baron claimed free fishing, fowling, hunting, and hawking, waifs and estrays, wreck of sea, felons' goods, deodands, and other peculiar privileges.

When Sir John Forster was warden of the Marches in the reign of Elizabeth, several persons were tried and executed

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for march treason; the warden first seized the goods of the felons; but afterwards the earl of Northumberland claimed and recovered these goods as his own right. This was the case also with the goods of Nicholas Reade, of a felon in Howick, and of a felon in Lucker.

*Castle ward* and *cornage* were collected by the foreign bailiff of the barony; the former for the defence of the castle as the head of the barony; and the latter, called also *geldum animalium*, noutgeld, and horngeld, from *cornu*, a horn, and *geldan*, Anglo-Saxon, to pay, was a payment made in commutation of a return of cattle. The statement, which has been frequently made, that the holder by cornage was bound to wind a horn on the approach of an enemy is erroneous. The charge was peculiar to the kingdom of Northumberland, and originated as far back as the ninth century. When the king moved from one royal vill to another, the district through which he travelled provided cattle to supply his table; it was a tax of *horned* beasts imposed by royalty upon property, which in the course of time, however, was commuted into a money payment. This commutation had taken place at an early period for the county of Northumberland; for we find that the tax for the whole county was only £20, while that for Durham was £110 5s. 5d.—the commutation for Durham having taken place at a later period, when money had lessened in value.* The baron of Alnwick paid cornage for the whole barony; and collected it from his sub-feudatories, making a profit out of the transaction; but the amount paid in 1569 was the same as that of former periods. Reserving notices of mills, bakehouses, brewhouses, and salt for another part of our story, I would refer here to a few other peculiar feudal imposts.

At Bilton we find all the tenants paid to the bailiff of Lesbury to the use of the lord in respect of their ploughs, called *Carrying Silver*, 7s. 10d.

Some copyholders besides these quit rents paid a *rent hen;* this was converted into money, and in lieu thereof 1d. was paid yearly. In some parts, as in the neighbourhood of Wooler, such copyholds were called *Hen and Capon Copyholds*. Leases of lands, which by some unknown process had been transmuted from copyholds into farmholds, granted by the duke of Somerset to the Wilkinsons of Buston, reserved

* Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde has given a clear exposition of the subject in his History of Northumberland.

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payment of rent hens; and at the present time, some of the leases on the Chillingham Estate have a condition for the payment of a certain sum for *rent hens* which had been paid by copyholds before they had been absorbed into the lord's estate. In the records of the baronial courts, there is evidence that *rent hens* were collected in 1695; for on May the 10th, 1695, "John Waugh presents James Grey, of Lesbury, for a rescue, when he was executinge his office in collecting the rent hens," and he was amerced 1s. This imposition had obviously become unpopular.

One burgage in Narrowgate, Alnwick, occupied in 1709 by William Boswell, paid as yearly rent a pepper-corn; and another occupied by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, paid "a Read Rose." John Doxforth held Doxford by a quarter of a knight's fee, and rendered yearly "a pair of gloves and in pennies sixpence;" the site of Pottergate Tower was liable to pay 4d. or *a snow-ball at Midsummer.*

As at this point we lose sight of the copyholders of Alnwick, I shall here give some concluding illustrations of this class of small landed proprietors, who formerly were a numerous and important body. In the barony of Alnwick alone, under the mesne lord, besides others holding under the sub-feudatories, there were 300 copyholders, viz., in Alnwick 52, Houghton 47, Lesbury 33, Alnmouth 2, Bilton 17, Tughall 11, Newham 15, Lucker 7, South Charlton 19, Fawdon 5, Chatton 40, Rennington 16, Shilbottle 26, Guyzance 10. Indeed, almost every village in the county was more or less peopled by men who cultivated their own land. In the older records this tenure was designated by the mediæval Latin terms *bondagium* and *cotagium;* but the difference between them seems to have been only in the extent of land attached; each had its dwelling-house, its toft and croft, its parcel of cultivated ground, and its right of pasturage over the moor or common belonging to the vill; the *bondagium*, however, had attached to it a husbandland of land—a variable quantity—which in Alnwick seems to have been twenty-four acres, in one case only seventeen acres; but in Longhoughton and other places thirty acres; the *cotagium*, however, had annexed to it only a *selion* of land—that is a *rigg*, a quantity varying from about half an acre to one and a half acres; at Gateshead it was only half an acre; but at Denwick each *cotagium* had five roods of land.

Originally both bondmen and cotmen, under the feudal system, belonged to the large class of villans; who were so

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called, probably from the *vill* in which they usually lived. Their condition was at first servile; for they were bound to the land and obliged to work a certain number of days on the lord's demesne in ploughing, reaping and other agricultural labours, as a payment for the lands which they themselves held. But the condition of the villan—of the bondman and cotman—gradually improved; services at first arbitrary and oppressive, became fixed and regular, both as to quantity and time; and ultimately they were commuted into a money payment; the villan rose to the dignity of a free man, and common law recognised his title to his land, on payment of the customary rents and fines—and thus the bondmen and cotmen were converted into copyholders; and though, as Coke says, of mean descent yet of an ancient house. This change to a great extent had taken place at an early period with the bondmen and cotmen of Alnwick and of the barony; for we find in the thirteenth century, instead of performing servile work, they paid money rents to the lord. In 1567, the tenants of Shilbottle paid 6s. 11d., of Rock 8d., of Rennington 8d., of Charlton 8d. yearly to the lord for work in autumn, which they were accustomed to perform. Fines, however, were payable to the lord on the alienation or sale of a copyhold, or on its transfer to an heir. There is an inrolment of copies in 1586 among the records of the baronial courts in Alnwick Castle, which furnishes information as to the amount of these fines. Generally they were from two to as much as four times the rental. George Beidnell entered into a toft and croft and one husbandland in Alnwick, the rent of which was 32s., and paid a fine of £3 6s. 0d. Michael Chandler for a toft and croft and one husbandland in Bondgate Fields, the rent of which was 16s. 8d., paid a fine of 50s. George Metcalfe for a parcel of demesne land, called Barnardsyd with Clarkwell-heugh, and one parcel of arable called Delves, the rent of which was 32s., paid a fine of 62s.

A few feudal impositions on copyholders of the district are traceable down to 1695; they still continued liable to carry thorns, turves, coals, slates, and straw to Alnwick Castle, and millstones to the mill of the manor. The following extracts from the baronial court records are illustrations of these feudal burdens:—

1652, April 19. Presentments of Rennington 9, among whom was John Falder, of Shilbottle, "who have neglected to bring in their Turfes to the Castle; and 4 presented "that hath not brought in Thorns to repaire the hedges of the Demesne."

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1655. Robert Embleton did not bring coals for several times; and Thomas Shepherd, of Denwicke, did not bring whins to Alnwick Castle.

1679. "Thomas Philipson presents John Lisle for not performinge his bondage in not bringinge in Straw to Alnewicke Castle;" and he is amerced 1s. 8d.

1680. "Cuthbert Shell not doeing his dutye in leading thornes to the Closes of the Castle, which by their Custom and Service is due the Castle;" Thomas Sheapherd, William Thew, John Gromwell, George Thompson, John Shepherd, Ralph Thew, Edward Garrett, Luke Hunter, Rolland Robinson, Richard Robinson, and Cuthbert Shepherd were presented for the same; and each was amerced 1s.

1682. "Thomas Ladyman presentes Edward Adams for refuseing to Lead Millstones to Longhoughton Mill;" and he is amerced 1s.

"Thomas Ladyman and Arthur Johnston presents George Sheepherd, William Peet, George Right, and John Weddle for refuseing to cast flaggs for the said Longhoughton Mill, which they are bound to doe by Bondage;" and each is amerced 1s. 8d.

Eight Persons of Bilton are amerced "for withdrawing their Service to their Lord in not bringing Coles to Alnwicke Castle."

"We order that noe person for the future doe withdraw their Service from the Lord of this mannor upon paine of 39111;" So says my Lord's Court.

Eighteen persons of Lesbury were amerced in sums from 1s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. each, "for withdrawing their Service from the Lord of the Mannor, in not leading Slates from Seaton Carr unto Alnwick Castle."

1688. "Presented for withdrawing their Services in not doeing their bondage to the Castle, we amerce them; viz., The Inhabitants of Denwicke, Rennington, Longhoughton, Lesbury, Bilton, and Shilbottle. Noe prove."

"We present Mr. George Burrell and Edward Adams, of Longhoughton, who owes Bondage to the Castle of Alnwick and hath not done it. No prove."

Of these three hundred copyholds not one now exists. We cannot view, without regret, the total extinction of this body of small landed proprietors; they were an important part of the sturdy, independent yeomanry of old England, and their loss has left a gap in our social system. The history of their extinction has not been written; perhaps it is now irrecoverable, though there are traditions of the unfair means—chicanery, misrepresentation, threats—used to sweep them away. The tendency, however, of modern times has been for large properties to absorb the smaller—to mass land into a few hands. Some centuries ago there were 250,000 landowners in England; now there are only 30,000. If this process goes on—dissevering the mass of the people from the land on which they live—revolutionising as it were the character of our social system—discontent may arise and demands be made for sweeping changes, which may endanger the constitution.

Two extracts from Hall's Survey will give most interesting information, not only as to the nature of the copyhold tenure but also of the character of the copyholders themselves, and of the condition of the north at this period. It will be

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observed that the "reasonable use" of the custom of the manor of Cockermouth had been so satisfactory to tenants, that other lords of manors in Cumberland had made similar grants to their tenants. This runs counter to the commonly received opinion, that no copyhold tenures could be created after the reign of Richard I., the time of legal memory; but here there seem to have been copyholds created long after that period. This new creation, however, does not apply to the Alnwick copyholds, which were in existence before the time of legal memory; and the phrase used in reference to them merely describes the tenure, by a reference to a previous description under Cockermouth, and is not indicative of its origin.

"The Barony of Alnwick and the Countrey aboutes ys not in all places so wast as Cumbreland, but the soil somewhat better and the people more gyven to tyllage and labour then in the countrey of Cumberland, and yet very poore, because they are liable to keep up greater number of Cattell of any kynde, then may lye in house at nyght, because yt ys so nere Scotland of one parte, and the busshe country of Tynedale of the other parte, whose whole lyfe and delyte ys onely in robbying and spoyling there poore neyghbours, and more harme is done to the poore Countreymen by the Rydirs of Tynedale then by the open enemys of the Scottes."

"To the said hous belong a great number of customary tenants which hold their lands by copy of suit court, to them and to their heirs, doing to the said lord fote service by himself and all his family to the borders, when necessity shall require, and paying his fine at the lord's will after the death, alienation, or exchange of any lord and tenant, which custom hath heretofore been of the lords of that house so reasonably used as all the most of the customary tenants of the Earls in all the countries of Cumberland, Northumberland, York, and the bishoprick of Durham, have in all of theim ancient grants and copies to hold to theim and their heirs, according to the custom of those of Cockermouth, (the like grants have been made by the lords of manors within the county of Cumberland, wherewith the tenants thought themselves well pleased and in good estate, and albeit there farmholds were but small yet the commons were great and large.) So as the tenants were well able to live and maintain themselves and their family and always to have in readiness horse and such arms as the country requireth for the service of the prince and defence of their country, till now of late years the greediness of the lords hath been such and their practices so horrible, by making conveyances and devises of their land to cause the poor tenants to make fine sometimes once or twice three or four years or more,

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as to them seemed good, as the poor tenants are soe raimsomed that they are neither able to live and maintain their family, as yet to have horse or arms to serve the prince and maintain the country, so as that custom, which heretofore they most desired is now become so odious unto them, as they are not able to endure it. And albeit the country consist most in wast ground, and is very cold, hard, and barren for the winter, yet it is very populous and breedeth tall men and hard of nature, whose habitations are most in the valleys and dales where every man hath a small portion of ground, which albeit the soil be hard of nature, yet by continual travel is made fertile to their great relief and comfort, for their greatest gain consisteth in breeding of cattle, which are no charge to them in the summer, by reason they are pastured and fed upon the mountains and wastes where they have sufficient pasture all the year, unless great snows chance in the winter to cover the ground, for remedy whereof they are driven either to sell their cattle or else to provide for winter meat for them, and because the greatest part of the country consisteth in wast and mountains, they have but little tillage by reason whereof they live hardly and at ease, which maketh them tall of personage and able to endure hardness when necessity requireth."

The following will of J. Bartram Younger, of Alnwick, made in 1547, is given here as illustrative of the period. He had been a Roman Catholic as he adopts the usual preliminary form prior to the reformation. The sums left for the maintenance of his children are wonderfully small.

In Dei nomine amen vicesimo die mensis Julii anno domini 1547mo J. Bartram Yonger, of Alnwyk, seak in body but holl of remembraunce do maik my testament and laste wyll in maner and forme folowyng: Fyrst, I gyve my sowll unto Almyghtie God, our blessed Lady, and all the holie company of heaven, And my body to be buried in the Church Yard of Sancte Michaell th' archaungell of Alnwick aforesaid, with my mortuaries accustomed and dew to be given to the Church, And I gyv unto my wyff Alleson for the use of the upbryngyng of my Chylder, Syx Shyllynges and Eight pence, To be yerlie rasavyd and persavyd by the said Alleson my wyff or her assynes of my landes and tenementes, sett, lyeing, and beyng within the town and feyldes of North Cherlton, from the day of the dait herof unto th' end and terme of fourteine yeres next folowyng, fully to be completyd, endytt, and rone, And after th' end of the sad fourteine yeres thane the said vjs viijd to revert unto my eldest sone William Yonger my heir, lawfully begotten, And after his death the samē to remayne unto th' eldest of his brether and thane levying, To hold to hyme duryng his lyff naturall and after their decesse lykwyse to the rest of my Chylder as ther ages answeres duryng their lyffes after the death of one to ane other and after the decesse of all my Chylder thane I wyll the same to revert unto my nerast heir. Item, I gyve to my sone Henry Yonger my seat howse after his mother's decesse. Item, I gyve to my sone Williame fyve yowes. Item, I gyve to my two Chylder that is in Sowth Country to aither of theime two sheyp if they come to fetch theime. Item, I gyv to my son George two yowes. The resedew of my goodes I gyve unto my said wyff Allesone and my Chylder, who I maik my executours, they to dispone the saime to the welth of my sowll and their profeite, wytnesses

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hereof is Syr Robert Forster, parisshe preyst, William Clennel, Johne Taylzer, Nicholas Chanler, Jhone Skott, Thomas Ladymane, with other moo.

This be th' inventorie of all my goodos movable and imovable.

Imprimis tene Sheype xx$^{s}$
Item an Kow x$^{s}$
Item in howshold stuff worthe vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$

Dettes that I ame awen—

Item to Thomas Andersone iiij$^{s}$ Item to Jhone Skott ij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$

(Memorandum of Probate before the Commissary of Northumberland, 21 Jan., 1547 [i.e. 1548 N. S.]. Seal of office destroyed.)

The will of George Harbottel, of Calleche Park, who styles himself *gentilman*, made in 1576, shews how small an amount of property a gentleman might possess. He bequeaths his son John unto the earl of Northumberland, "and the lodge and office to hym at my lord's pleasure, trustinge that he will stand good lord and maister unto hym, whereby he may the better bringe upe my childer." He gives to Robert Harbottel one cow and calf; and then follows

"An Inventory of all the goods and chattells movable and immoveable of this testator praysed and valewed, the xxvi$^{th}$ day of February, 1576. In primis xvi head of nolte of yongar and elder xvi$^{l}$—xlij$^{tie}$ shepe of yongar and elder vl—vj calves xx$^{s}$—corne in the yard xlvj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$—in swyne x$^{s}$—summa xxiiij$^{l}$ xvj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$."*

James Melville, an eminent minister in the church of Scotland, in his autobiography has some slight notices of Alnwick in the latter part of the sixteenth century. On the 2nd of August, 1584, he visited Alnwick; "We cam that night" says he, "to Anweik and ludget in the house of a widow, whose son-in-law, guidman of the hous, was lyand seek of maney deadlie wounds, giffen him be the Scottes theives on the Bordar. And yet we receavat never an evill countenance of them." He was again at Alnwick in 1585, and his record of the visit exhibits the character of Sir John Forster, the lord warden. "We haid occasion" says he, "divers tymes to sing unto the praise of our God that 126 Psalme, with manie ma (more), but namlie at our coming to Anwik on the second Sabathe of our Journey, (13th November.) Ther we rested, and war called to dinner be Sir Jhone Fostar, Lord Warden, wha at mides of dinner, began bathe to glorifie God in recompting what he haid wrought already, and to prophesie concerning the stay of foull wather and of pestilence. There was a pestilence that somer in Edinburgh, St. Andrew's, Perth, and Dundee, and a tempestuous rainy harvest, which the peiple attributed to the exile of the ministers and

* North Country Wills, II., p. 408.



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noblemen by a licentious court; wherefore all the ministers of God war brought ham againe, as indeed it was marked and found within a monethe, that we war estonished to heir the mouthe of a warldlie civill man sa opened to speak out the woundarfull warkes and praises of God wrought for us. We war in companie a nine or ten hours; and fand him the gratius God of the land in retourning, as we fand him of the sees in our passage southward."*

Of all the natives of the town, William de Alnewyk, L.L.D., who flourished during this period, was one of the most illustrious. Prior to the general use of surnames, some addition was usually made to the Christian name, derived from a personal quality, from occupation or from residence, to distinguish one person from another. The most important man in a hamlet or vill, when signing a document, would add the name of the place; and thus some John or William de Alnewyk would originate the family name. In 1368 William de Alnwyk was controller of the customs of Berwick, and Thomas de Alnewyk was weigher of wool there in 1392. Alan de Alnwick, a goldsmith of York, founded and endowed a chantry in that city in 1483; and about the same period, John de Alnewyk was paid 16d. for working seven days at York Minster. As we have seen, a family of Alnwick was living in the town in 1474, when John de Alnewyk was a chaplain in the chantry. William de Alnewyk, was appointed by Henry V. confessor of the monastery of Sion in his manor of Isleworth, which now belongs to the duke of Northumberland. In 1420, he was prior of Wymondham in Norfolk, confessor to Henry VI., archdeacon of Salisbury, and keeper of the Privy Seal. As a commissioner to adjust differences on the borders he was employed in 1423 and 1425. By Pope Martin he was, in 1426, appointed bishop of Norwich; and while there, he built the west end of the cathedral and the principal entrance to the Bishop's Palace, on which he placed the arms of his family—*Argent a cross moline sable*, and added *Orate pro anima Domini Willielmi Alnwyk.* On September 19th, 1436, he was translated to the see of Lincoln. He died on December 5th, 1449, and was buried in the cathedral. His own arms, with those of the sees of Norwich and Lincoln, are placed over his tomb, along with an epitaph in Latin verse. In his will, which was proved at Lambeth in 1449, he shews a regard for his native town;

* Melville's Autobiography, p. 227.

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besides giving ten pounds towards walling the town and ten pounds towards the fabric of the church of Alnwick, he bequeathed to the parish church, for the priests officiating, his missal the third in value, one antiphonar, one bloody coloured vestment of cloth, having lions of gold interwoven, one chesuble dalmatic and tunic, three albs and three copes of the same set, and one chalice. To Alnwick Abbey he bequeathed for the high altar one pair of small vessels of silver, with flowers enamelled on the base and with a pipe in the side of one of them, and also one hundred shillings; to Holn Abbey he gave forty shillings.*

* *Of this will the Rev. J. Raine has kindly procured for me the following extract, from Mr. Stubbs, the librarian of Lambeth Palace:*—Item lego ecclesiæ parochiali de Alnewyk Dunelmensis diocesios, ad usum sacerdotum ibidem celebrantium, et parochianorum ibidem, tertium meum Missale in valore, unum Antiphonarium, unum vestimentum meum blodium de panno auri cum leonibus auri intextis, unam vis. casulam dalmaticam tunicam tres albas, tres capas ejusdem sectæ, et unum calicem, ad dispositionem meorum executorum. Item lego abbati et conventui canonicorum de Alnewyk unum par pelvium parvarum de argento cum floribus in fundis ipsarum anamellatis et fistula in unius latere dictarum pelvium ad summum eorum altare, et centum solidos. Item lego fratribus ibidem Carmelitis de Holn xls. Item lego decem libras ad muratioriem ejusdem villæ de Alnewyk, et ad fabricam ecclesiæ ejusdem x. li.

PERCY CRESTS.

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# CHAPTER XV.

## SEVENTH, EIGHTH, NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND—FROM 1557 TO 1670.

THOMAS, THE SEVENTH EARL—A ROMAN CATHOLIC—RESTORED TO THE BARONY—IN DISGRACE AND REBELS—ALNWICK CASTLE IN THE HANDS OF REBELS—TAKEN BY SIR JOHN FORSTER—REBELLION CRUSHED—EARL FLEES TO SCOTLAND—BETRAYED AND EXECUTED—HERALDRY—HENRY, THE EIGHTH EARL—BECOMES PROTESTANT—FALLS UNDER SUSPICION—CHARGED WITH TREASON AND IMPRISONED—SHOOTS HIMSELF—HENRY, THE NINTH EARL—JOINS THE FLEET AGAINST THE ARMADA—EXTRAVAGANT—UNHAPPY MARRIAGE—QUARREL WITH VERE—THOMAS PERCY THE CONSPIRATOR—EARL CONVICTED OF MISPRISION OF TREASON—FINED AND IMPRISONED—HIS LETTERS—HENRY THE WIZARD AND THE THREE MAGI—RELEASED AND RETIRES TO PETWORTH—ALGERNON, THE TENTH EARL—COMMANDER OF THE FLEET—CONNECTED WITH THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY DURING THE CIVIL WAR—NEGOTIATES FOR PEACE—RETIRES TO PETWORTH—HIS CHARACTER—JOSCELINE, THE ELEVENTH EARL—THE LAST OF HIS FAMILY—CHARACTER OF THE PERCY LOVAINES.

### THOMAS PERCY, SEVENTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

After being in obscurity twenty years, the Percys reappear as busy actors in national events. The sixth earl died without issue; and the children of his brother Thomas, who was attainted, being corrupt in blood, could not succeed. Thomas, nephew of the last earl and son of Thomas Percy, was, like his father, a Roman Catholic; but Mary, the queen, being deeply attached to the Romish faith, looked with favour on this scion of the Percy family. She, therefore, by letters patent, dated 30th of April, 1557, created him a baron of Parliament, by title of Baron Percy, "in consideration of his noble descent, constancy, virtue, and valour in deeds of arms, and other shining qualifications." There being no mention of the ancient place of barony in the patent, this

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was a new creation, and not a restoration of the ancient house; and it could, therefore, claim precedency only from the date of the patent. But on the following day, by another patent, the queen promoted him to the dignity of earl of Northumberland in consideration that his ancestors, *ab antiquo de tempore in tempus*, had been earls of Northumberland; and this has been considered a perfect restitution to the earldom. The queen, in addition, granted to him all the lands which had belonged to his ancestors, then in her possession. These dignities and estates were, however, bestowed on a qualified tenure; for the succession was restricted to the male heirs of his own body, and failing them, to the heirs male of his brother Henry. So that in fact, in the event of failure of these heirs, the dignities would become extinct, and the estates would escheat to the sovereign. When Thomas Percy was created baron, there was a stately ceremony in Whitehall; eight heralds and twelve trumpeters marched first through the chamber into the hall, followed by the earl of Pembroke and Lord Montague; and after them came the new baron, walking between the earls of Arundel and Rutland, attired in crimson velvet, with a hat of velvet and a coronet of gold on his head.

Soon afterwards, the earl appeared on the scene of border strife, where of old his ancestors were wont to display their prowess. Jointly with Lord Wharton, he was constituted warden general of the Marches towards Scotland, and captain of the town and castle of Berwick, with ample powers, and with a yearly salary as warden of the Middle March of 500 marks, as warden of the East March and captain of Berwick of 700 marks, with other allowances for his deputies and servants.

Elizabeth, after her accession to the English throne in 1559, endeavoured by energetic measures to protect the borders. She appointed the earl of Northumberland as general warden. A formal peace was concluded between the two nations, and the earl, as one of the English commissioners, signed the treaty on the 21st of May, 1559, at Upsetlington. French influence, however, soon led to the renewal of hostilities. Intestine commotions in Scotland arising out of the conflict between the papal and reformed faiths weakened that kingdom; and the English entered into a treaty with the Scotch reformers, and sent in their support, into Scotland, an army of six thousand foot and twelve hundred and fifty horse, under the command Lord Grey, of Wilton, Sir Henry Percy

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being general of the light horseman. At Leith there was a fierce and long skirmish, in which young Percy, the son of Sir Henry, distinguished himself by his bravery. Leith was besieged and gallantly defended; but before it could be taken, peace was concluded.

For some years after this, the Percys were in obscurity, and probably in disgrace. The appointment of Earl Grey, who was an excellent soldier, to the important office of warden gave offence to the earl of Northumberland; and his chagrin would be aggravated by the appointment of the duke of Bedford, in 1565, as lord lieutenant of the Northern Counties. Being a Roman Catholic, he might not look with affection on the vigorous protestant queen; and she on the other hand might not be disposed to invest him with official power in the north, where the reformed religion had made less progress than in other parts of the kingdom. Notwithstanding his adherence to the old faith, he seized and retained eight thousand crowns, which had been sent by the pope to help Mary, queen of the Scots, in her difficulties; the ship, in which it was conveyed, having been driven on the Northumbrian coast adjoining the earl's lands.

His dissatisfaction with the government assumed a treasonable form in 1568, when he busied himself with intrigues to dethrone his sovereign, and re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. Mary, the unfortunate queen of the Scots, was now a prisoner in England; and the earl was a party to the scheme for her marriage to the duke of Norfolk; but this plot was thwarted by the vigilance of Elizabeth. The earl, timid and vaccilating, and sensible of the danger which hung over him, submitted himself to the earl of Suffolk, the president of the North, and besought him to mediate with the queen. Notwithstanding this, the earl continuing to hold treasonable consultations with other lords, the queen, on the 14th of November, 1569, issued a peremptory order commanding him to appear before her.* When he read this order, he was thrown into a state of alarm and suspense. Camden says, "between the softness of his nature and the consciousness of his guilt; the bigotry of his persuasion, and the violence of his resentment for a conceived wrong done to him, in relation to a rich copper mine found upon his estate, by virtue of the queen's right to royal mines; he seemed to labour under a very great suspense, whether it were best to

* Stow Chron., p. 663.

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apply to her Majesty, or to seek his safety by flight, or turn rebel."* His friends and servants were ripe for rebellion; and knowing his cowardly disposition, they adopted means to drive him into decided action. At midnight, on the 14th of November, 1568, when he was at Topcliffe, they aroused and alarmed him with the cry—that Oswald, Ulstrop, and Vaughan, his enemies, were ready with arms and men to take him prisoner; they told him that the catholics were ready all England over to assert their religion, and that the bells were rung backward in almost every parish to encourage the people to an insurrection; and they also caused the bells of the town to be rung backward.† In a panic of fear he arose from his bed, and sought refuge in a lodge in his own park; and on the following night joined the earl of Westmoreland at Brancepath, where several insurgents were assembled. These earls now passed the rubicon of rebellion; their war cry was religion, and they issued a manifesto declaring, that they took up arms with no other design than to restore the religion of their ancestors; the queen, they said, was surrounded "by divers newe set-up nobles, who not onlie go aboute to overthrow and put downe the ancient nobilitie of the realme, but also have misused the quene's majestie's own personne, and also have, by the space of twelve yeares nowe past, set upp and mayntayned a new-found religion and heresie, contrary to God's word." One great object the rebels had in view was to liberate Mary, queen of Scotland; and for this purpose, the countess of Northumberland endeavoured to gain access to her in the guise of a nurse, and by exchanging clothes to enable her to escape; but this rather common place stratagem did not succeed.

The rebels on the 16th of November, appealing to the old religious sentiment of the north, unfurled their banners, on some of which the five wounds of Christ were portrayed, and on others the chalice. An old man, Richard Norton, bore in front a cross with a streamer. They marched first to Durham, and celebrated mass in the cathedral and destroyed English bibles, prayer books, and the communion table. The earl went to Richmond, then to Northallerton and Boroughbridge, and on the 20th, along with his countess, he joined the earl of Westmoreland at Ripon, where mass was celebrated.

* Camden's Eliz., II., p. 422.

† Stow Chron., p. 663.

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They next advanced to Clifford Moor, near Wetherby, where their forces were numbered and found to amount to only four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse*—a power quite inadequate to overthrow an established throne. The smallness of this array is significant; for a larger muster might have been expected in the northern counties, which were still the stronghold of the Roman Catholic party. Sadler says—"There be not in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion; and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine." Feudal attachments, however, were breaking up; and so repeatedly had the retainers of the old border chieftains suffered in civil strife, that the battle cries of "Percy! Percy! Esperance!" had ceased to find a response in the hearts of Northumbrians generally. On this occasion, only four score or a hundred horsemen out of Northumberland, gathered around the Percy banner. Yet there seems to have been a considerable number of the disorderly border men ready to join this attempt, for, says Sir John Forster writing from Bamburgh on the 25th of November—"the Earles have soe practised with the evil men of England and Scotland to break the borders and set them in disorder," that he distrusted them.

The queen, on the 27th of November, ordered the armorial ensigns of the earl of Northumberland to be removed from his stall as knight of the Garter; "that all other, by his example, for ever more hereafter, beware how they commit or doe the lyke cryme or fall in lyke shame and rebuke."

The earl had warned his retainers to be in "defenceable array;" and numbers of them, garrisoned, on his behalf, the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth. A royal proclamation was in consequence issued commanding every person to depart from these castles immediately, declaring those to be traitors who served the earl or remained in them. Those holding Alnwick Castle, on being summoned by Sir John Forster, the warden of the Middle Marches, refused to deliver it up; he therefore marched through the town to the Market Place, and there repeated the proclamation, and commanded all the earl's tenants to repair to their own houses. After this, with increased forces, he returned to the castle; and the garrison having no hope of succour, yielded to the warden

* Stow Chron., p. 663.

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and saved their lives. Warkworth in like manner surrendered; and both fortresses were garrisoned by loyal men.*

By guarding the passes of the country, the vigilant warden prevented several of the earl's dependents from joining the insurrection. Dispirited by want of adequate support, the insurgents proceeded no further southward than Clifford Moor; and turning back, they assaulted Barnard Castle and Hartlepool, both of which surrendered. But these were their last successful achievements. They hoped to have had help from the duke of Alva, with whom they had been in treasonable correspondence; but none came; a strong royal army was on the way to attack them; and money too was wanting to maintain their own troops; for the two leaders had indulged a magnificent hospitality, and had little money in their possession; the earl of Northumberland had brought with him only eight thousand crowns, and the earl of Westmoreland scarce any money at all. Sir John Forster, the warden, who was accompanied by Sir Henry Percy, had on the 7th of December, "a great skirmish with the earl of Northumberland." After this, most of the rebel army slunk away; but the earl of Northumberland kept the field till the 13th of December, when the approach of the royal army, under Earl Surrey, compelled him, with an escort of five hundred horsemen, to seek safety among the wild borderers in Liddesdale. "What a fond and foolish ende" says Sir John Forster, "these rebells have made of their traitorous rebellion."

In one of the finest of the border ballads, the minstrel indulges in poetic fancies, and presents the weak, spiritless leader as somewhat of a hero.

"Earl Percy is into his garden gone
And after him walkes his faire ladie,
I heard a bird sing in mine yeare
That I must either fight or flee.
Then rose that reverend gentleman (Francis Norton),
And with him came a goodly band,
To join the brave Earl Percy
And all the flower of Northumberland.
Earle Percy there his ancyent spred
The Halfe-moone shining all so faire,
The Nortons ancyent had the Crosse
And the five wounds our Lord did beare.

* Hollinshead—Sharpe's Memorials of the Rebellion.



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Now spread thy ancyent Westmoreland
The dun bull faine would we spye,
And thou the Erle of Northumberland
Now rayse thy half moone up on hye.
But the dun bulle is fled and gone
And the halfe moone vanished away,
And the Erles, though they were brave and bold,
Against soe many could not stay."

The accounts of the earl's capture are somewhat different. One statement is that he skulked in some poor cottages at Harelaw among the Grahams, who were notorious robbers; and that one of them, Hector Graham, for a bribe, delivered him to the earl of Murray; for this inhospitable deed, the fierce borderers, who respect their own laws of honour, wished to have Hector's head that they might eat it among them for supper. Dr. Percy's account, gathered from border songs, is a little more romantic. When the earl reached the borders, he was seized, stripped, and maltreated by thieves; but at length he found an asylum in the house of Hector of Harelaw, an Armstrong, who, under considerable obligations to him, had pledged his honour to be true. Hector, like a faithless wretch, betrayed, for a sum of money, his noble guest, in January, 1570, to James Stewart, the earl of Murray. Retribution followed this treachery; Hector, before this, was rich, but soon afterwards he sunk into poverty; and his infamous conduct gave origin to a proverb—*To take Hector's Cloak*, is applied to the man who betrays his friend. The earl was imprisoned by Murray in the castle of Lochleven.

For this rebellion, the earl of Northumberland and his countess were attainted of high treason and outlawed, along with fifty-five other noblemen. These were days when human life was little valued, and when hanging and decapitation were the sovereign remedies for constitutional diseases. A fierce and bloody vengeance fell on the insurgents. Those who possessed property were honoured with a trial, that their estates might be confiscated; but the poorer classes were hung without trial and without mercy. Sir George Bowes boasted that for sixty miles in length and fifty in breadth, between Newcastle and Wetherby, there was scarcely a town wherein some of the inhabitants were not hung as a warning to the rest; sixty-three constables were hung in the city of Durham. "I guess" says Cecil, "it will not be under six or seven hundred of the common sort that shall not be

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executed, besides the prisoners taken in the field." Surely the good times of Queen Bess are little better than a myth.

Sir Henry Percy, on June 7th, 1570, by letter, interceded with Sir William Cecil on behalf of his brother; he desired to have his counsel as to the mode of proceeding with his brother, who is very penitent, and his wife in great distress; and he hopes that certain of his lands will not be granted away. In another to his brother, he reproached him with his proceedings in the late rebellion, and urges him to seek the queen's mercy and to think on the misery and desolation he has occasioned.*

The countess of Northumberland suffered severely in the rebellion. "On the same day," the 22nd of December, writes the earl of Sussex to Cecil, "the Liddesdale men stole my lady of Northumberland's horse and her two women's horses, and ten other horses; so as when the earls went away, they left her, and all the rest that lost their horses, on foot, at John of Syde's house—a cottage not to be compared to any dog kennel in England. Such is their present misery; and at their departing from her, there were not fifty horse; and my lord of Westmoreland changed his coat of plate and sword with John of the Syde to be more unbeknown." She sought refuge in Scotland with the laird of Fernihurst, who took her to Hume Castle; she met, however, with sorry treatment from the Scots, "being miserably entreated, and forced for her surety to remove from friend to friend without rest fearing ever to be spoiled by those barbarous people." For very penury, she was obliged to retire from Scotland and seek refuge in France.

The earl continued a prisoner in Lochleven Castle till July, 1572, when, for a large bribe, he was ungenerously given up to Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, by James Douglas, earl of Morton, who, six years before when an exile in England, was indebted to the bounty and friendship of the earl of Northumberland. The northern minstrel sings—

> "When the regent was a banisht man
> With me he did faire welcome find,
> And whether weal or woe betide
> I still shall find him true and kind."

He was conveyed to York, and on the 22nd of August was beheaded as a traitor. Before he suffered, he avowed his

* Cal. State Papers, LXXI., p. 381.

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belief in the pope's supremacy, and affirmed that the realm was in a state of schism, and that those obedient to Elizabeth were no better than heretics. He was buried at St. Crux, York.

By his wife, Anne, third daughter of Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, he had one son only, who died when young, and five daughters, one of whom, Mary, was married to Sir Thomas Grey, of Wark.

He was a weak minded man, and bore the sobriquet of "Thomas the Simple;" but in the northern ballads descriptive of the rising of the north, he is designated "The Moon," in allusion to the Percy badge of the crescent.

ARMS.—*Quarterly of Six.*—I., *Percy and Lucy quarterly.* II., *Old Percy.* III., *Poynings.* IV., *Fitz-Payne.* *V.*, *Bryan.* VI., *Quarterly.* 1. *Three bottles? bottes? (bats), or icicles.* 2. *Three escollops, two and one.* 3. *Three ewers, two and one.* 4. *Three water bongets, two and one.*

FIG. 42

BADGES.—*A crescent.* *A locket within the horns of a crescent.*

MOTTO.—*Esperance en Dieu.*

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## HENRY, EIGHTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Thomas, the seventh earl, dying without male issue, his titles and estates descended to his brother Henry, by virtue of the entail made in the reign of Queen Mary. Long before his accession to the barony of Alnwick, he had, as we have seen, greatly distinguished himself in border warfare by his vigilance and courage. When his brother was in rebellion, Henry was zealous and active in the queen's service, and aided Sir John Forster, the warden, in extinguishing the insurrection. In a letter to him, the queen expressed her gladness for his loyalty and assured him that, as a reward of his fidelity, she would have a due regard to the continuation of his house in his person and blood. He was, in 1575, summoned to parliament as earl of Northumberland; and was also made a knight of the Garter.

He had in 1560 conformed to the Protestant religion; for in that year, he was one of those commissioners, who in confidence of their approved piety, wisdom, prudence, and care, were appointed to administer the oath authorised by parliament to the ecclesiastics throughout the kingdom. He must, however, have had a secret attachment to the old faith; for he soon afterwards became an object of suspicion to the government. His movements were watched, and so harshly was he treated, that from about the year 1575 he was not allowed, being a suspected person, to go far from the environs of London. This was a period of plots and intrigues; the adherents of popery were always on the alert, by their emissaries, to stir up rebellion, and, doubtless, it was the duty of the government to be wary and vigilant; but unworthy means were used to trap people; counterfeit letters were privately sent in the name of the queen of the Scots, and spies were employed to listen to people's discourses and to report even idle talk. Through such contemptible artifices the earl of Northumberland was inculpated; and in 1584 he was arrested and committed prisoner to the tower, charged with having secretly plotted with Throckmorton, Lord Paget, and the Guises, for the invasion of England and the liberation of Mary, queen of the Scots. "He was one of those stars" says Sir Walter Scott, "who shot madly from their spheres in the cause of Mary."

The charge rested chiefly on some confession made by William Shelly, who was a friend of the earl and an accomplice of Throckmorton; but the evidence of guilt must not

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have been convincing, since the earl, though kept in prison for about a year, was never brought to trial. Probably enough, he had committed himself to some of the plots that were concocted for the deliverance of Mary; but the severity with which Roman Catholics were treated, tended to breed rebellion. "The conduct of the government towards the catholics" says a judicious historian, "somewhat resembled the brutal pranks of a set of boys who drive and torment a dog until he is mad, and then shoot him for being dangerous."

The cause of his death is involved in mystery. After being about a year in the tower, his ordinary keeper was removed, and replaced by Bailiff, a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton; and on the next morning, the 21st of June, 1585, he was found dead in his bed, "shot with three bullets near the left pap," his chamber door being bolted on the inside. An inquest was held and the jury "considered the place, found the pistol and gunpowder in the chamber, and examining his man that bought the pistol and him that sold it, gave their verdict that he had killed himself." His death appears to have created a sensation and even alarmed the government; for, three days afterwards, there was a full meeting of the peers of the realm in the Star Chamber, when the lord chancellor affirmed that the earl had laid violent hands on himself, being terrified with the guilty consciousness of his offence; and to satisfy the multitude, who are always prone, the chancellor said, to believe the worst, the attorney and the solicitor-general explained to the peers the reasons why the earl had been kept in prison and the manner of his death. Grave suspicions were entertained by the Roman Catholics, that Hatton had been instrumental in assassinating the earl; and a modern writer says "the whole transaction bears many marks of a government prison murder;" but to support this conclusion, there is little else than the time of death coinciding with the change of keeper, while, on the other hand, it is difficult to find a sufficient reason to induce the government to commit so great a crime; the earl was far from being a formidable personage, while the ministers of Elizabeth were able and wise, and not likely to perpetrate deeds, at once marked by folly and guilt. To save his estates from forfeiture and his family from ruin, might have induced the earl to end his own life. Camden says "many good men were much affected that so great a person died so miserable and lamentable a death; as well because men naturally favour nobility, as that he had acquired singular commendation for his

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valour. He was a man of a lively and active spirit and courage."*

He married Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heir of John Neville Lord Latimer, and through her the manor of Burton-Latimer came into the Percy family. They had eight sons and three daughters—Henry, who succeeded him; Thomas, who died unmarried in 1587; William, who died unmarried in 1648; Sir Charles, who died without issue in 1628; Sir Richard, who died unmarried in Angiers; Sir Alan, who died without issue in 1613; Sir Josceline, who died unmarried; and George, who died unmarried in 1632 in the Low Countries.

## HENRY, NINTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Henry the ninth earl, one of the most singular characters of his age, must now appear on the stage of our history. He was born in April 1564, and had just attained his majority, when in 1585 he succeeded to the honours and estates of his father. He soon afterwards joined the army sent from England, under Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, to aid the Netherlands against the Spaniards. At a later period in 1588, when England rose in her might to drive from her shores and to destroy the "Invincible Armada" of Spain, he was one of "the English gentry of the younger sort who entered themselves volunteers, and taking leave of their parents, wives and children, did, with incredible cheerfulness hire ships at their own charge, and in pure love to their country joined the grand fleet in vast numbers."†

Notwithstanding these early indications of patriotic heroism, he appears to have fallen into expensive and dissipated habits. Coming into a splendid inheritance at an early age, he was, it is said, surrounded with parasites, who nursed his follies, and led him into extravagances. His marriage in 1594 with Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot was unfortunate; for their tempers were incompatible; and, although she had borne him children, he separated from her. She lived at Sion House, sad and melancholy, though at times playing with her child. Towards women he seems indeed to have had no chivalrous feeling; for after assaulting "a worthy and virtuous gentlewoman, he circulated infamous verses to defame her character."

* Camden, II., p. 504.

† Camden, II., p. 547.

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In 1601 he attempted to drag into a quarrel Sir Francis Vere, an honourable and distinguished soldier, who was commander-general of all the forces engaged in the defence of Ostend, when it was besieged by the Spaniards. Though serving under Vere, he accused his general of "wanting in respect to him and countenancing reports to his disadvantage." For these supposed wrongs he sent, on their return to England, a challenge to Vere, and refused to receive a letter in reply. He even threatened Vere's friend with his sword, if he attempted to leave the letter with him. What these reports were of which the earl complained we are not informed; but in Vere's reply he offered to clear himself of having given any cause of offence, and stated that he despised private combating, especially as he was engaged in a great and important action. Vere's conduct was cool, respectful, and rational, while the earl manifested an intemperate and petulant spirit.*

The earl was unquestionably a man of ability and energy; and in the opinion of his cotemporaries qualified to lead a party in the state. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, he attached himself strongly to the interests of James VI. of Scotland, and with more zeal than either discretion or honour, he, along with some other craven-hearted English noblemen, solicited James to seize on the English throne. This was ungenerous and even cowardly; for the old lioness, before whom they would have quailed when in her strength, was now stricken down with disease. James, however, was more honourable, and rejected such mean and unworthy counsels.

In the early part of the reign of James I., the earl was engaged in some formal commissions and state ceremonials; but he soon lost the favour of the king, chiefly through the influence of Cecil, who indeed suspected the earl of being concerned in the Rye conspiracy. Frowned upon by the court, the earl, a disappointed man, probably enough would be disposed to look with no disfavour on schemes opposed to the government. Through, however, the treasonable conduct of his kinsman Thomas Percy, who was a leader in the infamous Gunpowder Plot, he was involved in serious trouble. This Thomas Percy, called the conspirator, was a Roman Catholic, and the grandson of Joscelyn Percy, who was fourth son of the fourth earl of Northumberland. It was customary,

* Collins gives a long account of this matter, VI., pp. 427-432.

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at this period, for noblemen to place younger branches of their families in situations in their household; and accordingly Thomas Percy was constable of Alnwick Castle and auditor and commissioner to the earl. From his official connection with the barony he was frequently at Alnwick; his wife lived there, his children were born in the castle, his son Robert attended the Alnwick Grammar School, and one of his daughters was buried at Alnwick on 2nd February, 1602. Such was the regard in which he was held by Henry the earl of Northumberland, that in a formal document in 1597 he writes—

"The very true and undoubted patrone of the parishe and churche of Alnehame sending greeting in the Lord God Everlasting, graunts by his writing to my wellbeloved Cosyn Thomas Percy, his executors, and assignes, the first and next advowsone, donation, nomination, presentation and free disposition of the Rectory and Parsonage of the Parish Church of Alneham."

Religious principles must have hung loosely around the earl, when he gave the advowson of a protestant church to a catholic. The following document, preserved among the Alnwick Castle records shews the kind of duties performed by Thomas Percy and the style of address adopted by the earl:—

"Whereas I am informed, that Mr. Lyle of Felton hath encroached and enclosed certen parcells of my soyle and commons within my manor of Thurston to the great hinderance and annoyance of my tenants and the prejudice of my inheritance, These are therefore to will and require yow to pull downe and lay open or cause to be pulled downe and layd open to my same commons ageyne all such parcells as be now enclosed, And so to se them contynue. And this shalbe your warrant for the same. Geven at my howse at Syon the x$^{th}$ June, 1602.

To my loveing Cosen
Tho: Percy my Constable
of Alnewick."

The bold and flourishing signature of this conspirator I have seen attached to several documents in Alnwick Castle. He had also received the appointment of gentleman pensioner from the earl, who was captain of the band. The Gunpowder Plot, as is well known, was frustrated, and Thomas Percy was slain at Holbeach on the 8th November, 1605.

Suspicion fell upon the earl, as this conspirator was his kinsman and in his service; and it was supposed that to the



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earl would have been offered the protectorship of the kingdom if the conspiracy had been successful; he was therefore arrested, and for some weeks confined to his own house, but afterwards committed to the tower. He boldly asserted his innocence, and demanded a trial. After nearly seven months delay, he was, on 27th June 1606, arraigned before the Star Chamber and convicted of misprision of treason, because he endeavoured to be the head of the papists and procure them toleration; because he admitted Thomas Percy to be a king's gentleman-pensioner, without administering to him the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a recusant; because he presumed to write and send letters, after his restraint, without leave of the king or his council; because he had more care of his own treasure than of the king and state, and made no endeavour to apprehend the traitor Percy; and because he sent letters to warn Percy to make his escape. He was convicted without adequate evidence of guilt, for the facts proved did not substantiate the charge. The reasons are frivolous and reflect discredit on the judges; we must not, however, look for equity in the proceedings of the Star Chamber. He was sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000—the largest fine ever inflicted—to be deprived of all his offices, to be incapable of holding them again, and to be imprisoned in the tower during his life.

Able and spirited, he was not the man to submit to these illegal impositions without remonstrance. While in prison, he wrote many letters to the king, to the lords of the Council, to Lord Burghley, to the earl of Salisbury, to the queen, and others, to procure an abatement of the fine; and his neglected wife too, advocated his cause. His wife thus writes to the earl of Salisbury:—

"Noble Lord, the honourable respect it pleaseth you to yeald to me in this tyme gives releave to my weryed minde which cannot be but sencable, that this horrible treson will be a blotte to the name I love so well, otherwise I am confident in my Lord's innocency and that you will shew your selfe a true noble frend in Salving his reputation, which is much wounded in the opinione of the World by this wretched Cosen, who being taken I dout not but all suspicion of my Lord will be cleared and so comforting myself in your noble favour."*

A number of his own letters have been printed by Collins; many of them are of but little interest; others are still

* Burgleigh Papers, MSS. 6178.

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unpublished; a few extracts, however, will exhibit his character and habits, and the condition of his estates.

To the lords of the Council the earl writes on 11th November, 1605:—"Consider I desire your Lordships, the course of my life, whether it hath not leaned more, of late years, to private domestical pleasures, than to other ambitions. Examine but my humours in buildings, gardenings, and private expenses, these two years past. Look upon these few arms at Sion, my stable of horses at this instant, the dispersedness of them, and of my servants; the little concourse of followers; and your Lordships will find they be very consonant one to another; and all of them to put away jealousy." In July, 1606, he wrote to the king a letter sadly wanting in dignity, and bitter in its vituperation of his "loveing Cosen." He says he never fostered in his bosom one disloyal or undutiful thought, although pointed at in these by the devilish attempts and ugly acts of a wicked fellow—Thomas Percy, who took advantage of the trust committed to him to serve his own purpose; out of villany he made use of that trust; he had poison and craft in his breast against the king and state, and unfaithfulness and want of affection to him; the earl pleads innocence, and was willing to sacrifice his life to the king's service.* To the king he writes on the 24th of November, 1606—"May it please your Majesty after so long durance as I have undergone for this year past, to have thought of forgiveness and release. If your Majesty but understood how grievous your Majesty's displeasure is to me, your Majesty out of your mercy, would look upon me with a more favourable eye, and not suffer me to spend the better part of my days in sorrow; in his days, under whom I had more reason to look for comfort, than in hers, that was your predecessor. Since my heart can bear a true testimony to itself, that I did never, in thought or deed willingly consent to any thing I conceived prejudicial to your Majesty or yours. And as I speak truly, or falsely, so I pray God to deal with me in the last day of judgment." He complains very bitterly in a letter to the lord high treasurer, on February 2nd, 1611, of the fine imposed:—"The thing itself is extraordinary not to be paralelled; for first it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon a subject. Fines upon no man hath been taken near the censures; but first much qualified, then installed on easy conditions. To be levied in this fashion is not used, or if let, yet for the benefit of the owner and not to his ruin. By this course is taken I see not, but receivers may make what accounts they list, pay the king at leisure, yet I not quitted of half that is gathered; my lands spoiled; my houses ruinated; my suits in

* British Museum, Add. MSS. 6178.

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law receive prejudice; my officers imprisoned that stand bound for me; my debts unsatisfied; relief by borrowing taken away; my brothers and servants must suffer; my wife, children, and myself must starve; for the receivers are, by their leases, to account but once a year; for which service of gathering, they have their reward of 2s. in the pound; besides gain in retaining money in their hands and commodities many ways else. In all this provision for them, I find not a thought of one penny, either for my wife, child, or myself; so as there wants nothing but strewing the land with salt, to make it a pattern of severe punishment; and whether these things should pierce into the heart of a human man, I leave to your Lordship to think of." He enters more particularly into the state of his affairs in a letter to the king on the 14th of April, 1613—"May it please your Majesty to give me leave to open partly the state as it now standeth with my children, and humbly to present you with an offer that may help them and of more value to your Majesty. My daughters are of 15 and 14 years of age; the time of their preferments, for all their lives, is at hand, and will not admit long delay. The instalment of the fine, as your Majesty hath imposed it, cannot be paid in seven years, they provided for and all the rest; and myself relieved as they ought, and as the world will expect from me in duty of a father. £15,000, if it should be paid, taking use upon use, not resting one moment of an hour idle (which cannot be done) in seven years, will come to £20,000 or thereabouts; and to be bought by any chapman in ready money, £10,000 would be the most that would be given. Sion, and please your Majesty, is the only land I can put away; the rest being entailed. I had it before your Majesty's happy entry 48 years by lease, without paying any rent, but such as was given back again, certain in other allowances. It has cost me since your Majesty bestowed it upon me, partly upon the house, partly upon the gardens, £9000. The lands, as it is now rented and rated, is worth to be sold £8000 within a little more or less; If your Majesty had it in your hands it would be better than £200 a year more by the copyholders estates, which now payeth but two years old rent fine; dealing with them, as you do with all your copyholders in England, is worth at least £3000. The house itself, if it were to be pulled down, and sold by view of workmen comes to 8000 and odd pounds. If any man, the best husband to building, should raise another in the same place, £20,000 would not do it; so as according to the work it may be reckoned, at these rates, £31,000, and as it may be sold and pulled to pieces £19,000 or thereabouts. Thus your Majesty seeth the estate of the thing; what it is; how the care of a father beholding the fortunes of my daughters, rather choosing to lay a loss upon myself, and my heir, which time may recover, than of them, which may not endure time, to make up their advancements."

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The fine was paid in 1614, but he was not released till the 18th of July, 1621, after having been a prisoner for fifteen years. Before his imprisonment, he had cultivated learning and been a patron of learned and scientific men. When he received the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford in 1605, he was entered on the university list as "the most generous Count of Northumberland, a great encourager of learning and learned men, especially mathematicians." He gave a pension to the Rev. Nath. Torperley, a noted mathematician. The great Sir Walter Raleigh introduced to him Thomas Hariot, who had been with Raleigh in Virginia, where he was engaged in discovery and surveying; and the earl, finding him a gentleman of an affable and peaceable nature and well read in the obscure parts of learning, allowed him an yearly pension of £120. Pensions of less value he gave also to Robert Hues and Walter Warner. When consigned to the Tower, these learned men became his daily companions; and his table was open to their entertainment. With Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then in the Tower and engaged in writing his great history of the world, he held frequent conversations. The earl himself prosecuted the study of chemistry and astronomy; and Hariot, Hues, and Warner assisted him in his experiments and calculations. In the public mind such studies were even then regarded as a branch of astrology and necromancy; and hence the earl was distinguished by the name of *Henry the Wizard*, and his assistants as the *Three Magi*. Anthony Wood says that Hariot was a deist and believed in the eternity of matter, and he did impart his doctrine to the earl of Northumberland and to Sir Walter Raleigh.*

For his release, he was indebted to his son-in-law, from whom he was unwilling to receive any favour. His youngest daughter, Mary, the most beautiful woman of the time, who had been highly eulogised by wits and poets, married Lord Hayes against her father's will, and so offended was the earl, that he would give her no fortune; but Hayes valued his much admired bride more than fortune, and endeavoured to gain from the king the pardon of her father; and he succeeded. The stubborn old earl could with difficulty be induced to accept of this boon from such a source; but at length persuaded that his infirmities of body would be remedied by a journey to Bath, he therefore bid adieu to

* Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

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his prison. Whatever else he had been taught in the Tower, he had not learnt humility; for when he heard that the king's favourite, Buckingham, displayed his pride by being drawn in a coach with six horses, this vain old man, to overtop the favourite, rode through the city of London to Bath in a coach with eight horses, exciting the wonder and observation of the multitude.*

After this freak the earl retired to Petworth, where he lived in comparative obscurity for twelve years; though occasionally visited by the nobility, he seldom went to London, and never engaged in public affairs. He died at Petworth on the 5th of November, 1632, and was buried there. On the 4th of July, 1604, he obtained a grant or fee-farm of the manor of Isleworth and Syon in the county of Middlesex, to which reference is made in one of his letters; and from Charles I., in 1628, he obtained a confirmation to himself and the heirs male of his body, of the title and dignity of Baron Percy, as his ancestors had enjoyed them, as also he did then (being earl of Northumberland) enjoy his place and precedency. He left two sons, Algernon, who succeeded him, and Henry; and two daughters, Lucy and Agnes.

The earl wrote three treatises, all addressed to his son; one of them, printed in the Antiquarian Repertory, is entitled "Instructions for the Lord Percy in his Travells," and contains much good sense, expressed in a quaint style, and is evidently the production of a cultivated and observing mind.

## ALGERNON, TENTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Algernon, the eldest son of the ninth earl, succeeded to his father's honours and estates in 1632, when he was thirty years of age. He had been educated at Oxford, where he had for tutor, Robert Hues, the celebrated mathematician, known as one of the Three Magi. At the early age of twelve, he was made one of the knights of Bath; and while his father was living, he was called to the house of peers by the title of Lord Percy, on the accession of Charles I., in 1625. After his succession to the earldom, the king treated him with great kindness and respect; "so much so" says Clarendon, "that the king courted him as his mistress and conversed with him as a friend." In 1635, he was installed with great magnificence knight of the Garter, proceeding in great pomp and glory to Windsor.

* Wilson's Life of James I., II., p. 720.

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In the earlier period of the reign of Charles I. the earl was a powerful supporter of the king. While Charles was prosecuting his evil design of reigning as an absolute king, and Laud, by the Star Chamber, was attempting to crush freedom of thought, the earl, entrusted with the command of a fleet of sixty sail, was employed in destroying Dutch fishing vessels which had trespassed in British waters. After this service, he was, in 1637, promoted to be lord high admiral of England.

Before the great civil war broke out in England, Charles roused the indignation of the Scots, by attempting to force prelacy on that nation. To reduce Scotland to his arbitrary will, he raised an army and marched towards Scotland; and of this force the earl of Northumberland was appointed captain-general. His commission gave him power to appoint all the officers; and it appears that he had raised two troops of horse guards; one of a hundred cuirassiers, another of sixty carbiniers. Commissions he issued to raise two thousand horse. He, however, seems to have had little hope of the success of this expedition; "no one knows" says he, "how it will be paid; and till I see that well settled, I shall joy but little in my charge." Sickness, real or pretended, prevented him taking the command.

The earl of Northumberland does not appear in any of the transactions of the county at this time; but about 1641, he gave evidence of being dissatisfied with the policy of the king; and according to Clarendon, "his defection from his Majesty's service wrought several ill effects in the minds of many, for he had then the most esteemed and unblemished reputation in court and country, of any person of his rank throughout the kingdom; therefore many concluded that he had some notable temptation in conscience, and that the court was much worse than it was believed to be." For the course he took, he is entitled to an honourable place in the history of his country, and to the respect of after-times. In most of the commissions for negotiating peace he was an active member; and he sought earnestly to carry out such a settlement of the great controversy, as might secure constitutional government and the rights of the people. By the parliament, into whose service he had entered, he was ordered, in 1641, as high admiral, to fit the navy for sea, in defence of the kingdom; but although he had signified his readiness to obey this order, ill health prevented him going into active service. Through his management, however, the

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command of the fleet was transferred to the earl of Warwick in accordance with the wish of parliament; and this effectually thwarted the designs of the king, who attempted to obtain possession of the fleet.

When at Oxford, for the purpose of negotiating peace, he exhibited all the stateliness of his family; he carried with him his own plate, household stuff, wine, and provisions, "and he lived" says Whitelock, "in as much height and nobleness as the earls of Northumberland used to do; and that is scarce exceeded by any subject." The king shewed him great favour and civility; and sometimes accepted of the wine and provisions which were sent by the earl when he had anything extraordinary.

His conduct subsequently has the appearance of fickleness and trimming; for, in 1643, he was cognisant of Waller's Plot, which was designed to engage the city of London in favour of the king; and though it was not proved that he had entered into the plot, yet it was known that he was favourable to it and wished it success. Others were prosecuted for it; but as the earl still enjoyed a high reputation, he was dealt with tenderly. On the plea of ill health, he obtained the leave of the house of commons to retire to his seat at Petworth; but he was soon again in favour with the ruling powers, and after being engaged in other commissions to treat for peace, he and his countess were, in 1645, entrusted with the king's children, for which they were to have an yearly allowance of £3000.

After the king was in captivity, the parliament and the army mutually criminated each other. The earl was one of the fifteen peers and one hundred members of the house of commons, who left London and sought the protection of the army; but he still continued to exert himself to bring about peace, the restoration of the monarchy, and the establishment of constitutional liberty.

"The earl of Northumberland was the great instrument of the new model, and complied wholly with the independent party of the time;" and after the house of peers was abolished, he voluntarily came to the Chancery Bar, and took the commonwealth engagement, saying, in sight of all the people, "I will be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, without a king and house of lords."* He was

* Harleian MSS., 1224; which contain extracts from the Journals of the House of Lords in 1643 to 1645, with comments by the earl of Radnor.

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opposed to the trial and execution of the king. During the time of the commonwealth and protectorate, he lived in a retired manner at Petworth. He seems afterwards to have held the views and adopted the policy of the more moderate Presbyterians of the period; and he was present at a conference which General Monk had with the chiefs of that party, respecting the restoration of the monarchy; he was among the soberer people, who, according to his own words, "expect on the restoration of the king such conditions as an act of oblivion and general pardon; but terms of more security for themselves and advantage to the nation."

He resisted to the last, the punishment of the members of the high court of Justice, because "the execution of Charles I. would be a wholesome warning to future sovereigns."

After the restoration he was appointed lord lieutenant of the counties of Sussex and of Northumberland; but though he attended parliament regularly during the winter season, he sought no office in the state, and appears to have cared little for royal favour, very probably disapproving of the moral and political corruption which disgraced the court of the restored monarch. He delighted himself with his gardens and plantations at Petworth during the summer months. He died there on the 13th of October, 1668, and was buried in Petworth Church.

He was one of the noblest of his race; and his career was honourable and patriotic. He seems to have been actuated by high religious principles; Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, refers to his funeral sermon, which was in manuscript, and says he was much affected with the seriousness and piety of this great lord. That great painter of men, Clarendon, has drawn his character.

"He was, in all his deportment, a very great man; and that which looked like formality, was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the intrusion of bold men, which no man, of that age, so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large nor deep, yet his temper and reservedness in speaking got him the reputation of an able and wise man; which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for; and in debates of importance he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the king as much above him as he thought himself above other considerable men, he would have been a good subject; but the extreme under valuing those and not enough valuing the king, made him liable to the impressions, which they who approached him by



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those addresses of reverence and esteem, that usually insinuate such natures, made in him; so that after he was first prevailed on, not to do that, which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to (which is a very pestilent corruption), he was with the more facility led to concur in what in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done; and so concurred in all the counsels, which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it."

He was married first to Anne, eldest daughter of William Cecil, earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had five daughters; and next, to Elizabeth, daughter of Theophilus Howard, earl of Suffolk, by whom he had Josceline, his only son and successor.

After the time of the seventh earl, the heraldry becomes complicated and of little service to history. "The tenth earl's shield has sixteen quarterings ensigned with an earl's coronet, helm, and crest, on a chapeau, a lion passant. The shield is surrounded by the garter. Supporters, *dexter*, a lion rampant; *sinister*, a lion rampant guardant, ducally crowned and gorged with a collar (gobony?). Motto—*Esperance en Diev.*"—Mr. Way, Hist. and Antiq. of North.

## JOSCELINE, ELEVENTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Very brief will be our notice of Josceline, the last of the Percy-Lovaines. During his father's lifetime he married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Thomas, earl of Southampton; and in 1667 he was appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Southampton. On the death of his father, he succeeded to his titles and estates, and in the same year was made lord lieutenant of Sussex and of Northumberland. He died, while travelling with his countess, at Turin, on May 21st, 1670; his body was brought to England and interred among his ancestors at Petworth. He left only one daughter, Elizabeth, who was four years of age at the death of her father.

Thus ends the long and eventful history of the distinguished family of Percy-Lovaine, extending over a period of five centuries, during three hundred and sixty-one years of which, excepting at a few short intervals, it was intimately associated with Alnwick. Fourteen of this family held the barony of Alnwick in succession. Though endowed with immense possessions, and hence always occupying a commanding position, these barons were less distinguished as statesmen than

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as border chieftains. In civil wars and in faction struggles they took part, but without being guided by definite principles, sometimes on the side of the sovereign and sometimes against him; but none, save the first earl, stood in the foremost rank, among those who materially influenced the history of the nation. They served, as has been said, rather than governed. Most of them were men of blood, and not a few met with a disastrous end; five of them fell on the battle-field or by the axe of the executioner; one was murdered by a mob, another shot himself in prison, and another passed the best portion of his life confined in London Tower. Popular they were as a family in the north, where there were strong ties between lord and vassal, and where thousands of little landowners, interested in the preservation of their properties and trained to the use of arms, forming the sturdy yeomanry of old England, were ready at the summons of their feudal lord, to follow him to the field to repel or revenge aggression. Towards the close of the period when the warlike spirit had to a great extent died out, the later barons endeavoured to keep up their popularity and influence by gorgeous displays and magnificent hospitality. For the liberty of the people none of them, excepting the tenth earl, manifested any marked regard. Hotspur has attained the widest fame, partly because daring and dashing warriors suited the northern wants and taste, but chiefly through the halo which the genius of Shakespeare has thrown over his name. I like best, however, the second baron and the second and ninth earls; the first contented and gentle and kind-hearted, peaceably living on his estates; the second, faithful to his king, brave in battle, wise in counsel, and the friend of learning; and the last, a religious and conscientious man, when a great crisis came in the history of our country, ranging himself on the side of freedom, endeavouring to moderate the heat of parties and to secure constitutional government; and then, when failing in his efforts, quietly withdrawing from the fascinations of a corrupt and licentious court.

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# CHAPTER XVI.

## SOMERSET FAMILY—FROM 1670 TO 1750.

DESCENT OF THE BARONY—FRANCIS PERCY, OF CAMBRIDGE—EVIDENCES OF HIS DESCENT—JAMES PERCY, THE TRUNK-MAKER—CLAIM TO BE EARL—LEGAL PROCEEDINGS—HIS UNSUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE—ELIZABETH PERCY—HER EARLY MARRIAGES—HER MARRIAGE TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET—HIS DESCENT AND CHARACTER—CHARACTER OF THE DUCHESS—ALGERNON, DUKE OF SOMERSET AND EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND—HIS MILITARY SERVICE—HIS DEATH—DISTRIBUTION OF HIS ESTATES—CHARACTER OF THE SOMERSETS.

The death of Josceline, the eleventh earl of Northumberland, threw the affairs of the Percy-Lovaine family into confusion and litigation. The earldom, which had been conferred by patent in 1557, was limited to male descendants; and it was supposed that there was no male descendant of any of the last six earls in existence. Charles II. therefore, in 1674, raised George Fitzroy, his third illegitimate son by Barbara, duchess of Cleveland, to the dignity of earl of Northumberland; and, in 1683, he created him duke of Northumberland. This duke dying without issue in 1716, these honours again became extinguished.

Through the limitations of the patent in 1557, part of the Percy-Lovaine estates reverted to the crown. A manuscript, entitled "State of the case touching some lands of the Earle of Northumberland," made three years after the death of Josceline, by a recital of the various grants made by the crown, shews what these estates were and how they reverted to the king. It thus concludes—

"By an Office and Inquisition post mortem of the said Henry, Earle of Northumberland, taken by Commissioners of their owne friends and a Jury Sworne and Impannelled the 14th day of January then next following, It was upon their own evidence found,

That the said Henry, Earle of Northumberland, as son and heire male of the body of Henry, Earle of Northumberland, his father, was upon the day of his death seized in fee Taile to him and the heires male of his body.

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The reversion in fee simple to the king, his heires, and successors, appertaining of the Lordships and Manors inter alia of Denwick, Houghton, Lesseburg, Aylnemouth, Bilton, Tughall, Newham, Newstead, Lucker, South Carleton, Alneham cum Mora, Fawdon cum Clinch, Chatton, Wooller, Rudgley, Sheldecks, Shilbottle, Renyngton, and Lyham, with their and every of their members and appurtenances, the lands, tenements and hereditaments called Swinleaze, Harecragge, Sniphous, Healey Houses, Hall Closes, the Lordships and Manors of Acklington Parke of Acklington, Manors of Burling, Guisens, Tuggeden, Boston, Newtoune, Brotherick, and Thurston, a free fishing in the water of Cocket over against Warkeworth, a fishing upon the Sea Coast neere Bulmer. The Barony, Lordship, and Manor of Beanley, with their rights, members, and appurtenances, the Lordship, Manors, and Forest of Rothbury, Lands and Tenements in Newbiggen, Hedley, Piperhaugh, Thorneyhaugh, and Ecclesraughe, within the Forest of Rothbury, Manors of Newtowne, Thropton, Snytter, Cartyngton, and Spoonehill, the Lordships and Manors of Newborne, Corbridge, Walbottle, Butterlaw, Throckley, and Dewlye, diverse Lands and Tenements in the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, the Manors, Messuages, Lands, and Tenements, called Talbott's Lands, in Tindall, an yearly rent of £0 19s. 8d. issuing out of the Manor or Barony of Longly, the advowsons of Houghton, Ayneham, Chatton, and Horsley, an annual rent of 39s. 8d. issuing out of the Manor of Byker, Bikerwood, and Easterwood, and the service of a 20th part of a knight's fee by which the said Manor of Biker is holden in the County of Northumberland. And of £20 per annum for the Creation Money issueing out of the profitts of the said county by virtue of the grant made as aforesaid by King Philip and Queene Mary in the 3rd and 4th yeare of their raigne, of the honor and title of Earle of Northumberland.

And that Algernon, Earle of Northumberland, was the son and heire male of the body of the said Henry, Earle of Northumberland. And by the same inquisition or office it was found by the Jury that the said Earle was before his death seized in fee of the honor and manor of Pettworth in the County of Sussex, Honor and Manor of Cockermouth in the County of Cumberland, Castles and Manors of Prudhoe, Alnewick, and Warkworth, and Parkes of Alnewick and Warkworth, Colledge Parke, West Parke, and Hulne Parke in the County of Northumberland.

And the said Algernon, Earle of Northumberland, surviving his only Brother Henry Lord Peircy, who died without issue. And departing this life having only issue male of his body Jocelyne Lord Peircy, after Earle of Northumberland, who dyed about 3 yeares agoe without issue male, and left only a daughter. Whereby all the male line of the said Henry, Earle of Northumberland, brother of the said Thomas, Earle of Northumberland, being extinct. The reversion of the entayled lands whereof no Reversion appears to have beene granted out of the crowne remaining in it. His now majestie being justly entitled thereunto, hath granted the said manors and lands unto the said James, Duke of Monmouth, and his heires and assignes.

Persons, however, bearing the name of Percy appeared after the death of Josceline claiming to be heirs of the honours and estates. But for an attainder, Francis Percy, of Cambridge, a stone cutter, would have been the true heir. He was descended from Thomas Percy, the grandson of Josceline, who was fourth son of Henry, the fourth earl of Northumberland. This Thomas, as we have seen, was constable of Alnwick Castle and auditor to Henry, the ninth earl; but for the part he took in the Gunpowder Plot he was attainted as a traitor. His son, Robert, was grandfather of Francis

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Percy, who was baptised at Bickley on the 15th of May, 1649; and rose to the dignity of mayor of Cambridge in 1709, and died in 1716. Charles, his son, heir to this forfeited heritage, was baptised at Cambridge on the 10th December, 1674, was a member of the common council of the town, and died there in 1743. He left sons, one of whom, Josceline, was baptised at Cambridge in July, 1698, and after studying at the university, took orders, became rector of Marham in 1735 and died in 1755, leaving daughters only; but he had brothers, of whose history nothing is told.

The famous genealogist and antiquary, Sir William Dugdale examined the evidences of "Mr. Francis Percy's" descent; and "he is of opinion that Mr. Francis Percy, of Cambridge, is lineally descended from Thomas Percy;" some parts of his abstract of the evidences contain curious local information.

"Sept. 1, 1680. Roger England, of Taunton in Somersetshire, aged 80 years, certifieth that he married Anne, daughter of Robert Percy, son of Thomas Percy the powder traytor, and has heard the said Robert, his said wife's father say, that he was son to Thomas Percy who was engaged in the powder plot.

"October 11, 1680. John Swinton, Clerk of the Parish Church of Anwick, in Northumberland, aged above 80 years, affirmeth that he hath heard his father say that Mr. Thomas Percy and his wife lived in the Castle of Anwick, and had children, and that after the powder plot, for which the said Thomas lost his life, his wife went to London and lived privately there.

"Oct. 14, 1680. Matthew Scott, of Gateshead, in the Bishoprick of Durham, aged 99 years, certifieth that he knew Thomas Percy, who was afterwards in the powder plot, Constable of Alnwick Castle, and that he had a son Robert and two daughters, and that the said Robert was a school-boy at Anwick.

"From the register book of the Parish Church of Anwick it appeareth that Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Percy of Anwick Castle, was buried Feb. 2, 1602.

"Divers aged people living in Anwick do affirm, that Thomas Percy, who was in the powder plot, was son of Guiscard Percy, and that Guiscard Percy was brother of the Eighth Earl of Northumberland."

This branch of the Percy family does not appear to have appealed to law in support of their claims.

Another Percy, however, rescued himself from obscurity by boldly assuming the titles of the family, and pertinaciously defending his claims against the most powerful antagonists, for a period of nearly nineteen years. Soon after the decease

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of Josceline in 1670, James Percy, of Dublin, who had followed the profession of trunkmaker there, preferred his claims to the earldom. He first called upon the widow of the tenth earl, who was then living, and upon the young countess; but, as it was reported that the latter was pregnant, he deferred further proceedings for a while. On attempting afterwards to obtain access to these dowagers, he was treated with indignity; and at length, on the 3rd of February 1672, he lodged his claim at the Signet Office in London. Annoyed at his proceedings, the old dowager, in behalf of herself and the daughter of Josceline, petitioned the house of lords, on 18th February, 1673, complaining that the assumption by James Percy of the titles of earl of Northumberland and Lord Percy was to the dishonour of their family; and this petition was referred to the Committee of Privileges. On the 20th, James Percy also presented a petition, which was after being read dismissed. Leave, however, was afterwards granted by the king to hear at the bar of the house both parties, who were allowed one month to prepare their cases. On the 28th March, forty witnesses were examined in behalf of the claimant; and then the counsel of the countess was heard in support of her charge of James Percy being an impostor. Percy's counsel prayed for further time to answer; but this was disallowed; and his counsel declining to enter then into the case, the house of lords dismissed Percy's petition, and resolved to consider on the following morning what further proceedings should be taken against him concerning his imposture. This, however, was not carried unanimously; for the earl of Anglesea and others were allowed to enter their dissent.

Whatever may be thought of the legality of Percy's claims, it must be admitted that he had a strong belief in their justice, and that in maintaining them he displayed the spirit of the old race. In some doggerel verses he sent to his antagonists, he says—

> "Resolved I am to spend my all
> Before a Percy's name shall fall."

He was not crushed by the adverse decision of the lords, but appealed to the ordinary powers of law in maintenance of his supposed rights. Five or six actions he entered in the courts of common law between the years 1674 and 1681, for scandal or ejectment, that he might obtain a decision on his pedigree. In all save one he was defeated or nonsuited;

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but in that he gained a verdict of £300 damages against Clark for calling him an imposter. An action brought against John Clarke, Esquire, for scandal and defamation was tried in 1674 in the court of King's Bench before Sir Matthew Hale; and although, for some technical reason, Percy was nonsuited, that eminent judge, in open court, declared that he had proved himself a true Percy of the blood and family of the Percys of Northumberland, legitimate by father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, and expressed his belief, that he really was cousin and next heir to the late Earl Josceline.

Again James Percy appealed to the house of lords, by petition, on the 25th of November, 1680, to be heard to make out his claim to the earldom. This seems to have been rejected without deliberation; notwithstanding, the earl of Anglesea entered his dissent, because it was unjust to reject any such claim without a hearing, and was contrary to precedent and usage, and because the dismissal of a claim by a former parliament was no sufficient reason under the circumstances, why it should not be reconsidered by the present. And there was force in these reasons; for the case presented by James Percy was new, inasmuch as his claim now was based on a line of succession different from that on which he formerly claimed.

Still undaunted by this second rejection of his petition, James Percy in 1682 filed a bill in equity against the sheriff of Northumberland for the recovery of £20 per annum, granted by patent to the earl of Northumberland out of the revenues of the county. Irritated by these proceedings, the duchess of Somerset, the daughter of Josceline, petitioned the house of lords on the subject in 1685; but it was not till 1689, that the warfare was brought to an end. Both parties were heard on June 11th, and the lords decided—"That the pretensions of James Percy to the earldom were groundless, false, and scandalous, and that he should be brought before the four courts of law in Westminster Hall, wearing upon his breast a paper on which these words shall be written—*The false and impudent pretender to the Earldom of Northumberland.*"

James Percy, now an old man of 70 years of age, had to submit to this insulting exhibition, which, however, reflected more dishonour on those haughty lords, who had so little sense of justice as to punish as a criminal a free man, who was pursuing by legal means a supposed civil right.

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James Percy, doubtless, failed to give sufficient legal proof of his claim. He was born in 1619, and was the son of Henry Percy, who was the third son of Henry Percy of Pavenham; but he failed to prove who was his great grandfather. The tradition of his family was, that his grandfather, a younger brother, and two sisters were, "in the time of the troubles in Queen Elizabeth's days, sent from the north in hampers to old dame Vane in Northamptonshire." He first claimed as his great grandfather Sir Richard Percy, fifth son of the eighth earl, who, however, is said to have died without issue in 1648. Finding this untenable, he changed his ground, and asserted that his grandfather Henry was eldest son of Sir Ingelram Percy, third son of the fifth earl; but it appears from Sir Ingelram's will, that he was never married, and left only one illegitimate daughter. That James Percy, however, was a descendant of the great northern family of Percys is exceedingly probable, if not certain. He and his father were recognised as relations by the three last earls of Northumberland; and he asserts that Henry the tenth earl, when on his death-bed, declared that James Percy would be his heir, if his brother's son should die. One curious argument James Percy used in support of his descent: in his petition he says "that he was born into the world with a mole like a half-moon upon his body, therefore no brand, but it signifies a crescent which belongs to the Percy's arms; and it is reported that he is not the first that hath been so born of that family." Sir Egerton Brydges remarks, "that there was a good deal of truth mingled up with his claim." "It is no disproof," says Surtees, "of the noble descent of a person in humble circumstances that he himself should not always have known the precise line of it." Heralds took no notice of the reduced branches of a family; no inquisitions were held where no land was left; registers were imperfect and not taken care of; and wills too shared a similar fate.

The manner in which his pretensions were resisted, evidences a consciousness, on the part of his antagonists, of the strength of his claim, for as Craik remarks—

"He was met and opposed at every step by every legal expedient, fair and unfair, of which advantage could be taken for that purpose. The array of powers and interests banded against his claim was also unusually formidable, comprehending as it did, not only all the recognised chief branches of the Northumberland family, the heiress of the Percys and her ducal husband, and the two dowager countesses, her mother and her grandmother, both



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extensively connected among the greatest families of the realm, but such personages of very highest spheres as the Duke of Monmouth and the new Duke of Northumberland, the king's sons, with their royal father himself, who had given his lands to the one and his titles to the other, to say nothing of sundry less conspicuous individuals who had also got hold of property, their possession of which the success of the claim might endanger, and some of whom, Champion and Gee, made themselves particularly busy in seeking to defeat it, and were so circumstanced as to be able to do much mischief."*

Many sneers were cast against *The Trunk-maker*, as if honest industry were not more honourable than even titled idleness. James Percy had a manly regard for his own occupation, notwithstanding his pretensions to a peerage; "I was a trunk-maker! The trade is good, and by God's blessing it hath given me bread in the extremity of my travels, till I obtained the merchandising trade; and can make my three sons freemen and merchants of London, Dublin, and Norwich; and have likewise trained them up to handicrafts; so that, if they fail in the mystery of merchandising, they may, with God's blessing, live upon their ingenuity." These are noble sentiments, worthy of any heir to an earldom.

This long and unsuccessful struggle for a peerage had not it would seem impoverished his family; for we find that his son Anthony was lord mayor of Dublin in 1699, was knighted in 1700, and died in 1704; Sir Anthony Percy left three sons and a daughter; and it is supposed that some of their descendants are still living.

## ELIZABETH PERCY.

To Elizabeth, only surviving daughter of Josceline, passed the greater part of the Percy estates, but not the earldom of Northumberland. She was born on the 26th January, 1667, and was the greatest heiress of her day. In consequence of the marriage of her mother to the honourable Ralph Montague, the guardianship of the heiress was transferred to her grandmother, the old dowager countess, widow of Earl Algernon; who, exercising her authority in a cold, despotic, if not cruel manner, caused Elizabeth to be married, when little more than a child, to Henry Earl Ogle, heir apparent to the duke of Newcastle, towards the close of the year 1679.

* Craik's Romance of the Peerage, IV., p. 319.

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He died, however, in November, 1680. The old dowager was not long in forcing another match; for, setting aside the decent etiquette of society, she caused the heiress to marry, in the summer or autumn of 1681, Thomas Thynn, of Longleat, one of the richest commoners in England, who bore the sobriquet of "Tom of Ten Thousand." This match was contrary to the wish of Elizabeth, who had, it is said, formed an attachment to Charles John Count Königsmark, a Swedish noble of distinction. At the time of this second marriage the count was abroad, but soon after his return to England he, by the basest means, revenged his loss. Thynn, now the husband of Elizabeth, was late on Sunday, the 12th of February, 1682, passing in his coach along Pall Mall, when he was assassinated by three ruffians, who had, it is confidently believed, been hired for the purpose by Count Königsmark; all were arrested and tried; the three ruffians were condemned and executed, but, from some defect in the evidence, the count was acquitted.

There was haste again in leading the young heiress to the altar. She was but fifteen years of age when her second husband was murdered; and yet within four months of that event she married her third husband, Charles Seymour, the sixth duke of Somerset, on the 30th of May, 1682—thus uniting the two notable families of Seymour and Percy. The duke was bound by the marriage contract to assume the name and arms of Percy; but of this condition Elizabeth, when she came of age, released her husband.

Seymour is a corruption of St. Maur, the ancient name of the family, derived from St. Maur the place of their abode in Normandy. Edward Seymour, the first of the family raised to the peerage, was created viscount Beauchamp in 1536, earl of Hertford in 1537, baron Seymour of Hache and duke of Somerset in 1547. He was uncle to Edward IV., and protector and governor of the kingdom, but he shared the fate of others, who had in that age risen to great power, and was beheaded in 1552, greatly lamented by the people. From this illustrious man the husband of Elizabeth was descended.

The rank and extensive possessions of the duke gave him some political importance; but his pride, capriciousness, and defective education lessened his influence. He acted, it is said, "more by humour than by reason—he was rather a ministry-spoiler than a ministry-maker." The vain and fantastic display of his self-importance made him ridiculous; and obtained

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for him the sobriquet of the "Proud Duke of Somerset." A characteristic story is told of his absurd treatment of his second wife, when she familiarly tapped her husband on the shoulder with her fan, he started and angrily exclaimed—"Madam, my first wife was a Percy, and she never took such a liberty."

Elizabeth, the duchess, more esteemed than her husband, exercised considerable influence over Queen Anne; and held the offices of groom of the Stole and mistress of the Robes. Onslow said "she was in all respects a credit and ornament to the court"; but Dean Swift, regarding her as the great obstacle to the ascendency of the party with which he was connected, said she was a most insinuating woman, and in a malicious satirical poem, *The Windsor Prophecy*, he pours upon her the vials of his wrath; he insinuated that she was a party to the death of her second husband, and most ungallantly referring to her red hair, says—"Beware of Carrots from Northumberland." Such malicious insults could not be forgiven, and the duchess had her revenge; for when the bishoprick of Hereford was vacant, the chiefs of his party, then in power, sought with all their influence to confer it on Swift; but so bitterly hostile was the duchess, that, after a scene with the queen, she wrung from her majesty a promise that Swift should not have the appointment.

The somewhat unhappy life of the duchess was ended on November the 23rd, 1722, in the fifty-sixth year of her age. Three years after her death, the duke married Lady Charlotte Finch, second daughter of the earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham; he died on the 2nd of December, 1748, at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset, was mother of seven sons and six daughters; but all died young, excepting one son, Algernon, and three daughters.

## ALGERNON, DUKE OF SOMERSET AND EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Algernon, the only surviving son of the duchess, was born on November 11th, 1684, and bore the title of earl of Hertford. When still a minor, he was returned to parliament in 1705 as member for Marlborough; and he served as knight of the shire of Northumberland from 1708 to 1722. The corporation of Alnwick gave him their support at the elections; and among the corporate archives are letters from him, thanking the chamberlains and the rest of the burgesses for

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their unanimous support. In 1708 he served under Marlborough in the campaign in Flanders; and, in the following year, he was engaged at the taking of Tournay and in the famous battle of Malplaquet. For his military services, he was rewarded with a colonelcy and the governorship of Tynemouth and Clifford Fort. On the death of his mother, in 1722, he was summoned to the house of lords as baron Percy; and when his father died, in 1748, he became duke of Somerset. Algernon, when Earl Hertford, married Frances, daughter of the Honourable Henry Thynne; to her Thomson, the poet, dedicated his "Spring." George, Viscount Beauchamp, their only son, was born on September the 11th, 1725. After an accomplished education, this amiable youth, desirous of improving himself by travel, left England in 1742, and spent the two last years of his short life in visiting France, Switzerland, and Italy; and his observations during his journey, which were transmitted to his family, are said to have afforded proofs of uncommon genius and solid judgment. He died of small pox at Bologna, on July the 22nd, 1744, at the early age of nineteen years. A daughter only remained to inherit the honours and estates of the family; but as the dukedom of Somerset and barony of Seymour were limited to the male heirs of the Protector Somerset by his second wife, they reverted, in accordance with limitations of the patent, to the protector's male descendants by his first wife.

The daughter, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, having, in 1740, married Sir Hugh Smithson, the duke of Somerset, soon after his accession to his father's titles, made new arrangements for the transmission of his honours and estates; and therefore he obtained a patent from the king, on the 2nd of October, 1749, by which he was created Baron Warkworth, of Warkworth Castle, and earl of Northumberland, with remainder, failing male issue, to his son-in-law, Sir Hugh Smithson, and to his heirs male by Lady Elizabeth, his wife. On the following day, by another patent, he was created baron of Cockermouth and earl of Egremont in the county of Cumberland; but these titles were not to descend to his daughter or her heirs, but to his nephew, Sir Charles Wyndham, and his male heirs.

Soon after this, the duke died on February the 7th, 1750, and was buried in St. Nicholas' Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

With him ends the short reign of the Seymours over Alnwick. None of them resided there; and the old Vescy and

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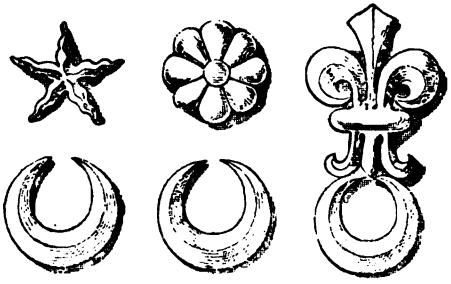
Percy castle round which so many historical associations clustered was suffered to become ruinous. Nevertheless, they appear to have dealt kindly with the town. With its freedom of action they seem not to have interfered; no attempts were made to abridge its liberties or clutch its property; during this period it attained somewhat of importance and was prosperous, shewing how the interests of a community are best promoted by the free and natural developement of its institutions, its commerce, and its manufactures.

FIG. 44



PERCY BADGES IN FONTS IN INGRAM AND ALNHAM CHURCH.

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# CHAPTER XVII.

## HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE NOTICES OF THE TOWN—FROM 1600 TO 1750.

GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN—PUBLIC PROPERTY—TRADE—BRERETON'S VISIT TO ALNWICK—ALNWICK DURING THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE—TRAIN BANDS—RAY IN ALNWICK IN 1661—RAWDON IN 1664—KIRKE IN 1677—THE CASTLE—CORPORATION REJOICINGS—ALNWICK DURING THE REBELLION OF 1715—EARL OF DERWENTWATER—ALNWICK DURING THE REBELLION OF 1745—DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY—A RENTAL OF THE BOROUGH, 1709.

Reserving detailed accounts of the corporation and of the baronial courts for subsequent chapters, I purpose here to gather scattered notices relating to the town, from the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century; a period forming a peculiar era in its history. With the accession of James I., Alnwick ceases to possess general historic interest, for the borders were no longer the battle field of two hostile nations; and during the succeeding century and a half the barons of Alnwick never resided at the castle, and rarely visited it. Being left, in a great measure, to its own resources the town nevertheless prospered, and became a busy, self-important, and somewhat independent community, till towards the close of the period a change in the baronial dynasty led to a revolution in its constitution and character.

The government of the town was chiefly exercised by four chamberlains and a four and twenty or common council, selected out of the burgesses; but both the burgesses and the governing body were of a different character from the present corporation. The burgesses were proportionally more numerous, for they comprised about one-tenth of the population, while they do not now exceed the one-twentieth; the leading merchants and professional and trading men, as well as artisans, belonged to the corporation; and the governing

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body, consisting of from thirty to forty of the principal inhabitants, reflected the opinions and character of the community. A *Præpositus*, provost or mayor, there was in the fifteenth century, but to him there is no subsequent reference; a bailiff, however, till about the middle of the seventeenth stood at the head of corporate officers.

A large extent of property belonged to the burgesses; besides the great moor on which they depastured their cattle, and portions of which they, from time to time, enclosed, they had a great stretch of land extending from near the castle walls down the river for about a mile. The Market Place, the shambles, the cross, the stocks, the pillory, the tolbooth, the clocks, the pants, and open spaces about the town either belonged to them or were under their control; they had the patronage of the church, and the ancient Grammar School was theirs; they worked their own coal mines, and took limestones, sandstones, and slates, to build and cover their houses, out of their own quarries. The four and twenty acted as a public body, to whom were entrusted the rights and privileges of the community. Jolly men they were, fond of display, hospitable, even sending wine to the castle to treat the officers of the lord of the Manor; prodigal too they were in their own drinking, when they transacted public business; yet we could almost forgive their extravagance, on account of the independent spirit with which they frequently acted. This was the golden age of the corporation.

The trade of the town was considerable. There were ten incorporated companies; of these the merchants were the most dignified, though not most numerous body. Tanning was the most important trade; in 1646, there were twenty-two tanneries in Alnwick, while now there is only one. Leather at that time was used for various articles of clothing, and hence the skinners and glovers were the most numerous fellowship. Weaving was a thriving trade; shoes were extensively manufactured; and besides these there were fullers, coopers, butchers, wrights, and smiths. The skilled artisans of Alnwick did the work of an extensive district; the town was the great emporium of commerce for the country around, "being in the middest of the countrie and therefore of greatest repaire and concourse of people;"* and to its markets and great fairs they resorted for their merchandise of every kind.

Sir William Brereton, in his journey through Durham and

* Petition to Lord Burghley.

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Northumberland in 1635, gives a slight notice of the town and castle.

"June 24. From Morpeth to Anwicke is fourteen miles, where we lodged at the Postmaster's house; 6d. ordinary and good victuals and lodging. Here we saw a mighty castle, belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, wherein were all houses of offices, many of them now in decay; but my Lord is reparing the same by degrees. Great revenues paid to him out of this country; at least eight horsload of money. He hath four castles in this country, viz., this castle, Warp-weth Castle, Tinmouth Castle, and Prudhowe Castle.

June 25. We lodged at the Postmaster's at Anwick last night, where we were well used; 6d. ordinary supper, and 4d. breakfast; good lodging and neat."

In the year 1639, Northumberland became the scene of some of the early movements of the great civil war. The attempt of Charles I. and of Archbishop Laud to impose episcopacy on presbyterian Scotland, drove the Scots to take up arms; and Charles advanced with an army into Scotland "to chastise his rebellious subjects." Part at least of his forces at this time passed through Alnwick, on their way to the entrenched camp at Birks or West Ord on the Tweed, about two miles westward of Berwick. The king could not effect his object, and was obliged to conclude a treaty; but he was insincere, and grievances were not redressed. In the following year, therefore, the Scottish army, consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, under the command of General Lesley, boldly advanced into England, and on the 20th of August crossed the Tweed at Coldstream. They spent the first night at Milfield, the next at Wooler Haugh; the following day being Sunday, they marched, after sermon, to Branton, and on the next day encamped on a hill between the old and new towns of Eglingham; on the 27th of August they reached Newburn on the Tyne, where the river was fordable. The king's army was encamped on Stella Haugh, on the south side of the Tyne, and was attacked by the Scots on the 28th and completely routed. Newcastle surrendered to the Scots on the Sunday following; and the officers, we are told, "dined with the mayor, drunk a health to the king, and had three sermons that day from their own divines." Of the four northern counties the Scots were now masters; and their conduct, contrasted with the wild, lawless, plundering habits of a former generation, afforded a pleasing proof of their



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advance in civilisation. They refused to act on the offer of the king to make assessments themselves, as this might have the appearance of plundering; they received, however, by treaty, £850 per day for their maintenance.

In the military movements of the year 1644, Alnwick was more directly interested. The conflict between constitutional government and absolute rule had been removed from parliament to the battle-field. Northumberland appears generally to have been attached to the royal cause; but two influential Northumbrians took the side of the parliament—the Earl Percy of Northumberland and Lord Grey, of Wark, who acted as a commissioner to invite the Scots to aid in the struggle. A Scottish army of 18,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 1,000 dragoons effective, with a train of artillery, under the command of the earl of Leven, advanced in January 1644 towards England. On the 18th several regiments marched from Dunbar and the adjacent villages, through a heath ten miles long to Berwick, amidst a snow storm. Three regiments of foot and thirteen troops of horse, marched on the 19th from Berwick to Adderstone in Northumberland, where the commander had established his head quarters; and here were assembled with him the committee of both kingdoms. The king's party had but two regiments of foot and six troops of horse to meet this formidable army; one regiment was at Wooler under Colonel Francis Anderson, and the remainder were at Alnwick commanded by Sir Thomas Glenham. The committee towards night sent a trumpeter to Sir Thomas Glenham, Colonel Grey, and the rest of the officers and gentlemen at Alnwick, the head quarters of the royal force; and on the 22nd, the gentlemen of Northumberland met there to deliberate, what course to take. Sir Thomas Glenham propounded to them these three questions: 1st—what should be done with those places of the county which were not yet in the possession of the Scots, and which they were not able to protect? 2nd—what answer should be given to the letter of the two committees? 3rd—whether they should fight with the Scots army? On the first question they were divided; the Yorkshire officers thinking it most expedient, that the country should be burnt, wasted, and destroyed; but the Northumberland officers and gentlemen were opposed to this, saying, "that they had hazarded their lives and fortunes, as well as others, and they would take this for a small recompence of their labours to have their country wasted and spoiled." To the second question, the committee also gave

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different answers; some thinking it fittest to send a fair answer to so fair a letter; others that it could not be answered by them, but must be sent to the earl of Newcastle; and a third party was of opinion that it must be sent to his Majesty before any answer could be returned. On the third question, "they were unanimous, declining by all means to fight, yet with resolution to come off with some credit, and with these sixteen troops of horse and two regiments of foot, which they have at Alnwick, some eight drakes and twenty pieces of ordnance (which they had from a Dutch Flee-boat, that run ashore near the place), to defend the Bridge, though they well knew the town may be invaded at any other place."

Other regiments from Berwick and Kelso had joined the Scottish general, and his artillery had arrived by sea on the evening of the 22nd. He sent orders to his lieutenant general, who was about nine or ten miles from Alnwick, to meet him there on Tuesday forenoon, (the 25th), intending, as he says, "by God's assistance" to find quarters in Newcastle on the 27th. The royalists made but a poor show of fighting; they abandoned Alnwick on the approach of the Scots, designing to make a stand at Felton; but the Scottish horse advancing before they could cut down the bridge over the Coquet, they were obliged to flee to Morpeth, whence they soon proceeded to Newcastle. The snow suddenly began to melt on the 25th, and so flooded the roads, that the Scottish foot soldiers in their march were sometimes up to their middles; and so exhausted were they on arriving at Morpeth, that they were compelled to rest for five days. A party detached from the main army at Alnwick under the marquis of Argyle, attacked the fort on Coquet Island, but after the discharge of the first shot the governor with seventy officers and soldiers surrendered; seven pieces of ordnance and a quantity of ammunition were also taken. On the 3rd of February the Scottish host appeared before Newcastle; but this town made a gallant and for some time successful defence.

In aid of the royal cause the marquis of Montrose entered Scotland on April 13th, 1644, with the Cumberland and Westmoreland Militia, and three troops of horse. After taking Dumfries he became afraid of being cut off by the Covenanters, and retraced his steps; but determined not to be altogether inactive, he resolved to join the royal forces in Durham and Northumberland—a resolution "neither dishonourable to himself nor unprofitable to them." He drove a garrison of the Covenanters out of Morpeth and took the

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Castle, and gave the pillage to his English soldiers; he dismissed the garrison on condition of their never again drawing a sword against the king. He next took the fort at the mouth of the Tyne; and afterwards plentifully supplied Newcastle with corn from Alnwick and other places thereabouts. After these successes he was summoned to the help of Prince Rupert; but, notwithstanding the despatch he made, he did not come up with the prince, till the day after the battle of Marston Moor.* Fairfax's forces now joined the Scots in the siege of Newcastle, which being unable to hold out against so formidable an array surrendered on the 20th of October; and the county of Northumberland came again under the power of Parliament.

The trumpeter sent by the Scottish general to Alnwick was hospitably treated by the corporation; the accounts for 1645 state, "paid for a bottle of sack of Major General Lesley Trumpeter 2s. 8d." Scottish soldiers had now possession of the town and some of them were billeted in the neighbouring village. One party was located at Denwick, and they had seriously misconducted themselves; for there is entered in the accounts "Item bestowed of the officers that went against the Denwick soldiers, they had burnt all Walkergate 4s." besides this we find "one pottle of mulled sack bestowed on Colonel Wildon." To maintain the Scots army in 1641, assessments were made in the northern counties; £300 were raised from Northumberland, £300 from Durham and £200 from Newcastle. At a later date, 1645 or thereabouts, similar assessments were made, for we find monies were borrowed, amounting to £9 7s. 0d, by the corporation from several persons, to pay "Major Hume's assessments." In the following year there were paid 5s for a baggage horse for Captain Bee's company, and 6s. 8d. to John Scott for quartering soldiers. Something was done to the defences of the town; for in 1641, there was paid for making the town's gate 12s. 4d; and the gate of the castle was also repaired by the corporation.

While the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, there was, to a certain extent, a reaction in his favour in the country; several insurrections broke out against parliamentary government, and an army of Scotsmen under Lord Hamilton agreed to act with the royalists of England; but these formidable combinations were defeated through the vigour and skill of Cromwell. Major Sanderson in a letter

* Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, p. 30.

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dated July 3rd 1648, gives an account of what was done in the district around Alnwick.

"We hasted away on the night of Friday, 30th June, and marched 16 miles from Hexham to Harterton; and thence to Tosson, I had the command of the forlorn hope (of two troops), the first towne we fell into was Tosson, where wee tooke a lieutenant and six of his dragoons, all in bed, the next towne was Lurbottle, where we took 60 horse and 60 men, all in bed. The next quarter was Carlile where Col Grey, Lieut Salkeld, and many others were taken, with 80 horse. The next quarter was Whittingham, where Lieut Col Millet, and many other considerable men with 200 horse; the next was at one time an engagement upon Eslington, where were 100 horse at Glanton, in Glanton were 180 horse, most of them taken, with the officers and souldiers in that quarter. At Eslington, Sir Rich Tempest, Major Troulop, and many others. Wee advanced towards Branton, but finding that we were cloyed with prisoners and horse, and booty, we retyred towards Whittingham, where Col Lilburne was labouring to rally into a firme body, for there appeared about Shawton, four bodies of the enemies horse, who had taken alarme, and got together, but all the rest we tooke before they could mount.

"The victory was beyond all expectation, God working it for us. We had but one horse shot dead, and one man shot through the thigh, and of the enemy there was five slaine, and Cap Smith run through the body, and some others wounded."*

The contentions of the period pressed heavily on the town as is shewn by the following document in the corporate archives; the date is about 1650, for I find all the names attached, save two, were members of the four and twenty in the year 1649:—

"To the right worshipful the deputy lieutennants of Northumberland, The humble Peticion of the Burgesses and Inhabitants of Alnewicke, Sheweth,

That your peticioners having layed up on them a charge (from the worshipful Comittee) for the advancing of three horse and six men out of this poore towne for the present servyce, the which we are willing to our abilityes, But we have and are now at this instant sore oppresst with a heavy burthen lying upon us of horse and foote and our groundes destroyed without any hope of recovery for this yeare and small expectacion for paying of quarters, And this charge for advance of horse and men your peticioners conceive can amount to no less than £26, which is a great some to such a poor distressed place and people.

* Richardson's Reprints.

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Your peticioners humbly pray you will be pleased to take the premises into your grave consideracions for the ease of your peticioners as in your wisdomes you shall think befitting and your peticioners shall pray &c.

Thomas Salkeld, John Gallon, Launcelott Scott, Thomas Younger, Chamberlynes; Robert Watson, bailiffe; William Hunter, Hugh Arrowsmith, Nicholas Forster, Arthur Arrowsmith, Richard Wydows, Henry Preaston, Thomas Hunter."

"In consideration of the great burden the said Towne lyes under for the present we are content they be freed of one hors of the three they are charged withall, and the other two horses are to be raised up of the ablest of the Towne, the poorer sort to be spared and the care of this is referred to Maior Sanderson.

Francis Heselrigge, Ralph Delaval, Henry Ogle."

The outburst of joy which hailed the restoration of Charles II. seems to have been but a temporary feeling. Heavy taxes were imposed distasteful to the people, who were the more deeply grieved because no little of the money wrung from them was practically wasted. A curious deposition in the castle of York shews the existence of such discontent in Alnwick.

"Oct. 21, 1664. At Rock before John Salkeld and Jo. Clarke, Esq., Thomas Busby, of Alnwicke, saith that on the 12th of August, being walking in company of Henry Elder, of Alnwicke, and saying, what can become of all the money, that was collected in the country? the said Henry replied, 'What should become of it? There was non to destroy it but a company of ranting fellows; and for his Majesty hee had taken up the bones of an honester man than himselfe, and in his thoughts there would be noe quietness till hee went the way his father went.'"

*Train bands* were in the time of Charles II. raised for the defence of the kingdom; and every township had to contribute proportionally to their maintenance. The borough of Alnwick including Hobberlaw was required to set forth six footmen; and on the chamberlains and the four and twenty of the town devolved the duty of making and collecting rates for this purpose from the houses, lands and farms.*

Frequent references there are in the corporate accounts to these train bands; in 1679 there were 20s. paid for procuring men for train bands and finding arms; when the train band men went to Morpeth in 1683, they received 4s. 6d.; for two muskets 19s. 6d. were paid; and in the same year the chamberlains

* The earliest rate book preserved is dated 17th March, 1671, and as it is curious and important, if space allow, it will be given in the Appendix.

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acknowledged the receipt of "the towns arms, viz., four muskets, three coats, and four pair of bandyliers." An assessment made in 1690, which was three times the amount of that in 1671 shows the relative importance of the different wards; "Bongatt ward provided £2 6s. 11½d., Markett ward £2 2s. 10½d., Narrowgatt ward £1 1s. 4d., Bailefgate ward 11s. 10d., Walkegatt 5s. 9d. and Clayport 9s. 4d., in all £6 19s. 1d." The four and twenty on March 25th 1696, "ordered a cess of 1s. 6d. in the £ for troffy moneys and repairing and buying swords and musketts and repaying the money that was paid for setting out four men." The town's magazine of arms was far from being extensive; "On March 2nd 1702 there were delivered to Mr. Baron Falder A Sword Coat and Gun without a Ramrod belonging to the Town, to Mr. Mark Forster one Sword, two Coats and one Gun and a Lock; to Mr Tho. Woodhouse 1 Coat, Gun and Sword and Cartridge box, To Luke Hymers one Gun and one Sword." Such was the sorry provision for the defence of the kingdom.

The great naturalist, John Ray, when on one of his "Simpling Voyages" passed through the town in 1661, and thus chronicles his visit—

"August the 15th we travelled from Newcastle through Morpeth to Alnwick twenty-six miles, which town is under a bailiff; every trade chooses an alderman; the chief trade is tanning. Here we saw a goodly and strong castle, well walled, and not yet much run to decay, belonging to the earl of Northumberland. This country is thinly inhabited, very bleak, and barren."*

We have notice of both Alnwick and Morpeth in 1664 from Marmaduke Rawdon, of York, who had been a merchant in London, and after a successful business career took delight in travelling; the accounts of his journies give good sketches of domestic life and manners.

"1664. From Newcastle they went that night (27th August) to a towne of 16 mile off, called Morpeth, a large towne where they rested that night, and the next day Sunday. Itt haith a church, a prison, the ruines of a castle belonginge to my Lord of Carlile, which the Scotch ruind in thesse warrs, and a free scoole with a chimney in itt, where the boyes have a fire all the winter longe, each boy bringinge a horse loode of coales, which thir costs 3 pence. Close by itt runns the river Wents-becke.

Monday the 29th August, they went to an ancient towne called Anwick, where they dined; itt haith tow faire gates of free stone,

* Memorials of Ray, p. 150.

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which shews itt haith bene some thinge in former times, but now the howses are all thactht and soe contemtible little, that, like the citie of Mindus, the towne may easely run thorrow the gates; here is a faire stronge castle, which makes a greate shew to the country, but ill contrived within for lodgins. It belonges to my Lord of Northumberland whose Auditor comes thir twice a yeare, sitts to order busnisses, and to receive his rents."*

Thomas Kirke, of Corbridge, in his journeyings in the north of England, thus records his visit in 1677—

"Monday, 21 May. At night we got to Alnwick where is a very great castle and some part of it in repair. A little from the town up the river is an Abbey, where Sir Fopling lives; we waited in the Abbey an hour before he made his appearance; we drank a glass or two of wine with him and left him as we found him."

Sir Fopling was Robert Brandling, a descendant of Sir Francis Brandling and proprietor of Alnwick Abbey. He along with John Salkeld possessed the tithes of Felton in 1666.

The notice of the town by Ralph Thoresby in 1681 is more important, as it shews that the walls of the town were then in existence. He was a woollen draper, an antiquary, and the historian of Leeds; he had property at Rock, which caused him occasionally to visit the district.

"Over the moors" says he, "from Morpeth to Alnwick, an ancient town fortified with a curious castle and an old wall. By Rock where I found the old tenants repenting their unkind feelings, and continual murmurings for abatements, which hastened the sale of the estate, and now they would gladly have the same lands at the ordinary advancement."

Many offices in the castle were in decay in 1635, but the earl was then repairing them by degrees. These restorations, however, had only been partial, being probably interrupted by the great civil war; and although the residence of the baronial officials, it became still more ruinous. So little valued indeed was this great stronghold, that we find from the corporation records, some part of it was used as a common

* We have a curious account of the state of Belford in 1639, which says—"Belfort nothing like the name either in strength or beauty is the most miserable beggarly sodden town or town of sods that ever was made in an afternoon of loam and sticks. In all the town not a loaf of bread, nor a quart of beer, nor a lock of hay, nor a peck of oats, and little shelter for horse or man."—*Court and Times of Charles I., II., p.* 285.

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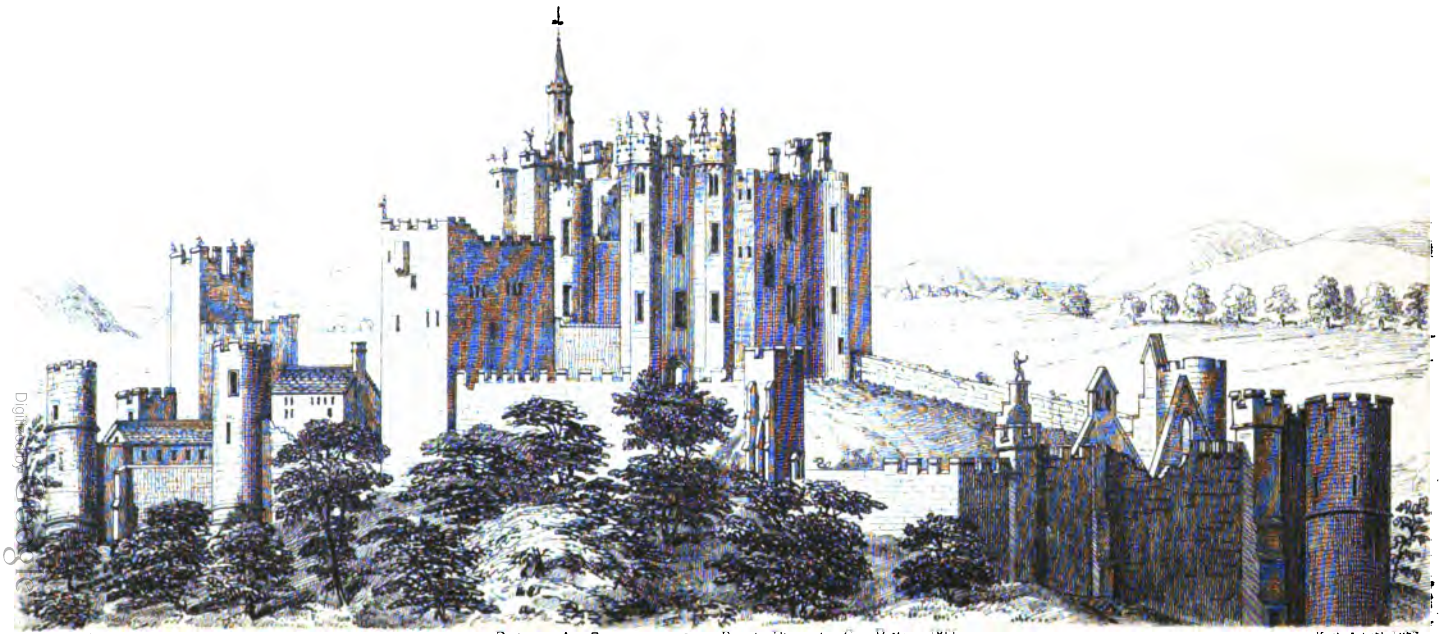

Reduced by Photography from Bucks Plate by Geo Potter, 1866.

SOUTH EAST VIEW OF ALNWICK CASTLE, IN 1728.

school in 1691, when "Mr. Mathew Wood lately discharged from our free Schole and out of contempt have sett up Schole in Alnwick Castle." Of the appearance and state of the castle at this period we can form an opinion from a drawing by Buck in 1728, of which a reduced copy is given in *Plate VIII.*

Jolly men, as we have said, were the authorities of the town in these days; and diligent in seizing on public events as occasions for indulgence in drinking, feasting, and uproarious enjoyment. When a protector was proclaimed or a king crowned, when royal birth days came round, when battles were won, when thanksgiving days and gunpowder plot days recurred, they must enjoy themselves; there must be ale and wine and strong waters to drink—gunpowder to blaze away —cannons to roar—tar barrels to be burnt—music played and tobacco smoked. Like the vicar of Bray they had one unvarying creed; whoever was king and whatever occurred they must be jolly. Though modest in amount at first, these indulgences reached a pitch of extragavance towards the middle of the eighteenth century.

When the protector was proclaimed on September the 12th 1658, there was disbursed for wine 10s. What rejoicings there were when Charles II. "came to his own" are not recorded; but in 1665, 8s. 1½d. were "paid at Edward Smith's for wine and ber beinge upon the kings coronation day;" and the same event was celebrated on the following day by drinking "wine and strong waters" and by pipes and tobacco. In 1665 one shilling was paid for "drink at Betinge the hollanders;" and when peace was proclaimed in 1674 the rejoicings cost only 6s. 8d. James II. seems to have been a favourite; at "the proclaiming our Soverign Lord James the Second" on February 14th, 1684, there were 48 bottles of wine drunk costing £2 12s. 0d.; and "more the next day to the Sheriff 6 Bottles 7s., and more four Bottels of Wine to Mr. Beach 4s. 8d." Wine then cost only 14d. per bottle. "At the Crownacon day" of the king in 1688 the rejoicings were demonstrative—ale and brandy were drunk—ale was given away at the cross to the soldiers, constables, and populace—music was playing—guns were fired and "a boonfire" was blazing in the Market-place.

King William III. seems to have been no great favourite, judging from the meagre rejoicings with which his advent was hailed. For ale at the cross in 1689 "at the king and queen's coronation day" only 3s. 4d. were paid. The



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gunners, however, had ale to the value of 4s. 4d.; and there were two runlets of ale at the cross for the soldiers, costing 5s. 5d.: besides this "a boonfire" lighted up the scene. Englishmen, however, exult when their countrymen gain a victory; and the corporate pulse beat vigorously, when news came of William's military triumphs. Captain Forster, in 1690, was treated with ale at Mr. George Salkeld's "upon the news of the defeat of the Irish" at the cost of 6s.; and the bells rung for joy at the victory. A little afterwards, we have entered—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1690.—Spent when the King came home 1½d., Tar Barrells 1s. 3d., Pips and Towbco 7d. | 1 | 10 |
| Robert Humbleton for Ale | 1 | 6 |
| Ale at the bone fire when King William came home | 1 | 8 |
| Att the same time 2 Tar Barrells | 1 | 8 |
| Tobacco Pipes | 0 | 5 |

When news arrived of peace on October 22nd, 1697, 3 tar barrels were used; and on its being proclaimed, five more "to make a bonfire," with "2 bottles of brandy and musick then." Such records were frequent: a few more, after the accession to the throne of the house of Hanover, may be added.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1713.—Oct. 22.—Paid for Ale att the King's landing to James Ratt 3s. 4d., to my Mother Grey 3s. 4d., at Mrs. Robson's in the Reckoning 3s. 6d., Ringing the Bells 1s., Musick 2s. 6d. | 13 | 8 |
| 1714.—Oct. 20.—Att Corronation 3 barles 3s., Musick 2s. 6d., Ale at bone fire 5s. 4d., Ale from William Stanton 6s. 8d., 3 barles 3s. | 20 | 6 |
| 1713.—May 5.—Ale at proclaiming the peace 5s., ale at the Cross 5s. | 10 | 0 |
| 1714.—July.—Ale when the King was proclaimed. | 6 | 8 |

Regularly as Thanksgiving day and Gunpowder Plot day came round there were rejoicings. In 1697 on Thanksgiving day, there were paid for 3 tar barrels for the bonfire 3s. 6d., for 2 quarts of brandy 4s. 8d., tobacco and pipes 6d., ringing bells., 1s., for musick 2s. 6d. and for ale drunk at the cross 12s. 8d. Similar rejoicings were on Gunpowder Plot day. These celebrations ceased about the year 1718. Still, frequent as all these merry makings were, they do not give a complete picture of the jollity of the times; others will be referred to when we treat of the corporation.

Let us now see what part the town played during the two rebellions in favour of the exiled Stuarts. Very scanty are the local references to the events of 1715; and this is to be regretted, as the early operations were in this neighbourhood. Thomas Forster, of Adderstone, one of the members of

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parliament for the county, but a man of little capacity or courage, was the first mover in this attempt to drive the house of Hanover from the throne. On the 6th of October, Forster with others favourable to the Stuart cause met at Greenrig in Northumberland; and being afterwards joined by the earl of Derwentwater with his friends and servants, the party marched to Rothbury, where they remained all night, and on the next day with increased numbers they marched to Warkworth, where they remained till Monday the 10th. Forster here assumed the title of general, which had been bestowed on him by the earl of Mar; and on Sunday he ordered Mr. Ion, the vicar, to pray for Charles Stuart, as king, and for Mary, the queen mother; but the vicar refusing, Mr. Buxton, the chaplain of the rebels, took possession of the church, read the service, prayed for Charles Stuart as king, and preached with considerable eloquence and learning in favour of the Stuart cause. On Monday General Forster in disguise proclaimed from the cross of that ancient borough, by sound of trumpet and other formalities, Charles Stuart as king of Britain. The rebels then marched to Morpeth, where joined by other malcontents, the party increased to the number of 300 horsemen.

The men of Alnwick were loyal; and the accounts shew that they were watchful, and prepared to take part in the struggle, on the side of the house of Hanover. We have the following entries:—

"1715, Oct., paid when the watch was set 1s.; to Carnes about the rebels 4s. 4d.; to Standley for his horse to Berwick with prisoners 3s.; to Carnes to gett Intelidgence of rebels 4s.; to William Anderson when he went about Intelligence 1s.; paid Caren and Hindmarsh for enquiring about the Rebells 3s 6d; ale to them 8d.; to Gair and Johnston for watching the town 16d. and ale 4d.; for carrying the Deserters to Barwicke 2s. 4d.; Coals, Candle, and Straw to the Guard 4s. 6d.; Mr Stephenson for getting our Townes Arms examined 5s.; spent at Rickaby's with Mr. Forster and Mr. Grieve when wee mett aboutt train Band Men 2s.; paid Carnes and others that were Imployed in watching the Rebels 4s."

The incompetency of General Forster hastened the end of this rebellion, which was bad in plan and worse in execution. After the insurgents surrendered at Preston, a severe retribution followed; the earl of Derwentwater and others paid the penalty with their lives, but the pusillanimous Forster escaped to the continent.

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The untimely fate of the earl of Derwentwater excited deep sympathy; for he was young, amiable, and generous, and had been inconsiderately involved in a foolish enterprise. He was connected with Alnwick by holding property there. From letters and papers during the reign of Henry VIII. we find that on May 10th, 1510, a grant was made to "Edward Radcliff, knight of the body and Roger Fenwick, squire of the same, lieutenants of the Middle Marches towards Scotland in consideration of their expenses in the king's affairs in the Marches, lands in the barony of Alnwick of the annual value of £3 18s. 4d.," besides other lands in the county; in a subsequent grant on April 21st, 1514, they were described "Fee farm or socage of the lordship of Alnwick to the annual value of £3 18s. 4d." The house in Bailiffgate at the head of the Peth, described as the slate house and called the Derwentwater house, including Radcliff's closes, St. Leonard's Hospital and Ginfin belonged to the earl of Derwentwater. He was also owner of estates at Spindlestone, for which he owed suit and service to the baron of Alnwick. His extensive possessions were forfeited, and given by the crown to Greenwich Hospital.

Of the next rebellion in 1745 there are more extended local records. The reverses suffered by the British arms at Fontenoy and in Flanders, and the supposed defenceless state of Britain encouraged Charles Stuart, the son of the pretender, to hope that with the aid of France he could recover the English throne for his family. He landed in Scotland on July 25th, 1745; and the standard of rebellion was first unfurled, on August 19th at Glenfinnin. He made a triumphal entry into Edinburgh on September 17th; and his success on the 21st, at the battle of Preston Pans, spread alarm in the north of England. I have heard my grandmother, who was then about twelve years of age, describe the excited state of the town at this crisis; there were wild bustle and confusion—ordinary business was neglected, and many were terrified with the fear that the Highlanders would, some night, with one fell swoop destroy the town and murder the people—the town was converted into a military barrack—trumpets were sounding in the streets, drums beating and fifes playing—hurried meetings were held, and soldiers were mustering, or passing through the town. The jolly burgesses, however, fired with love of their country and religion, were preparing with no little anxiety, to aid in repulsing the enemy. The accounts of the corporation give some notion of what was

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done for this purpose; a few extracts will be given. Trifling perhaps such details may appear to some; nevertheless they show how the men of Alnwick felt and acted at this great crisis, and what means they employed to give help in behalf of their king, their laws and religion, which they considered to be in great danger. Anxious they were to learn the course of events, as much so as the most curious of the present century; but having neither telegraphs nor railroads, nor swift posts, they employed scouts and special messengers to watch the movements of the enemy, and to give them early intelligence of the march of events.

The corporation engaged volunteers to aid in the struggle, whom they paid at the rate of 8s. weekly, and for whom they found military accoutrements.

1745, Sep. 2.—Spent at Mr. Wm. Brown's with Nichol Brown when he came from Berwick with news about the rebels 1s 6d.; paid Wm. Graham when he went to Berwick 5s.; paid John Hook from Kilham who brought an account where the rebels were 22d. Sep. 17.—Spent at the Post house at a meeting of the substantiall people in Town to consult what should be done on the news of the rebels getting into Edinburgh 5s. Sep. 24.—Paid Wm. Neal, a messenger sent to Kelso, Dunse, &c., to bring Intelligence of the Rebells 7s. Sep. 26.—Paid Willy Neal for going to Tweedmouth and staying there till he knew which way the Rebells moved for expenses 10s. 6d. (General Cope was defeated at Preston Pans on the 21st and fled to Berwick.) Sep. 29.—Spent at Mrs. Wilson's at a meeting of the substantiall people in the Town to consult about billeting 750 Dutch soldiers and 700 Horsemen expected in the Town this day 8s. Sept. 29.—Spent at Mr. Wheeler's about billeting the Dutch who were countermanded 3s.; paid Willy Neal 10s. 6d.; paid for a gallon of Ale to the Constables 9d.; postage of three letters 9d.; paid for watching a guard room all night 8d. Oct. 6.—Wm. Neal to bear his charges when sent to Bolton, &c., with a letter to seize upon one Hay, a Scotchman, who was supposed to be makeing to join the Rebels 2s. 6d. Oct. 7.—Paid Willy Neal when sent to Berwick to get intelligence of the motion of the Rebells 42s. Oct. 9.—Paid Wm. Graham to go to Shields 5s.; paid to the Town's Volunteers 1s., advance for a week's pay 7s., more for powder 6d., for a cockade 6d.; in all 9s.; given to a Dutch woman 3 penny loaves and a gallon of ale 1s. Oct. 19.—Paid Rob. Shanks and Wm. Reed for carrying eleven Dutch women to Morpeth 12s.; gave the said Dutch women 1s. (These had been wives of the Dutch soldiers.) Oct. 24.—For 3 cartridge boxes, &c., 20s. Oct. 26.—Paid Wm. Graham for carrying two soldiers wives (one of them big with child) to Shilbottle 1s. Oct.

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30.—Paid 4 carters for carrying 12 men that came from the Board of Ordnance and the Baggage to Belford 20s. (Willy Neal wrote letters to the corporation giving information regarding the rebels on the 19th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 28th Oct., the postage of each being 3d.) Nov. 1.—Paid Winter the Carrier to give to Mr. Jeffrey which he lent Willy Neal £2 12 6d.; paid Mr. Allen which he lent Willy Neal 10s. 6d. Nov. 5.—Paid Ra. Wallace with a letter to Sir Wm. Middleton 5s., (he was member for the county); the Guard 1s.; paid Henry Bell for Collingwood's expenses and horses all night who guided Andrew Walker 1s. 8d., and Collingwood for horse and self 2s., and for the prisoners' dinner in Guard 1s. Nov. 5.—Paid Wm. Neal to bear expenses in going to Wooler and to get intelligence of the Rebells' motion 5s. (The rebel army which did not much exceed 6000 men began its march towards England on November 1, in two divisions, one moved through Moffat towards Carlisle; and the other headed by the pretender marched to Kelso, where it arrived on the 5th. From Kelso, Charles sent orders to Wooler to prepare quarters for his troops; but this was to deceive; for he struck westward and approached England through Liddesdale). Nov. 6.—Paid to Wm. Neal when sent to Berwick, Kelso, and Jedburgh, to get intelligence of the motion of the Rebells £2 2s.; to Sergeant Black to get victuals for 2 prisoners 1s. Nov. 12.—Three weeks pay for Volunteers at 8s. per week 24s. Nov. 17.—Paid Willy Neal and Ra. Wallace when they went to Hexham and Carlisle to watch the motions of the rebells and send intelligence when our army was drawing towards them 84s. Nov. 24.—John Vardy for two carts and 4 horses carrying the baggage of the Yorkshire Hunters from this town to Morpeth 25s.; for 3 Dutch Soldiers to Shilbottle 2s. 3d. Nov. 30th.—The two sick soldiers in Brigadier Fleming's Regiment 2s. Dec. 7.—Andrew Brown for the Dutch man that was sick at his house 4s.; Thos. Athey for 4½ thrave of straw for to lay the Dutch men upon in the Town house 3s. Dec. 9.—Paid Mr. Jos. Harle for 6 pounds of candle to illuminate the Townhall on the King's Birthday 3s. Dec. 24th.—Volunteer for 7 weeks pay at 8s.—56s.

1746, January 9.—For carrying two soldiers from this town to Shilbottle; gave John Eaton and two other soldiers in Chulmondseys's regiment to carry them to the said regiment having no money 2s. 6d. Feb. 9.—Given to Lord Drummond's men 1s., and to other two men and six soldiers 4s.; gave six Frenchmen who had deserted from Lord John Drummond and had a pass from General Hawley to Newcastle and had run short of money 1s.; gave three Frenchmen who had a pass from General Hawley 6d. Feb. 14th.—To three deserters of Lord John Drummond 1s.

1746, June 25.—George Egdell for his journey to Kelso to inquire after the Rebels 5s. 3d. 1747, Feb. 27.—Paid Wm.

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Neal for his trouble in bringing and sending intelligence from time to time during the Rebellion, of the motions of the Rebels £4 4s. 0d.; May 4.—Paid him more 21s.

The duke of Cumberland the commander of the royal army, on his way to Scotland passed through Alnwick, and dined there in January, 1746. The battle of Culloden fought on the 16th of April brought the rebellion to an end, and raised his royal highness to the dignity of a hero; and the people of Alnwick were loud in their demonstrations of loyalty. Thus continues our record:—

May 8th.—Robert Pots' expenses when he went to inquire if the Duke of Cumberland was to be there as tomorrow afternoon to go post from Belford 10s. May 18th.—William Bell for ringing the bells when the Duke came 1s.

There comes after this, the sad duty of attending to the sick and wounded.

June 14.—Thomas Rickaby for a coffin for Henry Busby, a soldier in the Duke of Bedford's regiment, 6s.; for keeping Henry Busby, a sick soldier, ten days 1s. 6d.; for taking care of John Ulstone, a soldier lying ill of the small pox, twelve days 1s. 6d. Aug. 13.—Paid Ann Shetford for attending a sick Dutch soldier at George Walker's 1s.; given to Mr. Carr's maid to Interpret what he said 1s. Oct. 2nd.—Paid Dr. Richardson for Drugs to a Dutch sick soldier 3s. 1747, April 28.—Paid lamed and disbanded soldiers and soldiers' wives with passes during the time of the rebellion £15 15s. 0d. May 5th.—Medicines for the sick and lamed soldiers left in town during the rebellion £8 12s. 6d.

Besides what was done by the four and twenty in supporting volunteers, some of the companies or incorporated trades displayed their loyalty. The company of Merchants maintained six volunteers, and found arms for them; their pay was 1s. per day. The following is one account for their accoutrements:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1745.—Oct. 18.—6 Cartridge Boxes, 3s. . . . . | 18 | 0 |
| Six Sword and Baggenett Belts, 1s. 6d. . | 9 | 0 |
| Six Ball Bags, 6d. . . . . | 3 | 6 |
| „ 29.—A Broad Strap 28 inches long . . . | 0 | 6 |
| | £1 | 11 | 0 |

Each member contributed monthly 8s. Be it recorded to the honour of the Cordwainers' or Shoemakers' Company that they unanimously passed the following resolution, which is signed by forty-four brethren:—

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1745.—Oct. 17.—A General Meeting of the trade or company this 17th October, 1745, It is unanimously ordered and agreed that £12 1s. 6d. shall be immediately applied and paid to the Chamberlains of the said Borough for and towards the support and maintenance of four footmen who are to join with the other footmen now assembled at the said Borough for the support of the present Establishment. And it is further ordered and agreed that in case the said sum shall not be sufficient for the purpose aforesaid that then we will each of us according to our several abilities contribute out of our private purses for and towards the support and maintenance of the said four men until the present troubles are quelled.

Equally loyal were the carpenters and joiners, who resolved—

1745.—16 October.—At a meeting this day of the Trade, It is unanimously agreed that Edward Wilson our Alderman Do immediately pay to the Chamberlains of Alnwick Three pounds four shillings for one months pay for two men which the trade do hereby agree to raise for the defence of their religion and country now in imminent danger from the dangerous rebellion now actually begun in Scotland. And we do further agree that the said Alderman do pay one months further pay for the use aforesaid in case there should be occasion. And we do further agree and order that the said Alderman and Stewards do immediately provide two able bodied men for the purpose aforesaid and provide for them sufficient arms.

The important company of Tanners were not so unanimous; nevertheless at a meeting held on October 18th, "the great majority of them present" agreed to a resolution the same as that adopted by the joiners. In their accounts it appears that the volunteers received in addition to the pay of 1s. per day, 6d. as "listing money, 6d. to drink, and a cockade costing 6d."

A corporation, accustomed to convert even little incidents into occasions for merry-making, could not allow this great triumph of the house of Hanover and of constitutional government, to pass without a strong expression of joy; and accordingly we find:—

1747, Feb. 27th.—Paid at the post house £43 7s. 8½d., being spent at the town's rejoicing on the King's birthday, the Duke's, and on the Victory of Culloden, and at his return from Scotland.

The distribution of property at different periods and the names of its owners must form no unimportant part of local history to those who live in the district, though perhaps of little general interest. We have already done this for one period, 1569; and not to encumber our history with too many of such details, I shall give the particulars of only one other period. Some imperfect lists of freeholders are printed in Hodgson's history of Northumberland for the years 1628

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and 1629; but a little more information is contained in a schedule for the county rate in 1663. The houses and freelands of the town were estimated at an yearly rental of only £239; bnt the value of the whole parish does not seem to have exceeded £2000 yearly. Besides the earl of Northumberland the chief proprietors were Charles Brandling, who held Alnwick Abbey demesne and Heckley, valued at £250 and Denwick tythe valued at £20; Col. Brandling, Alnwick mill and the corn and petty tithes; George Lysle, Alnwick town head, valued at £20; Clement Forster, Aledike, valued at £24; Holn Abbey and Park belonged partly to John Salkeld; Thomas Metcalf had Stoney Hills, valued at £12; and Edward Vardy held St. Margarets, valued at £20 and the tythes of Rugley and Snipe House, valued at £12 yearly.

In the records of the baronial courts there is full information of the owners of property in the barony from 1664 down to the eighteenth century. Of the copyholders there is no record, excepting of those of Denwick, who had been transmuted into leaseholders; yet lands were still distributed among a considerable numbers of owners; in Alnwick parish there were about 340 holders of real property. I must, however, defer giving particulars here, that I may have space for a more important and instructive document relating to a later period.

Among the muniments of the corporation is "A Rentall of the Burrough of Alnewicke, Lady day, 1709," containing not only the names of the burgage holders, but also of other freeholders and tenants at will, with the amount of quit rent for the burgages and of rack rentals for the farms. It was produced in Chancery on September the 20th, 1759, when the great law suit was pending between the earl of Northumberland and the corporation. Probably the collection of these feudal charges may have been made by corporate officers about this period; for, from the alteration of names and insertion of dates, it had been in use for at least six years. It is of considerable interest, as giving the old names of places within the parish. A similar document called a "Court Survey, Oct., 1702," is among the rolls of the baronial courts, and from this I have extracted explanatory matter which is printed within parenthesis. We have here still a relic of the old feudal claim for bond service; Rock, Rennington, and South Charlton paid eightpence each for "Bondage Worke." The days of rapid and extensive change in the population had not yet come; for we find still a large sprinkling of old Alnwick



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names; there are Alnwick, Claxton, Strother, Stanton, Millikin, Falder, Gair, Alder, Gallon, Grieve, Metcalfe, Adston, Vardy, Arrowsmith, and Woodhouse.

## A RENTALL OF THE BURROUGH OF ALNWICKE, LADY DAY, 1709.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NARROWGATE, *North Side.* | | | |
| William Boswell, a peppercorne. | | | |
| Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, a Read Rose. | | | |
| Robert Claxton, two Burgages, (one of them 1s. or a snowball at the fair of Alnwick) | 1 | 8 | |
| Nicholas Hunter | | 8 | |
| Timothy Barton, (two burgages) | 1 | 1 | |
| George Milleken, (Matt. Alnwick formerly) | | 7 | |
| Richard Harrison | | 7 | |
| Thomas Woodhouse, two Burgages, (7d. and 5d.) | 1 | | |
| William Kennedy | | 6 | |
| Henry Swinhoe | | 8 | |
| William Stanton, (Tho. Metcalfe) two burgages, 8d., 1s. | 1 | 8 | |
| Ralph Anderson | | 8 | |
| Thomas Harrison | 4 | 7 | |
| Christopher Featherstonhaugh | 1 | 4 | |
| *South Side.* | | | |
| Richard Strother, late Ben. Barton, (10d., 16d., 5d.) | 2 | 7 | |
| George Turner | | 7 | |
| John Archbold, (late Widow Brandling Wast) | | 8 | |
| Margery Alnwicke, Widow | | 8 | |
| Lancelot Strother | | 8 | |
| NARROWGATE WEST RAWE. | | | |
| Heres Edw. Robson | 1 | 3 | |
| William Orde | | 7 | |
| James Chapman | | 11 | |
| Heres William Boswell | | 8 | |
| | 36 | 5 | |
| BONDGATE, *North Side.* | | | |
| John Fenkell | | 10 | |
| Roger Buston | | 10 | |
| Widow Alnwicke, two burgages, 9d., 10d. | 1 | 7 | |
| John Smyth | | 10 | |
| George Thew | | 10 | |
| William Stanton, sen. | | 10 | |
| Mr. Mark Forster, (and Kiln) (A common lane.) | | 8 | |
| Barnabas Falder | 1 | 4½ | |
| Widow Moffatt | | 7½ | |
| William Gair | | 11 | |
| Thomas Jemyson | | 8 | |
| John Chrisp, three Burgages, (heirs of Wm. Adston) | 3 | 8½ | |
| Lancelot Strother, two Burgages, (8d., 5d.) | 1 | 1 | |
| Edward Grey, two Burgages (8½d., 2s. 10d.) | 3 | 6½ | |
| Richard Strother, two Burgages, (8½d., 10d.) | 1 | 6½ | |
| John Strother | | 10 | |
| Mary Wilson | 1 | | |
| John Wilson | | 7 | |
| Henry Whittingham, (late Edmund Craster) | 2 | 2 | |
| The heires of Widow Sanderson | 2 | 2 | |
| Henry Wilson | 1 | 4 | |
| Idem for a Shaid, (a house on a Waist) | | 2 | |
| BONDGATE EXTRA. | | | |
| Henry Harrison | | 6 | |
| Henry Harrison, three burgages | 2 | 6 | |
| (A Common Lane.) | | | |
| William Winney | | 10 | |
| Thomas Christon | | 2 | |
| Edward Strother | | | |
| Widow Thompson, three burgages, 6d., 1s., 8d. | 2 | 2 | |
| | 34 | 3½ | |
| BONDGATE, *South Side.* | | | |
| John Hutson | 1 | 4 | |
| Widow Alnwicke, (a burgage, cott, garth or croft, admitted rent £2.) | | | |
| John Stamp, (a burgage and garth rent £2.) | | | |
| Widow Alnwicke, (2 crofts belonging to the former burgage 1s.) | | | |
| Matthew Doares, (a burgage, three crofts on lands £2.) | | | |
| (Thomas Hardy late Wm. Turner late Jas. Turner sometime Thomas Briggs held a Toft now a house erected on the the same £2.) | | | |
| (John Strother, before James Turner, moiety of a burgage and garth £2.) | | | |
| (William Gaire, sometime William Woodhouse holds the other moiety of a burgage and garth.) | | | |

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(Ann Gare, sometime John Carr, a burgage, a cottage, and a garth, £2.)
(Mr John Coates, a messuage, a toft and garth, late Doctor Strother, containing 1r. 24p. Tenement and land.)
(John Robinson late Francis Alder holdeth a burgage and garth containing 18 perches rent £2.)
(Mr. Nathaniel Forster, sometime John Clay, a burgage, toft, and garth containing 15 perches, rent £2.)
(The same purchased of Wm. Archbold's family, Wm. Woodhouse a burg, garth and croft £2.)
(The same a burg, garth and croft in Bondgate South Croft containing 3r. 21p. £2.)
(John Stampe late Tho. Stampe and and before Nicholas Forster, a Burg, Garth and Croft, and one other croft containing in all 3r. 9p. £2.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Woodhouse, (burgage and garth | | | 6 |
| Mark Forster, (burgage and garth.) | | | 8 |
| The Towne for Pinfold | | | 8 |
| (Common Lane and Towne Wall.) | | | |
| **Bondgate Infra.** | | | |
| The Heires of John Chrispe | | | 8 |
| Thomas Gair 2 Burgages | | 1 | 8 |
| Robert Shanks | | | 8 |
| John Humble 2 Burgages (2s. 4d. 14d.) | | 3 | 6 |
| William Clarke | | | 9 |
| Margaret Forster | | | 9½ |
| Marke Grumble | | | 8½ |
| John Strother (a burg, a croft, a pepper corn) | | | |
| Idem | | | 8 |
| John Hyndmarsh | | | 8 |
| John Strother | | | 7½ |
| John Carr | | | 7½ |
| Oswald Syme | | | 7½ |
| John Dickman | | | 8½ |
| | | 15 | 2 |
| **Market Place.** | | | |
| George Hutcheson | | | 8 |
| George Potts for two burgages (late widow Brandling) | | | 8 |
| Jane Lodge | | | 3 |
| John Hunter | | | 3½ |
| John Forster (wast) | | | 6½ |
| Robert Hambleton | | | 8 |
| Mark Forster (8½d. 9d.) | | 1 | 5½ |
| (The Burgesses of Alnwick holds a parcel of wast ground lying on the east side of the Grass Cross, now the Malt Markett, rent yearly 10d., containing 12 perches, denyed.) | | | |
| Edward Grey | | | 9 |
| Clement Forster, 4 Burgages Escheated (9d. 8d. 2d. 9d.) | | 2 | 4 |
| Mark Forster | | | 8 |
| The Burgesses for the Brewhouses (late Wm. Grey) | | 9 | 8 |
| (Est et ibidem parva via vocata Toll booth layne.) | | | |
| Richard Strother for a Shopp (a house upon my lord's wast) | | | 4 |
| (Thos. Shipley and William Archbold, sometime Cuth. Procter, late Richard Clarkson 3 Shopps, sometime Chapell late of the possessions of the Monastery of Alnwick rent nil.) | | | |
| Thomas Shipley, 1 Burgage and 3 Shoppes | | 5 | 4 |
| John Doubleday, 1 Burgage and 3 Shoppes | | 2 | 8 |
| (Heires of Wm. Archbold, a house sometime a chapell 4d., widow Carr, Mr. Doubleday) | | | |
| Anne Hunter | | 1 | |
| (James Patterson, a Shoemaker Shopp lately erected on the Lord's wast 1d.) | | | |
| Jane Lodge | | 1 | |
| Mathew Forster | | | 8 |
| (Mathew Forster for taking in a building upon the Common Layne to the common bakehouse to enlarge his burgage 4d.) | | | |
| Thomas Vardy | | | 8 |
| Edward Grey | | 1 | 10 |
| (Common bakehouse at the back of Tho. Vardye's Lett by lease with the Toll of the faires and marketts, containing 6 perches.) | | | |
| Robert Richardson (by consent of the auditors to erect a house, rent 2d.) | | | 2 |
| Widow Hunter and Jobling's shop. | | | |
| Widow Anderson | | | 8 |
| John Warde | | | 8 |
| William Patricke | | | 8 |
| John Robinson | | | 8 |

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William Scott, 2 burgages . 1

PAIKES HOLE.

Richard Strother, 2 burgages 8d. 16d., (a wast long ago enclosed nil) . . . 1 6
Ralph Rennoldson . . . . 8
Widow Burrell (4d. 4d. 8d.) . 1 4
William Yellowley, (a waste.) 1
(The same late Moffat rent unius grani piperis.)
John Reveley (Wm. Metcalf waste) . . . . . 8
George Wallis . . . . 8
Ralph Grieve 2d. 2d. (formerly waste) . . . . . 4
Ralph Renoldson . . . 6
Richard Strother (a waste burgage now rebuilding) . 4
(A common lane to the market.)

41 4

CLAYPORT, *beginning att the Grasse Cross on the South Rawe.*

George Potts (late Nich. Forster.)
Marke Forster.
George Alder (late Gallon.)
John Waymsby.
William Taylor, Esq., 4 burgages (8d. 10d. 10d. 10d. these were the Correction house) . . . . . 3 2
Roger Glahome . . . . 10
Ralph Marshall . . . . 10

CLAYPORT STREET EXTRA.

Thomas Woodhouse . . 7
(A Common Layne.)
George Pearett . . . . 8
Widow Gibson . . . . 11
George Wattson . . . . 11
Cuthbert Embleton (John Reynoldson) . . . . 10
William Hunter, sen., (late John Alnwick) . . . . 8
Edward Doares (late John Alnwick) . . . . . 8
Thomas Wattson (late John Gallon) . . . . . 1 4
William Stanton, jun., 9 burgages . . . . . 7
Widow Gallon (12 burgages or riggs) called in old records Lyne Burn Lands . . 5 7
(Heires of Will. Archbold, late John Scott, nihil, Towne head lands, alias Saint Thomas' Fields.)
George Potts, (burgage and a close) . . . . . 1
Christo. Shotton . . . 1 1
George Potts . . . . 1 1
Mark Forster . . . . 1 8½
Widow Thompson (8 burgages and a close of 2 riggs late Ralph Forster) . . . 4 1½
Luke Hyndmarsh . . . 1
Thomas Hardy . . . . 6½
Robert Paxton . . . . 6½
Widow Davidson . . . . 6½
John Theaker and Glawhome 6½
George Thew . . . . 1 6
George Fletcher (burgage and rigg) . . . . . 1 4
Widow Carr . . . . . 4
John Stampe (in right of his wife Elen Hearett) . . 8½
Bartho Hallewell . . . 8½
Thomas Pearett . . . . 8
The heirs of Thomas Taylor . 8
George Fletcher . . . 8
Clayport Tower (the burgesses whereon the Towne Wall is built, a burgage and croft containing 1r 15p.) . . 8
Luke Hyndmarsh . . . 8
Edward Stanley . . . 1
The Heirs of John Reed . . 1
Widow Blyth . . . . 1 1
Robert Shankes . . . 4
Luke Hyndmarsh . . . 4
William Gallon . . . 8
Luke Hyndmarsh . . . 6
Matthew Alnwicke . . . 4
Francis Anderson . . . 10
Edward Forster . . . 6

55 7

FENKLE STREET, *beginning at the north side of the Cross.*

Barnaby Forster . . . 3
Thomas Woodhouse . . 6
Henry Harle . . . . 8
Widow Thompson . . . 2 2
Widow Hunter . . . 1
(A common Layne)
Richard Grieve . . . 4 8
Widow Thompson . . . 10
James Trotter . . . 1 5
Heirs of John Chrisp . 1
Marke Forster . . . 1
Widow Mills . . . . 1

13 6

POTTERGATE.

RalphDixon . . . . 6½
John Craister . . . . 6½
Thomas Craister . . . 8 2
Cuthbert Anderson . . 6
Martin Potter (of Shields) . 10

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cuthbert Anderson (late Wm. Adston 3 burgages) | 2 | 10 |
| Anthony Pearett | 2 | 10 |
| William Patterson | | 7 |
| Pottergate Tower (the burgesses of Alnwick for the Tower 2d, or a pair of Gloves, before Robt. Clark) | | 2 |
| George Potts (5 burgages) | 4 | 4 |
| Mark Forster for Barnsdale riggs | 1 | 5½ |
| William Stanton for little Pottergate Close | 1 | 4 |
| John Craister | | 1 |
| The Heirs of John Tate for three Burgages | 2 | 2 |
| John Ramsay | | 7 |
| Andrew Johnston | | 7 |
| The heirs of Edward Robson 4 Burgages | 3 | 4 |
| | 24 | 9½ |

BAYLIFFGATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Carr (2 burgages) | | |
| David Craster. | | |
| Barnabas Falder, 2 Burgages 4½d. 6d. | | 10½ |
| Thomas Spence, 2 Burgages (Poull Hall) | | 5 |
| John Swinhoe (tenament called Mute hall) | | 7 |
| (Heirs of Richard Lawson, 3 tenaments called Middleton's lodgings, nil) | | |
| (Eliz. wife of Ralph Jackson parcell of ground called pinfold, rent £2) | | |
| Widow Hills | | 1 |
| Robert Claxton | | 4 |
| John Chrisp | | 4 |
| Widow Clarke | | 3 |
| Mr. Thomas Procter | | 10 |
| William Stanton, Sen., (tenement and close.) | | 1½ |
| Ralph Weatherburn | | 4 |
| (Heirs of Rob. Pearett a Tenements wast nil.) | | |
| The heirs of John Nicholson (to the Grieve of Shilbottle) | | 3 |
| Thomas Peariit (to the Grieve of Shilbottle.) | | ½ |
| Marke Forster (to the Grieve of Shilbottle.) | | 1 |
| George Hardy (to the Grieve of Shilbottle.) | | 1½ |
| Nicholas Hunter (5 tenements nil.) | | 2 |
| Thomas Lindsay | | 1 |
| Thomas Davidson, 2 burgages 5s. 1d. | 5 | 1 |
| Lord Derwentwater | 4 | 2 |
| (Idem called Fardies Walls rent nil.) | | |
| Widow Milbourne | | 1 |
| Widow Clarke | | 10 |
| Thomas Lindsay for Hunter's Croft | 3 | 3 |
| | 26 | 2 |

WALKERGATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Heires of William Boswell | | 3 |
| Barnabas Falder | | 7 |
| John Robinson (late Geo. Turner.) | | 6 |
| Widow Scott, 2 Burgages | 1 | 6 |
| Widow Smyth (Francis Turner, 4 burgages.) | 1 | 4 |
| John Wood, 2 burgages (A. and M. Alnwick.) | 2 | 0½ |
| Edward Trotter | | 3 |
| John Turner, 2 Burgages (3d. 9d.) | 1 | |
| Barnabas Falder | | 6 |
| Thomas Lindsay, 7 burgages late Francis Turner now a close of Land on the South row | 2 | 10 |
| (James Turner, a burgage wast called the School house rigg 2d. sold to Thomas Lindsay along with 6 other burgages.) | | |
| Barnabas Falder, 2 burgages | 2 | 8 |
| John Carr | | 2 |
| Thomas Hardy, 2 burgage (one a little house builded on a Wast) | | 3 |
| Widow Thompson, 1 Burgage at the Bridge end | | 4 |
| | 14 | 7½ |

FREEHOLD RENTS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hoberlaw | | 4 |
| Timothy Punshon and the heir of Mr. Michael Browning for Bondgate Hall. | 9 | 11 |
| (Mrs. Mary Salkald, late Francis Alder, a capital messuage and garth called Bondgate Hall and Roland's Close and Crofts, lying in the backside late George Alder's containing 3ac. 2r. 32p., rent £2.) | | |
| Edward Grey for Watts know | 1 | |
| Edward Strother for Swansland | 1 | 6 |
| John Strother for part the same | 1 | 6 |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Richard Leek, *in jure* Elisabeth his wife late Alex. Armourer, and before Francis Alder, called Swann's field, knights of St. John of Jerusalem.) | | | |
| Margaret the widow of Arthur Alnwicke | 1 | 8 | |
| Forster's lands in all Clemt. Forster | 7 | 3 | |
| Widow Thompson for part of Woodhouse's lands | 4 | 6 | |
| Idem for part of the same and Ravenslaw | 2 | | |
| George Potts for parte of the same | 1 | 6 | |
| Barnabas Falder for parte of the same | | 8 | |
| Mr. Marke Forster for parte of the same | | 4 | |
| Mr. Timothy Punshon for Greensland. | | 2 | |
| (Mr. Mark Forster late Green, nil quia capitale messuagium Roberti de Green pro terris apud Greenfield.) | | | |
| Widow Thompson for Leake's land | 1 | 4½ | |
| Thomas Craister | | 2 | |
| Bondgate Tower pinfold | | 8 | |
| George Potts for Midcalfe's lands | | 6 | |
| Matthew Alnwicke | 1 | 8 | |
| Mr. John Doubleday for Brockshaw | | 8 | |
| The Town for Aden forest | | 2 | |
| Cannogate for Aden forest | | 1 | |
| South Charlton for Ryselay Bridge | | 4 | |
| Whittle for way leave to Edlingham | | 1 | |
| Shilbottle for Lightaker | | 3 | |
| Shilbottle for Bondage worke | | 8 | |
| Rock for the like | | 8 | |
| South Charlton for the like | | 8 | |
| Widow Hunter | | 2 | |
| The Town for lands late Matthew Alnwicke | | 8 | |
| Eliza widow of Matt. Alnwicke for Mill aker | | 8 | |
| | 62 | 1 | ½ |

TENANTS AT WILL.

| | One Years Rent. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Chrisp for Wideopen (Whythopp) | £4 | | |
| Robert Healeridge, Esq., for over Shields | 5 | | |
| Thomas Marshall Hefferlawbancke | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| Mrs. Mary Salkeld for West Maines | 5 | | |
| Thomas Troolip for South Charlton Mill | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Mrs Winefred Coates for her farmes | 7 | 16 | 8 |
| Thomas Forster, Esq., for Neither Shields | 20 | | |
| Henry Harrison, 1 farme and a halfe | 3 | 13 | 4 |
| William Stanton, a quarter of a farme | 1 | | |
| South Charlton for Chirnside | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| Mr. Marke Forster and Wm. Browne a farme | 7 | 10 | |
| Mr. William Browne for Aledike | | 10 | |
| William Archbould, the Stoken and water haugh | | 10 | |
| Mr. Donkin for a dye house | | 13 | 10 |
| Thomas Courtney for a fulling mill | | 6 | 8 |
| | 72 | 13 | 4 |

The Court of Survey thus concludes :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total Burrow | £11 10 8½ | £12 13 2½ |
| Baylygate | 1 2 6 | |

Besides what must be collected as followeth not charged to the grieve (total 15s. 7d).—Hobberlaw, Henry and William Forster, late Mr. George Forster brother, and before Mr. Francis Alder holding there one messuage called Hobberlaw or Bertwell by Knight's service viz: one seventeenth part of one knight's fee by suit of court of Alnewicke: as at the court of the Barony rather than the court of the Burg, from three weeks to three weeks, and rendering yearly 23d. paid in the foreign Bayliffes account. Memorandum—That all Alnwicke Freeholders in Bondgate fields, ought rather to appear att the Town Court than the Castle Court.

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# CHAPTER XVIII.

## BARONIAL COURTS.

COURT BARON AND COURT LEET—BURGH COURT—OFFICERS APPOINTED AND CASES TRIED IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY—RECORDS IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—SCOLDS AND SLANDERS—STATE OF THE TOWN—THE PLAGUE—SANITARY MEASURES—ADMISSIONS OF FREEHOLDERS—INQUISITIONS INTO HEIRSHIPS AND BOUNDARIES—MINUTES OF SURVEY AND COURT—OFFICERS APPOINTED IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—KNIGHTS' COURTS—TENANTS AND VILLS BOUND TO APPEAR—ADMISSIONS OF MILITARY TENANTS—ENCROACHMENT ON COMMONS—CASES TRIED—PATRICK MACKLEWYAN—DECAY OF THE BARONIAL COURTS.

The baron of Alnwick was entitled to hold courts not only for the barony as a whole, but also for the several burghs and manors of which it was composed. They were conducted with legal formalities similar to those observed in royal courts, and when in their vigour they were important and useful; the baron was represented by his learned steward who presided as judge; there was the jury, and there were the clerk, bailiffs and serjeants. The records left of their proceedings tell us of the names of the men acting in former times on the busy stage of life, and of the owners of property; they shew us somewhat of the state of the town and district; what vices were prevalent, what offences committed, what men quarrelled about, and how their quarrels were ended; they reflect indeed in some degree the character of different periods. Already we have gleaned information from them; but now we give a more particular account, and gather from them a few more illustrations of the history of the town.

By permission of Algernon, the late duke of Northumberland, I had access to several rolls of these courts. Unfortunately none of a very early date appears to have been preserved; the earliest are of the reign of Edward IV.; there are fragments

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of a few belonging to the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., and of James I.; but there are few prior to 1650, and even after that time, the rolls are far from being complete. None have I seen between 1741 and 1791; and those subsequent to 1791 present nothing of general interest.

The principal courts held were the Court Baron and Court Leet. The former was incident to every manor, and was held once in every three weeks; pleas for debt, detinue and such like, when the damages did not exceed 43s., were tried here before a jury of freeholders; but this court was lost whenever the freeholders of the manor were reduced to less than two; and hence from the absorption of the smaller freeholds into the great barony, courts, which were formerly held in the vills around Alnwick, have disappeared. Law writers represent this as the principal court of a barony, and attribute to it the power of investigating disputed inheritances, and of admitting to freeholds; but the records of the Alnwick barony shew, that these powers belonged to the Court Leet, which was not only a court of greater antiquity, but of superior importance.

The Court Leet was of Saxon origin, as its name indicates; for *leet* is from *lathian* or *gelathian* (Anglo-Saxon) to assemble; and another name, which it bore, view of Frank pledge, *visus plegii*, denotes its character in Anglo-Saxon times, when all freemen were required to belong to a tithing, and each was a pledge or surety for another. Twice a year was this court held—within one month after Easter, and within one month after Michaelmas. To this court the tenants, that is the freeholders of the manor, were bound to come to render suit and service to the lord—inquisitions were made there into the heirships of lands and tenements, on what tenure, rent and service they were held, and what was due to the lord—disputes as to boundaries were determined, and encroachments on commons tried—assaults, affrays, slanders, breaches of the assize of bread and ale and of markets, nuisances, foldbursts and various other petty offences were tried and punished by amerciaments. The officers of the boroughs and manors were appointed at this court. The jury made presentments of any matters within the jurisdiction of the court, and passed verdict on cases tried; but officers called *efferators* assessed the amerciaments, so that they might be reasonable and proportioned to the offence.

Both Courts Baron and Courts Leet were held in the burghs of Alnmouth and Warkworth; and there are records of the same kind of courts being held for the manors of Lesbury and

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Beanley in 1519; of Longhoughton in 1519 and 1524; Rennington in 1519, 1618, and 1667; of Denwick, Shilbottle, Ellingham, South Charlton, Thriston, and Tugal in 1524, and of Bilton in 1521. A court was also held for Denwick and Bondgate.

The jurisdiction of the Alnwick Burgh Courts extended only to that part of the town and parish which was within the borough; it did not include Canongate, which was a distinct manor under Alnwick Abbey, and had manorial courts of its own; it included Walkergate, but not Bailiffgate, which as well Denwick, Rugley, Shieldykes and most of the land in the parish, excepting Alnwick Moor, were beyond the borough and within the jurisdiction of the Knights' Courts. Prior to the reformation, more than twenty burgages within the borough belonged to Alnwick Abbey, and several of the owners of these burgages are even now summoned to attend the Canongate Manorial Court. Some cottages within the borough were, in 1567, parcel of the manor of Preston; and the owner of a house in Narrowgate, belonging to the manor of Stamford, is at the present time summoned to appear at the manorial court of the earl of Tankerville, probably because it was part of the lands and tenements in Alnwick, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were held by the owners of Chillingham Castle.

The Knights' Courts were of the same character as the Burgh Courts, and were held in Alnwick Castle; their jurisdiction extended to all places within the barony, not having a distinct manorial burgh court; they took up disputes between litigants of different manors; all the military tenants here rendered suit and service, and hence their name, *curia militaris*.

A profit arose to the lord in former times from these courts; and hence there is reference to them in old inquisitions; in which the Knights' Courts are called Hall-motes from *Hallegemot*, (Anglo-Saxon) the hall-meeting. The perquisites yearly of the hall-mote of Alnwick in 1372 amounted to 6s. 8d., and of the Burgh Court to 6s.

Though different in their functions, the Courts Leet and Courts Baron were not kept entirely apart; the records of both are generally given under the same heading, but the records of debt and detinue appear usually in separate rolls. The earliest records of the Burgh Courts simply designate them as *curia* or *curia capitalis*; or *curia burgi*, as—

"Alnewick. Curia burgi tenta ibidem v die mensis Octobris, anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij post Conquestum Angliæ xiiijo."



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"Alnewyk. Curia Capitalis tenta ibidem xio die Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij post Conquestum Angliæ xx."

More elaborate headings appear afterwards; as—

"Burg de Alnewick. } Visus franci plegii cum Curia Baronia Henrici Comitis Northumbriæ tentus ibidem vicesimo sexto Octobris Anno regis nostri Jacobi &c., decimo sexto coram Thomas Fotherley generoso Seneschallo ejusdam."

Similar to this are those of a later date, with the addition of the titles of the baron set forth at length. Those of the Knights' Court are also similar.

"Alnewic. Curia Militaris tenta ibidem primo die Octobris anno regni Edwardi iiijto xiiijto."

"Alnewicke. Curia Capitalis tenta ibidem die Sabato vto mensis Octobris anno Regni Ricardi iij primo."

"The view of Francque pledge with the Court Baron of the Right Honorable Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, held for the said Barony and Castle of Alnwick aforesayd, the 18th day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-three, before Matthias Hunter, gent., deputy Steward of the said Court."

The Baronial Courts were as we have seen in their glory in the fifteenth century. We shall first look into these early rolls. At the Alnwick Burgh Court held on 11th of October, 1474, the following were the jurors and officers:—

*Jurors*—Robert Alder, John Botman, John Sylynson, John Stanton, John Clerke, Thomas Creswell, William Naddall, Richard Makerell, Thomas Heli, Thomas Paxson, William Yonge, William Smyth.

*Constables of the Peace*—William Patonson, Robert Brandling, Richard Eston. *Keepers of the Causeways*—Thomas Naddell, Richard Makerell, Thomas Archer, Robert Ellesden. *Tasters of Ale*—John Pattenson, Robert Clarke, George Elande, Robert Smyth. *Overlookers of Bread*—Thomas Clerk, Richard Heli, and two others *Overlookers of Flesh*—Michael Watson and another.

In the courts held from 1416 to 1420 we find several cases of debt and detinue, and not a few of affrays. As borderers accustomed to fight, the Alnwick men would be ready, when not mingling in the fray with their old enemies the Scots, to quarrel with each other; and these domestic brawls were not confined to the humbler classes. Robert Brandling for making an affray on William Patterson is amerced 20d.; John Gerarde for an affray on Robert Brandling, has to pay the same sum; Roger Forster for his affray against Richard Forster is amerced 3s. 4d., but Richard Forster, who probably had begun the fight, has to pay double that amount. Several others for similar offences are fined from 12d. to 20d. The priests seem to have caught the fighting mania; though "Canon John Alnewick" denies that he made an affray on Robert Pattonston, he appears in another case, for William

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Walby obtains an adjournment to answer Canon John Alnewick in a plea of debt.

John Noblet and Thomas Orpeth complained of Thomas Crasewel detaining charters and evidences; and these were to be given up to the priest of Alnwick Castle. The abbot of Alnewyke has to answer to the lord for enclosing a parcel of the common near Heldwyke. John Alnewyk and George Galun, chaplains of the chantry of the Blessed Mary of Alnewyk, appear in a case of detinue. John Turnbull was presented, because he did not make "le Heidfront juxta Balyegat." William Waller places himself in the lord's mercy for that he took in a Scotch woman contrary to the pain, his pledge being Richard Eston.

Few are the records between this time and 1652, but one or two for 1618 contain some curious matter. Assaults and affrays were common; but the following is peculiar—"John Alnewicke was amerced 6s. 8d. for comeing to George Butler's widowe at unbefetinge tymes in the night with a drawinge swoord and dager in his band thretninge the same." A heavy fine of 10s. 6d. is imposed on John Butler "for keppinge a dunghill at his barkhouse dore hurtfull to all the hole town." R. Bell was amerced 3s. 4d., "for recepting Idell persons." "Mathew Johnes for keaping of a tennant without bond entering to the court for his behaviour contrary to our charge; and his tennante for resetting other mens goods, we fine Mathew Johnes vis. viijd."

Alnwick has during the present century enjoyed a bad notoriety for producing persons who have taken a pleasure in writing slanders against their neighbours; but their language might have been strengthened by a study of the rich vocabulary of abuse during the 17th century. Take early examples: —"John Johnston was fined 6s. 8d. for slandaringe John Mowe, and saying he was a bankerupt theif"—this was a favourite phrase. "The wife of Robert Eswell was fined 3s. 4d. for slanderinge Jane Hearitt and sainge she was a common wiche." "William Torner was fined 3s. 4d. for slanderinge Walter Carree, sainge he was athouse a in taker and a out putter"—"John Watson for slanderinge Charles Watson, sainge he was athouse burde." In 1655 Alice Tweedy called Robert Embleton "a cow thief," Robert has his revenge by calling her husband John Tweedie "night theife and Racht theife and pott Theife and a Theife from his cradle." In 1638 Mary Ridley said of Anne Hall, "shea was a beefe thefe," and Ann said Mary was "a Malte theife."

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The records are more numerous after 1652, and shew more fully the character of these courts. The cases tried are very varied; besides pleas for debt and detinue, there are many cases of assault, frays, and affrays with blood, theft, trespass, nocturnal trespass with cattle, night layers, fold bursts, rescues, breaking pinfold, breaking tolbooth, breaking hedges, spoiling quarries, removing boundary stones, cutting and taking away wood, turves, heather, whins, burning the moor and whins, overstinting the commons, putting sheep and horses on the common where no right was, insufficient fences and causeways, keeping a known thief, refusing to aid in arresting a murderer, disorderly houses, keeping a Frenchman, harbouring and entertaining strangers without giving security, vagabonds, defaming and ill-treating constables, swine going about unringed, dunghills and nuisances, vending unlawful meat, deficient and false weights, forestalling and regrating.

A few illustrations may prove interesting. There were many presentments in 1654 "for blood and frays in the Castle and in Belleygate."

Edward Mather was amerced "for being drunk on Sunday and beating his wife and cruelly wounding her." In 1657, "John Ridley, gent., presented Lancelot Strother, Tanner, William Simpson, Cordiner, and John Strother, Tanner, for assaulting and affraying him in the Church Yard of Alnwicke.

The border propensity to fight still lingered in Alnwick, and such cases are numerous during this century. Amerciaments for these offences ranged from 20d. to 3s. 4d.; but when blood was drawn the heavier penalty of 6s. 8d. was inflicted.

John Tate made an affray on the body of Robert Anderson and was amerced 20d.; Grace Bone made an assault and drew blood from Margaret Jefferson and was amerced 6s. 8d.; William Scott made an assault on George Jefferson in the public market and was amerced 3s. 4d.; Isabella Smyth "vi et armis" made an assault on Elizabeth Linsey and drew blood from her body and was amerced 5s.

Officials seem to have been held in no great respect; women took the lead in hostilities.

Deborah Stanton defamed and ill treated a constable and was amerced 3s. 4d.; Maria Fargie and Jane Adston also distinguished themselves in similar assaults. But Francis Anderson, clerk of the court, was very unpopular and suffered from evil tongues and hands.

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1729. "Cuthbert Boswell in open Court abused Francis Anderson in giveing him diverse ill provoaking unbecoming words in the face of the Jury, which disturbing the Court did putt the Steward and Jury from their business and did so uncountably raill against the said Francis Anderson, Clerk of the Court and Bayliff of the Manner, insomuch that every body was amazed att itt; he is therefore fined by the Steward 6s. 8d."

1732. "Robert Yellowly was amerced 5s. for assaulting, pushing, and throwing downe Francis Anderson upon a heap of stones for hindering him to encroach upon his Grace's waste."

1731. "Mr Edward Gallon assaulting of Francis Anderson and for an affray upon him wee amerce him."

Women are now so civilized, so gentle, so polite, that a scold is deemed a phenomenon; and hence ducking stools and branks have been consigned to museums, as antiquarian curiosities. Alnwick, however, in the middle of the seventeenth century had several scolds; and foul-mouthed indeed some of them were. Margaret Pearson and Jane Scott common scolds with their neighbours were amerced 20d; but Jane the wife of Robert Boswell another "common scold," more skilled possibly in the art of abuse suffered the higher penalty of 5s. Two women of respectable social position stood pre-eminent for their scolding powers; Jane the wife of Thomas Huntley, and Margaret the wife of Benjamin Barton, whose son Captain Barton left money to the poor. Benjamin, himself, figures not unfrequently in these courts; and his wife was a fitting mate. Greatly she defamed William Fargie one of the market keepers, and she was amerced 3s. 4d.; and she maltreated Katherine the wife of John Fargie in words very bad and opprobrious, and she suffers again the penalty of 3s. 4d. Jane Huntley, however, was the heroine of her class, who greatly ill-treated and maliciously defamed Ann, the wife of Cuthbert Chessman in words unfit for "ears polite." She made a raid on Frances, the wife of Ralph Beadnell, whom she ill-treated and beat in the public market; for these mischievous freaks she was amerced 16s. 8d.

Notwithstanding that many of the burgesses were quarrelsome, ill-tongued and lawless, yet not a few of them were industrious, accumulated property, and bought houses and lands within their own parish. Yet the town was far from being lovely; the houses were generally low and covered with thatch. Regardless too, these burgesses were of sanitary laws. No Board of Health then existed; but there were two bodies who looked, perhaps insufficiently, after the state of the town and endeavoured to abate nuisances and carry out improvements. The Four and Twenty were virtually the representatives of the town; and on them especially devolved the duty of paving

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and cleansing certain parts of the town, and of providing a sufficient supply of water. But the Court Leet had power to compel the removal of nuisances, to resist encroachments, and to punish by amerciaments transgressors; and therefore from the proceedings of the court we incidentally gather information on the state of the town. Bad that condition was; pigs unringed ran wild through the streets—dunghills were on the public highways, and compost was heaped up in the fore-street—butchers killed their sheep in shambles in the Market-place, which was offensive with blood and offal—dead horses sometimes lay in the street—the current of water was stopped with garbage—saw pits were in the streets and in the Market-place, and wood was also piled up there.

Alnwick was perhaps not worse than other towns at this period; for sanitary laws were then but little studied throughout the country. For this neglect however the community seriously suffered from frequent *visitations* of plague, which ruthlessly swept away great numbers of the people. Tradition says that about the middle of the seventeenth century, the plague ravaged Alnwick so fatally, that the country people would not visit it. Strong in those days was the belief in contagion; but for the purposes of trade, a market or fair was held in Brankspeth's Howl, little more than a mile from Alnwick, between the ridge of Reham and the higher ground on which the west gate stands; the town's people standing on the Reham ridge and the country people on the opposite hill, while the goods for sale or barter were placed in the "Howl" between. We presume some persons wiser and bolder than others, would arrange in the howl the terms of exchange and sale. This plague, it is said, had previously visited Denwick and carried off a greater part of the inhabitants, the victims being buried in a field called the White Cross Howls near to the village; part of a stone cross still remains in this field, which is believed to have been erected in memory of the dead buried there. One reference there is in the Alnwick corporation books to a plague visitation in 1637. A charge is made in the accounts of that year of 2s. 6d. "for going to Sir John Fenwick of Wallington (who was at that time 'Our High Constable') in the time of sickness." Collections were made in neighbouring towns to alleviate the distress caused by the visitation; we find 1s. charged for riding to Warkworth "for to know whether the money was ready for the sesse for the reliefe of the poore of the towne;" and Shilbottle and

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six other parishes were visited for the same purpose at the cost of 2s. 6d. Did not our forefathers, it may be asked, endeavour to lessen these calamities? Were they not by the fearful mortality roused to a vigorous attack on the destroyer? Some remedial measures were feebly and fitfully taken. One record shows what was attempted, more than 200 years ago, "for the avoyding of publique neusances, and for the further and better creditt and repute of this Ancient Burrough."

The Mannor and Burrough of Alnwick. } At the Cort Leet and Cort Barron of the Right honble. Algernoon, Earle of Northumberland, held for the said Mannor and Burrough of Alnwick aforesaid on Wednesday the Eighteenth day of October, 1654, before Matthias Hunter, Gent., deputy Steward for such Cort.

It is ordered that for the avoyding of publique nuisances and in pursuance of severall acts and stattuts in that behafe made and provided as also for the further and better creditt and repute of this Ancient Burrough: Noe dung-hill shall henceforth now be or remayne upon the fore-front of any Burgage within this Burrough for longer than the space of twenty-foure houres together which is to be at such tyme and not before when carts are ready prepared for the carrying it forth of the Burrough and doe accordingly carry it upon paine 39s. 11d. to be forthwith by the direction and authority of this Cort to be leavyed of the goods and chattels of the person or persons from tyme to tyme as they shall be found faulty and offending against this present if any such shall be: as also that all and every person and persons as well as Burgesses as others that have any House or Burgage within this Burrough shall punctually with the severall tymes herein and hereafter limitted and expressed sufficiently pave their several and respective fore-fronts, that is to say, from their severall and respective Burgages in full extent to the Cassey and high street before the same as also soe much of that syde of the same street with stones and materialls necessary, and soe from tyme to tyme keepe and preserve the same under the penalty aforementioned as in such manner to be leavyed: that is to say, Clayporte Strete betwixt end and end according to the ward as also Fenckle Street betwixt this and next Cort, Markett and Bondgate betwixt this and Michaelmas Cort next, that is to say, all the same warde save only that part of Bondgate from the Howse late Mr. Richard Brandling towards Widdow Clarke's Howse neare Bondgate Tour on the South part of the same street whoe are to pave sufficiently and well six yards as a full breadth with their respective Burgages and noe further in respect of the great distance from the Cassey save only their proportionable part of the said Cassey and that Narrowgate, Belligate, and Walkergate shall in such manner as is before set downe for

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Clayport and Fenckle Street well and sufficiently pave theire several fore-fronts betwixt this and the Cort to be held for the Mannor and Burrough at Michaelmas tyde which shall be in the year of our Lord God One Thousand Six Hundred Fifty Six.

The following extracts from the court rolls, besides illustrating the condition of the town, tell us how assessments were made to pave highways, how the gates of the entrance towers were maintained, not to keep out the Scots, but to prevent trespass in the crofts which were unfenced, how Infirmary Street was then a church path along the old wall, the chamberlains being presented for converting it into a highway.

1667.—"Elizabeth Tate erected a certain midden stead near the royal way to the hurt of the people of the Lord the King and was amerced 3s. 4d."—Such cases are numerous. 1654.—"William Archbould presents Mr. Matthew Alnewicke for a nuisance by suffering his dunghill to lie on the highway leading to the Grinde Stone Cross which is a common nuisance we amerce him 3s. 4d." In 1729 there were sixty-seven cases of dung-hills in the streets and sixty-four nuisances by bad causeways presented to the court. 1726.—John Weatherburn was amerced 20d. "for making a great dunghill at the Tower." 1680.—"None of the inhabitants of Bayliffgate to lay any more dung or compost on the Street." 1694.—"John Stanton presents Robert Claxton for makeing a midden or dung-hill in Bayliffgate, as also for burning Coales for to dry malt in the publique Street, which makes a great nuisance to the neighbours and annoyes the Common Causeway that leads to Alnwick Church, we amerce 1s. 8d., and the dunghill to be removed and kiln on the Street to be discontinued on paine of 39s. 11d." In 1668 seven were amerced 3s. 4d. each for suffering their pigs to go unringed; but it was ordered in 1695 "No swine in Bayliffgate hereafter to goe abroad in the Streets on paine of 1s. 8d." 1725.—"Gutts Sharn Garbish and other dung and compost Teamed and Emptied out of Cattle and Sheep at the Markett place." 1709.—"For Teaming and Emptying Gutts and Bellys of Beasts to be employed in the Market place" amerced 6d. 1726.—"Robert Hyndmarsh presented for a nuisance by Teaming and Emptying Bark and other rubbish in the Water Course or Runner att the foot of Hunters Orchard which annoys the Stone Well" and is amerced 3s. 4d. 1730.—"John Gibson, Tanner, amerced 20d. for Emptying his lime pitts and throwing the fleshings of his skins and hydes in a narrow passage in Hooling Seugh of the Dyke, and for want of Cleansing and Scouring the Dirty Water Annoys the Duke of Somerset's fountain of fine sweet water, insomuch that the water is soe spoyled, that his Grace's Servant att the Castle was obliged to fetch water elsewhere." John Moor was also amerced 20d. for the like offence. Two years afterwards the tanners are again presented. 1732.—"John Moor and John Gibson who keep lyme pitts on the west syde of Hoolling Well, and for want of cleansing out the water race, their lyme water overflows the said well and spoyles all his Grace's water leading into the Castle in lead pypes, insoemuch, that the water will stink like a house of Office;" each was amerced 3s. 4d. and "to be amended."

In the early part of the eighteenth century there was a long war against a saw-pit in the street. Feeble must have been the power of the court; for seventeen years elapsed before the war was ended.

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1716.—"Roger Moffitt and Robert Cowherd presented for digging and making saw-pitts in the High Street, which is dangerous to passengers. 1722.—A saw-pitt near the Chammells in the high street and timber lying about. 1727.—Robert Cowherd had a saw-pit at his door in the High Street. 1733.—Robert Cowherd presented for keeping a saw pitt in the high street, the like was never known in any Market Town." The quaint comment of the jury perchance conquered Robert Cowherd's obstinacy; for after this we hear no more of saw pitts in the High-way. 1681.—"Ordered that the owner of every Burgage or inhabiter of it shall pave from his Door towards the high causewayes, and pave the highway on each side from the Copestone. Where there is no high way, the owner to pave to the Kennell or Gutter, (except for the Markett place) for repairing which and other Cawseways belonging to wast Burgages or to poor owners, an assessment to be made throughout the whole town and Borough by the Bayliff and four and twenty according to the Book of Rates. 1730.—The Chamberlains is presented for not keeping up a gate att Clayport Tower, and a Gate or Style at Pottergate Tower. 1728.—The Chamberlaines of the Town for this Yeare presented for suffering a Gate att Clayporte Tower to lye down, whereby John Stampe and Robert Rand suffers by having their Corne destroyed in the Croft lands." 1732.—The Chamberlains were again presented "for the Gate att Clayport and Pottergate Towers, for want of which the Neighwoods trespass on Corne and Meadow in Clayport north crofts. Referred to the four and twenty and the Gates to be sett up. 1733.—The present Chamberlains presented for suffering the Towne's Gates att pottergate and Clayporte to be insufficient, whereby the inhabitants' goods Trespass upon one another att the north Croft, and for making a high road there from Pottergate Tower to Clayport Tower where it was only a foot way to the Church. 1682.—We doe present John Lisle of Rennington for arresting Francis Hopper from the Lord's Court into the County Court for Debts and damages under 39s. 11d., it being only for the leape of a horse. We amerce him 6s. 8d. 1677.—William Yelloley for sueing out of the Lord's Court contrary to an ancient order and custom in the manner and Borough. Amerced 3s. 4d. 1756.—John Fargie presented George Carr of Bilton and John Potts for servinge me twice out of my Lord's Court.* 1697.—The common pinfold, the gaol in Bondgate Tower &c. is insufficient. 1709.—The Chamberlains to view two ovens or Bakehouses erected in Burgages, said to be dangerous. 1712.—Not repairing the hedge lying between a close in the possession of Mr. H. Robson, and a close in their possession called Hill pit close. Amerced 4d. 1713.—Swine trespassing in Castle Close. 1727.—Joshua Alder and others amerced 6d. each, having 2 pint measures wanting measure. 1688.—The parish to repair the highway between Denwick and Alnwick."

We shall now look at the relation of these courts to the property of the borough. A roll was kept of all the tenants or freeholders, and their names were called over at every Court Leet, that suit and service might be rendered to the lord; those who could not attend appeared by deputy and paid their *essoin*, or excuse penny. At the court held in 1664 twenty burgage holders paid *essoin*. Jurors then were bound to attend; "1683—We order whoever of the Jury appear not on Monday morning being 21st instant, at the toll of the bell, shall forfeit 6s. 8d. to the lord of the manor."

On the death of an owner of a burgage, his successor was

* County Courts were held in the Castle in 1648, 1649.



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obliged to come before a court and prove his heirship, perform fidelity, and pay a small fine before he was admitted to his inheritance. When the property was sold or mortgaged a similar process was gone through. In the earliest roll of 1474 there are entries of such admissions, and they are continued down to 1702, after which they cease, probably because the adoption of the system of lease and release rendered it unnecessary to resort to the Court Leet. To shew the character and style of these records I shall give a few examples.

1618.—"Inquire after the death of George Rotherforthe and his wyfe, that they died possessed of a house in Clayport Joninge on John Wattson on the east and John Hearett on the west, and whether his son Robert be his hare or no: we find this Robert Rotherforth oldest sonne and heire to the said George Rotherforth. 1649.—Ad hanc compertum est per homagium ibidem quod per Indenturam Mortgagii Johannes Greene gerentem datum—die—Anno 164—? Rogerus Moffit seisitus est de et in partem burgagio in Bondgait nuper possessione Johannis Greene predicti—cum selione terræ arabilis, gardini, &c., eidem pertinentibus cum libero egressione et regressione." At this court Matthew Reed was admitted to a burgage "in Clayport extra porta." The following admission is a translation from the original Latin.

1663.—"At this court it is found by the homage, that Anne Chator died seized of one burgage, with a selion of land, situate lying and being in a certain street there called Clapoth within the aforesaid Borough, between the burgage of George Watson on the west part, rendering yearly eight pence, and that Charles Chator is son and heir of the aforesaid Anne; and besides this, in the same court, the aforesaid Charles comes and petitions that he be admitted Tenant. The aforesaid Lord then grants to this Charles, by his steward, seisin to hold of himself and his heirs for ever, by the same custom of the aforesaid Borough, to render all rents, services, and customs thence before rendered and of right accustomed, And to give to the Lord by fine as in the margin; and he makes fidelity and is then admitted a Tenant."

The following is an admission on the transfer of a burgage by sale.—

1664.—"Idem juratores predicti super eorum sacramentum dicunt, Quod Robertus Clarke et Willelmus Beadnell qui de domino tenuerunt Unum Burgagium in vico ibidem vocato Narrowgate existentem ex orientali parte ejusdem vici, abutantem super Burgagium Willelmi Lambe ex parte boreali, Locum vocatum le Bowbourne ex parte australi, terram vocatam Mitcalfes' land ex parte orientali, et viam regim ex parte occidentali, per fidelitatem sectam curiæ et Redditum duodecim denarium per Indenturam suam factam dederunt vendiderunt et enfeoffaverunt Burgagium predictum cum pertinentiis predicto Willelmo Lambe heredibus et assignatis."

The next examples of inquiry into disputed or doubtful boundaries and heirship, are interesting for their topography.

1655. The Court Leete and Barron of Alnwick Castle. } You are to inquire the bounders limitts and parcells of that parke called the farr Callidge now on lease demised from his Lordship to William Archbold, and as yet unexpired and whether a parcell of ground called the Cold raw and what other parcells of ground are incroached from the same, by whom, how long, and lett the yeare valew of the grounds incroached if any be knowne to the best of your knowledge, wee refer this to Mr. Potter.

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In 1688 there was an inquiry as to the right of pasturage on the Island of Lowthers Haugh and Greys Haugh, arising out of changes made by the run of the river Aln. The jury say—

"We finde by the oathes of Robert Glover aged 65 or thereabouts, Charles Spence about fourscore, John Alnwicke aged sixty six or thereabouts, Matthew Alnwick aged Fifty Eight or thereabouts, that this Island is part and parcell of Greyes haugh, and not belonging to Lowthers; and that William Stanton hath of late claimed the same to belong to Lowthers haugh which is an incroachment upon the Lord of the Barony." Francis Alder of Hobberlaw was foreman of this jury.

1676.—"You shall inquire who was next heire to Richard Woodhouse and what lands and tenements he died seized of, and whether John Salkeld gentleman, Matthew Alnwicke gentleman, James Huntley, John Falder, and Thomas Strother and Mary his wife did not purchase or otherwise possesse the same; and what parts and parcells every or either of them purchased and the names of the closes and parcells with their buttings and bonds, and what rent and services are or ought to be paid to the Lady of the Mannor. Given under my hand this 25th April 1676.

J. Blakestone, Steward."

"We find the severall parties above named doe possesse the lands that was the said Richard Woodhouses, and that John Woodhouse was brother and next heire to Richard under whom that the severall parties abovesaid hath purchased the same, that is to say John Salkeld for two closes in Bondgate fields, betwixt Nath. Salkeld on the North and John Forster on the East and South and Mathew Alnwicke on the West; Matthew Alnwicke enjoys the Butts called Knights furlongs, lying in the Carsley peece and Sparty close, William Archbold one close called Willey close and the Croft lands, Jane Huntley a close called Ravenslaw, John Falders heires two closes called the Hawes, and in the possession of Edward Strother and Mary his wife a parcell of ground in the lowe Aledike grounds."

A book was kept to record inquisitions and admissions from April 27th, 1683, to Oct. 19th, 1702, called "minutes of survey and court," in which, during that period, about 370 admissions are recorded. This Book of Survey was made in consequence of the following order—

1683.—"You are to inquire on the parte and behalfe of His Grace Charles Percy Duke of Somersett and Elizabeth his wife &c., Lord of the Manor and Burrough after the death of all such Tenants as died since the last court and before the next court who hath not paid their—? and sworn fidelity, and what lands and tenements they are seized of and who is the next heir to every particular Burgage; and you are to inquire who hath alienated any of their lands and tenements in any Burgage and to whom, and what rents are or ought to be paid to the Lord."

The following are a few extracts from these minutes:—1695.—"Ad hanc curiam compertum est per homagium quod Charles Greenwell et Anna uxor ejus sesiti fuerunt de et in tribus Burgagiis sive tenementiis cum pertinentiis in Paikes hole, et quod predicti Carolus Greenwell et Anna uxor ejus per Indenturam suam feoffment' specificat' Barganizavit et confirmavit Burgagia prædicta cum pertinentiis cuidam Johanni Burrell et assignis suis imperpetuum, Et super hoc—? redditus iis. viiid."

"At this court it is found by homage that John Swinhoe died seized of the Burgage called Mutehall situated in Baylygate, the annual rent being 7d., and that John Swinhoe is his son and next heir. Robert Pearett did homage

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for a Burgage with a parcel of land called Salisberry land—rent 6d. yearly. Thomas Younger died seized of a Burgage in Ratton Raw—rent 4d. James Earl of Derwentwater died seized of five tenements—3s. 2d. Another son of Thomas Dalavall did homage for 5 burgages in Baylygate—rent 12d. 1708. —Matthew Alnwick of Stoney Hills. 1710.—Nathanial Salkeld died seized of Bondgate Hall. 1710.—Edward Gallon died seized of 12 burgages and one close in Clayport Bank."

1714.—"Wee present George Hardy, Arthur Gair, Robert Hyndmarsh, George Vardy and John Watson for not appearing at this court to take and putt in their Inquiryes for heires and alienation according to ancient custome for their severall Burgages to know what Rents dutyes services are or ought to be paid to the Lord of the Manor being lawfully summoned refused to come, wee amerce them as on their heads 6s." The time, however, had gone by when such fines could be enforced.

On the admission of a Freeholder he took the following Oath:—"You shall swear by the contents of this Book, that you will be true and faithful to the Lord of the Mannor and from henceforth bear do and pay to your said Lord and to his heires att certain termes all such Rents customs and services as you ought to pay and doe for all such Lands Tenements as claim to hold of him. So help you God."

At the Court Leet the officers of the borough were sworn into office. One list we have given for 1474; but officers with other functions were appointed in subsequent periods; in 1618 there were two constables for Narrowgate, two for Bondgate, two for the Market-place, two for Clayport, and two for Walkergate; there were four prassors, four land layuers, five bread weayers and meat lokers, four moorgrieves and two keepers of Hesleyside and the bog; in 1696, and in other years the chamberlains were the land-liners; in 1664 there were four *Curatores Foreste de Eaden*, another name for moorgrieves; and in 1739 we find two market lookers for the skinners and glovers. The first notice of the appointment of chamberlains is on 23rd October, 1667, and in the following year there is an appointment of three herds.

At the Knights' Court constables were appointed for other wards in the parish, not within the borough boundary; one for Cawledge Parke, two for Bailiffgate, two for Denwick, one for Hull Parke, one for Rugley, and two for Bondgate. "Corne appraisers for the Towne fields of Alnwick" were appointed in 1694, and "common appraisers of Bondgate fields" in 1687.

One list of jurors for 1474 is printed in page 338, two others are here added for 1612 and 1664; the latter is interesting as it gives the occupations of the jurors, among whom are five glovers, a trade now extinct in Alnwick. At these early periods most of the jurors, if not all of them, were members of the Four and Twenty.

"Burgh Jury 1612.—John Skott, John Butler, John Skotte filius Johannis, William Gallon, George Alder, William Hunter, William Watson, James

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Green, Nicholas Forster, William Reavlis, John Graye, Richard Watson, William Watson of Clayport. Burgh Jury 1664.—John Scott gentleman, Cuthbert Chessman Shoemaker, Thomas Forster Merchant, John Falder Merchant, Edward Gallon Merchant, John Harrison Glover, Alexander Scott Glover, John Vardy Merchant, Francis Hearett Glover, Nicholas Woodhouse Tanner, John Taylor Glover, Robert Pearett Tanner, Roger Moffatt Tanner."

*The Knights' Courts* were held in Alnwick Castle and consisted of a Court Baron and a Court Leet, whose functions were similar to those of the *Burgh Courts*, but with jurisdiction over the members of the barony of Alnwick. To these Courts the military and other free tenants were summoned to appear, and render suit and service. The following roll of 1664 is important, as a chronicle of the land owners in the barony at this time.

"*Free tenants of the manor.* Lord Gray for lands in Hawkell; Rich. Lisle, gent., Hazand;* Heirs of Matthew Forster, Newton le Moor; Heirs of Thomas Hearon, Newton le Moor; George Lisle, Newton le Moor; Thomas Horsley, knight, Morricke; William Lord Gray, Morricke and East Chevington; John Roddam, Esq., Littlehoughton; Heirs of Edward Gray, Howicke; John Salkeld, Rocke; Charles Howard, knight, North Charlton; Heirs of Matthew Forster, knight, Edderston; Ralph Salkeld, Fawdon (Fallowden); Francis Brandling, Hoppen; Heirs of Nicholas Forster, Doxford; (Heirs of Edw. Conyers, gent., Lucker); Heirs of Thomas Thompson, Wooden; John Roddam, Rennington; Thomas Grey, Broxfield; Samuel Weddale, Swinhoe; Heirs of Arthur Grey, knight, Spindleston; Richard Forster, Budle; Cuthbert Younghusband, Budle; Thomas Younghusband, Budle; Heirs of Reynold Forster, Brunton; Heirs of George Lawson, Newton on the Sea; (Henry Pearson, Mr. Wm. Wetwang, Edward Lawson, Wm. Lawson, Newton by the Sea); Heirs of Alexander Scott, Yardley; (Alex. Scott, gent., Mr. Thomas Hebborne, Ralph Hebborn, Earl); William Lord Gray, Horton; Heirs of Lancelot Strother, Fowberry; Heirs of Stephen Jackson, Healerigg; Heirs of Clement Strother, Cald-Martin; Heirs of John Carr, Hetton; Heirs of Thomas Horsley, Screnwood; William Lord Gray, Chillingham; Heirs of Arthur Hebbron, Hebbron; Ralph Muscampe, Lyham; William Lord Gray, Ellwicke Horton Turbevill; Wm. Grey, Eworth, Doddington, Nesbit; Mr. Wm. Orde, gent., Weetwood; Richd. Forster, Newham; Heirs of Thomas Collingwood, Reavley; Alexander Collingwood, Ralph Dawson, John Hearon, Robert Alder, Alneham; George Alder, Prendicke; Thomas Swinhoe, Whittall; Robert Widderington, Guyson; Heirs of Daniell Gallon, Thomas Pallister, John Garrett, Shilbottle; Heirs of Fancis Brandling, knight, Guyson and Broxfield."

For lands in Bailiffgate we have the following:—"Heirs of Arthur Gray, Phillis Strother, Christopher Spence, Robert Craister, John Harwood, Heirs of Will. Thompson, John Clarke, Thomas Lindsey, John Clarke, Margarett Clarke, Thomas Read, John Fargie, William Harbottle, Roger Pearith, John Fargye, Francis Clarke, Heirs of Alexander Armorer, Heirs of Thomas Orde, William Swinhoe, Edward Lawson, John Swinhoe, Christopher Harbottle; for lands in upper Sheeldykes, Thomas Forster, Esqr."

"*Tenants of Demesne and Calledge in Alnewicke.*—John Salkeld, Esq., Nicholas Forster, Henry Strother, Luke Wetheritt, William Gromwell, Thomas Weatherbourne, William Archbold, Henry Facye, Martin Milborne."

"*Tenants by lease in Bondgate.*—John Scott, Nicholas Hudson, Thomas Swann, Edward Strother, Nicholas Forster."

* "For lands in" must be understood before the name of each place.

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"*Tenants by lease in Denwick.*—Thomas Shipeherd, William Harper, Rowland Robinson, William Robinson, Richard Reed, Clement Forster, Thomas Arkle, Edward Shipeherd, Richard Reed, Theopolus Thew, George Thomson." Besides these there were five tenants in Tuggal, two in Lyham, eight in Alnham, thirteen in South Charlton, and eleven in Rennington.

In addition we find, from the records of 1456, that the following vills or townships were bound to appear; viz.—Alneham, Scranwood, Chatton, Lyham, Hopen, Folbery, Horton, Dodyngton, Ewurth, Prendwyke, Budle, Spindleston, Tugall, Swinhow, Bilton, Houghton Magna, Houghton Parva, Charlton, Hasand, Gysyne, Schilbotell, Hawkley, Renyngton, Roke, Lessbury, Ruglee, Newham, Lucre, Edderston, Howyke, Morwyke, Chevyngton, Chilyngham, Brunton, North Charlton. Tugall, Newham, Chilyngham were amerced 6d. for default, and Houghton Magna and Chevyington paid an essoin. Fines for neglect of appearance ranged generally from 1s. 8d. to 6s. 8d.

Some extracts from the rolls of these courts will shew the mode by which military tenants were admitted to their estates; others tell where the ancient common lands of the people were, and the care used to prevent encroachments on them; some will illustrate the topography of the district and others the manners of the inhabitants. The first extract is a translation of the original.

1475, April 7.—"The jury say that Robert Folbery gentleman held of the Lord of the Manor, Folbery with appurtenances, and also one vill called Caldmarton, one parcel of land in Chatton, one burgage in Alnewick with two husbandlands in Rok in the County of Northumberland; and they say that he held on military service, on the day he died, about the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the 13th. year of the reign of Edward IV. King, and they say, that William Folbery is his next heir and of full age, and appears in the court, seeks to be admitted and then makes fidelity, his pledge being Thomas Gray of Horton. 1667, April 24.—Ad hanc curiam compertum est per Homagium, quod Johannes Roddam obiit seisitus de terris et Tenementiis cum pertinentiis in Little Houghton infra Baronia predicta de domino, per servitium militare et annualem redditum Trodecem Solidorum, et undecim denariorum; Et quod Johannes Roddam est filius et heres prefati Johannis defuncti; Et super hoc venit prefatus Johannes Roddam et petit se admitti inde Tenentem, cuidam Johanni Dominus predictus per Senechallum suum predictum concessit inde seisinam Habendum predicto Johanni et heredis suis reddendum omnes redditus servitia inde prius reddita et de jure consueta; et fecit fidelitatem et satisfecit Domino pro Relevio Tresdecem Solidos et undecim denarios. Et admissus est inde Tenens. 1667.—John Gray heir of Edward Gray of Howick paid 40s. 8d. for relief of all his lands and tenements in Howick. 1682.—Wee find that Robert Lisle of Hazon gentleman died seized of lands and tenements in Hazon aforesaid, and that the said Robert Lisle by his will devised the same to Robert Lisle his nephew who is sonn of Richard Lisle of Hazon aforesaid, paying 11s. per annum rent to the Lord, suit of court, and ought to appear at this courte this day to swear fealty and pay the Lords relief, who this day made default in his appearance, we therefore amerce him 1s. 8d." 1587.—William Nicholson of Howick, tenant of Mr. Edward Craster, and

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others, made submission for taking 'certeyn fyrdells upon the sea coast within the bounders of Howyk.' They confessed the trespass and restored the fir deals, and their submission was accepted. In 1596.—The tenants of Broxefeld which is a hamblett of Renyngton had common of pasture on the common of Renyngton. 1604.—The common of Lucker was overcharged, and the fishing of the Warne occupied without leave and the woods destroyed. About the same period presentments were made of Ralph Gray Chillingham and Matthew Forster Ederstone for putting cattell on Lucker Common; Thomas Collingwood of Ryle for casting turves on Beanley Common; Mr. Hazelrigge of Swarland for enclosing land from Shilbottle and Shieldyke Common; Ralph Gray Chillingham for enclosing from Chatton Common; Edward Grey Howicke putting on Houghton and Rennington Commons. Alnewyk and Warkworth, about 1600 A.D.—Incroachments and abuses there done hurtful to to his Lords inheritance. Edward Carr hath encroached a parcell of ground appertaining to Houghton and converted it into a Tenement called bowmer rigge. Robert Roddam hath encroached a parcell of ground nigh Cuppermore and Shawlawe Strother; and also in Renyngton. The Tenants of Broxfield have encroached on Renyngton. Sir John Forster hath encroached 30 acres of land at Blacklre nigh Hefferlawe; and ground called Marden Banks, and taken the growing hay belonging to Lesbury. The Tenants of Wowden and Buston do pretend title to a parcell of land on the common of Bilton wrongfully. The Tenants of Newton on Moor do wrongfully pretend title to his Lordships soyle in Shilbottle Moor at a place called Hampeth. Warkworth complains of Berling, Acklington of Chevington; The Tenants of Tuggal take turves by violence from Tuggall Moor; the Tenants of Swynhowe refuse to appear at Tuggal Court and do hold their suit at Ellingham; the Tenants of Bruneton wrongfully cast Turves upon Tuggall Moor. Mr. Swinborne of Edlingham pertends the title to a parcell of the common of Sheldykes and hath casten turves upon the same; he hath (as it is supposed) caused his tenants to remove four perches (?) from the Black loughe, which was the bounder between Edlingham and Sheldykes. North Charlton used wrongfully part of South Charlton Common; the tenants of Dichburn and Rock have done the like in several places; the tenants of Chatton complain of Sir Ralph Gray for taking land of Chatton without right. 1638.—Nicholas Forster for a night layre with his horse on new milne haugh amerced 2s. 4d. Martin Stamp for converting a stray hefer goate to his own use, 4s. Thomas Pott blood and fray upon Robert Adston and a fray upon his wife 6s. 8d. John Wilkinson of Overbuston for two fold burstes 6s. 8d. Ralph Forster for stoping the highway with his dunghill and polluting the pott water 12d.; for overstinting the Common of Warenford 12d.; and for burning the Moor under the Raw heugh and casting his turfes there 20d. Lesbury, John Mills for a slander he maid of Anne Meleken and said thou stole geese 6s. 8d. Prudhoe, Arthur Harryson for keeping and maintayning his daughter being a known thief 6s. 8d. Chatton, Ralph Hebborne for robbing of Lyonell Tynedales wheat being a thafe amerced for his fault 3s. 4d., and his wife being a Scold 3s. 4d. Tynemouth, Matthew Browne for a troublesome and noysome neighbour 6d.; Thomas Forster for boyling Oil in his house to the annoyance of his neighbour 6s. 8d.; Robert Allysone for blowing of mutton to the sight of the constables 12d.; Richard Tayler for burning lime within the Sheales* 12d. 1683.—Tughall, amerced for not having a common pound 1s. 8d., not having a constable 1s. 8d.; not having a paire of Stocks 1s. 8d. 1638.—Lesbury, Patrick Macklewyan, Clerk, for 6 severall pound briches and taking his geese out of the pinfold 6s. 8d.; of the same for overstinting the Common wher he hath no Eatage 12d.; of the same for a pound brich maid by his servant Ales Huggin 20d.; of the same for a pound brich maid by the said servant and taking his maire out of the pinfold 3s. 4d.; the same for a night

* Now the important and populous town of Shields.

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layer with his maire in the west field. 1654.—Patrick Macklewyan in an action of the case on complaint by Richard Wyddous Thomas Wyddous William Stampe and John Alnwick, turned into a presentment. 1656.—William Broun complains against Patrick Maclewyan Clerk who was amerced 3s. 2d.; 1657.—Mr. Patrick Mackleywyan* complaynes of Lionell Tayte who is amerced 20d., and of Michael Gardner who is acquitted."

The occupation of these courts is now gone; yet they are still held twice a year about Easter and Michaelmas. The fees for process allowed by law and custom, taken and accounted for by the bailiffs are—for every summons 1s. 5d., replevin in warrant and bond 5s., execution 6d., sub-pœna and copy 6d., levy and schedules 3s., man in possession per day of twenty-four hours 2s. 6d. A learned steward, usually a barrister, presides, a clerk records the minutes, a jury is empanelled, and several corporate officers with few or no duties to perform are sworn in. Sometimes a case of debt or detinue has been tried, but rarely in recent years; county courts, petty sessions, and boards of health have taken from the baronial courts all their practical functions. They are but shadowy forms—ghosts of other times. One purpose they serve; they enable the lord of the Manor, as represented by his steward, to entertain with dinners, at an inn, some thirty or forty of the people of Alnwick and of the district, who are more or less connected with Alnwick Castle.

* He was vicar of Lesbury. Fuller has made him famous, under the name of Michael Vivan; for he tells us that when 110 years old his hair came again as a child's of flaxen colour; that he had three teeth cut within two years, which were not then come to perfection; that his eyesight had come again, and he could read the smallest print without spectacles; that he preached and prayed an hour and a half without any notes. He seems to have been a quarrelsome man, for he often appears in the Archdeacon's as well as in the Baronial Courts.

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# CHAPTER XIX.

## THE SMITHSONS—EARLS AND DUKES OF NORTHUMBERLAND FROM 1750 TO 1866.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOMERSET ESTATES—DESCENT OF SIR HUGH SMITHSON—GRANT OF ARMS—MARRIED TO ELIZABETH THE PERCY HEIRESS — RENOVATES ALNWICK CASTLE — PENNANT'S DESCRIPTION OF IT—IMPROVEMENTS AROUND ALNWICK—WALPOLE'S CRITIQUE — BOUT RHYMES BY THE DUCHESS — HUGH SECOND DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND—SERVICE IN AMERICA—FAMILY OF BURRELL—THE PERCY TENANTRY AND COLUMN—HOSPITALITY—HUGH, THIRD DUKE—REJOICINGS WHEN MARRIED —HIS POLICY — ALGERNON, FOURTH DUKE — SERVICE IN THE NAVY — FOREIGN TRAVELS — IMPROVEMENTS — RESTORATION OF ALNWICK CASTLE—CHARACTER—GEORGE FIFTH DUKE.

The death of Algernon, duke of Somerset, without male issue caused a distribution of his titles and estates, in accordance with their respective limitations. The dukedom of Somerset passed to Sir Edward Seymour, a lineal descendant of the Protector Somerset by his first wife. Sir Charles Wyndham succeeded to the earldom of Egremont and barony of Cockermouth. The earldom of Northumberland and barony of Warkworth, which were created in 1749, descended by special limitation to Sir Hugh Smithson, husband of the duke's daughter; and the only title which descended to herself, seems to have been a new barony in fee created by a summons to her father as Baron Percy in 1722, although he had been placed in the house of peers, in the precedency of the ancient barony of the 27th of Edw. I. All the ancient baronies of the Percys in fee had been extinguished in 1537; if this had not been so, they would have been forfeited in 1559. Had there been no forfeitures, they would have been in abeyance among the various descendants of the daughters of Earl Thomas, the rebel of the north; for they are elder in blood than the possessors of the fee of Alnwick, who, since



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that earl's fatal rising, are not heirs at law of the Baron Percy of Edward I. Some of these possessors have indeed inherited a new set of baronies of Percy, Poynings, Lucy, Bryan, and Fitz-Payne, created in 1557 in tail male; but those dignities became extinct in 1670. The title of Latimer, frequently assumed by the later Percys, had reference to merely one of the baronies to which they became coheirs by marriage, and it remains still in abeyance among the descendants of John Neville generally. The prestige, however, of time honoured names of dignities and families, and the rental of their lands, are more influential than the technical laws of the peerage or priority of blood. By act of parliament, passed in the year of the duke of Somerset's death, Hugh Earl of Northumberland and Elizabeth his wife were authorised to take and use the name of Percy and to bear and quarter the arms of that ancient family.

The accession of this new dynasty to the barony forms an important era in the history of the town of Alnwick; and as in the case of other lords we ask—who were they and whence did they come?

This family rising to a lofty position, it became the duty of genealogists to find or make for them a long line of ancestry. Collins in an early edition of his peerage gives the descent from "a very ancient family surnamed Smytheton and Smithton," the first of whom, Melgrum, held the manor of Smethton in the time of William the Conqueror. Though the transmutation of a Smithson into a Smethton shews all the genius of an early heraldist, yet the descent is imaginative and mythical. Less pretentious is another account, which represents, that William Smithson, in the reign of Richard II., possessed Newsome and other lands in Yorkshire, and that his descendants resided at Newsome till the time of Queen Elizabeth, when Anthony Smythson of Newsome married Eleanor the heiress of George Catherick of Stanwick, esquire. Another version, however, says he married the grand-daughter of George Catherick. But both these accounts are somewhat doubtful; for of this line of squires and gentlemen, no record is given in Tonge's visitation or in other heraldic rolls. Neither is it noticed by Whitaker, who was assisted in genealogy by Radclyffe; nor is it countenanced by the grant of arms to Sir Hugh Smithson at a subsequent period. These suppositious descents are discreetly eliminated out of that edition of Collins, which incorporates the elaborate history of the Percy family, said to have been written by

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Bishop Percy. There is evidence, however, that the Smithsons were inhabitants of Newsome in some status or other. In the 19th of Henry VI., John de Percy, of Kyledale, was witness to grant of lands in Yefford and Newsome to John Smythson. Neither esquire nor gentleman is attached to his name. But we find that William Smythson of Newsom, in the parish of Kyrkeby on the hill, *yeoman*, was the grantee of lands in Scole Acle [*hodie* Shool Aycliffe, near Darlington] from Arthur Neville in 1563. He had purchased other lands there in 1554, and in 1587 he, by charter, gave all these lands to his son George Smythson, who in 1606 conveyed them to Francis Forster. We afterwards find at Newsham, Anthony the ancestor of the future dukes of Northumberland, who had two sons at least, both of whom went to London to carve out their own fortunes; one, Bernard Smithson, was an apothecary there, and the other, Hugh, entered into trade. Hugh achieved success as a merchant, and was "fined for Alderman and Sheriff of the city." He acquired, perhaps by purchase, the estate of Stanwick in Yorkshire, the ancient inheritance of the Cathericks. While Henry Percy, the earl of Northumberland, was engaged on the side of the people during the civil war, Hugh Smithson paid court to the monarch, who sought to be absolute; and when the tide turned in favour of royalty, he was rewarded; for Charles II. in 1663 conferred on him the title and dignity of knight and baronet, and made a grant of arms to himself, to his brother Bernard, and their posterity; "because he during the late tymes of distraction hath been always ready to express his loyalty to his Majesties interest." The following is a copy of this grant.

"To all and singuler vnto whome these presents shall come Sr Edward Walker Kt Gartr principall King of Armes of Englishmen sendeth greeting wheras it hath bin an antient Custome & to this Day continued, that all Estats and degrees of men have bene and are distinguished each from other by Markes or Signes called Armes being outward demonstrations of the inward worth of the bearers Atchieved either by their valour in the field in tymes of Warr, or by their uertuous indeauours in the Comonwealths in times of Peace. In wch respect whereas Sr Hugh Smithson of Stannike at Stanwike in the county of Yorke Kt & Baronett sonne of Anthony Smithson of Newsam in the County York gent haueing bin formerly a Marchant in the Citty of London & hath fined for Alderman and Sheriff of the said Citty & dureing the late tymes of distraction hath bin always reddy to express his Loyallty to his Maties intrest for wch upon his Maties restitutution his Matie was gratiously pleased as proper Testimonies of his fauour to confer upon him the title & dignity of Kt & Baronet wherby he may justly deserue to have such Armes assigned unto him as he may lawfully beare, for the honour of himselfe & his posterity Know ye therefore that I the said Sr Edward Walker Kt Garter principall King of Armes by the power and authority annexed

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vnto my office by the Statutes of the Most Noble Order of the Garter & confirmed vnto me by Letters Patents vnder the great seale of England, doe hereby give grant & assigne vnto him the said Sr Hughe Smithson Kt & Baronet, and to Bernard Smithson of London Apothecary brother of the said Sr Hugh Smithson and to the heires and descendants of their bodies for euer, the coate of Armes & Crest herafter mentioned vizt: Or on a chiefe Imbatteled Azure 3 sunns proper, and for his crest vpon a helmt p'per Mantled Gules doubled Argent, out of a Ducall Crowne Or a demy Lion rampant gardant gules holding a sunn proper as in the margent hereof more liuely is depicted the which Armes & Creast they the said Sr Hugh Smithson Kt & Baronett & Bernard Smithson and the heirs & descendants of their bodyes lawfully begotten for ever bearing their due and proper differences May and shall lawfully at all tymes and upon all occasions vse bear and sett forth in shield Coat Armour Penon Standard Seale or otherwise according to the Law and practise of Armes without the let Interruption dispute or Contradiction of any person whatsoeuer In witness whereof I haue hereunto subscribed my name and affixed ye seale of my office ye xxth day of November in ye 18th yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Charles ye 2nd by ye Grace of God King of England Scotland france & Ireland Defender of the Faith A'qe Dni 1663.

Edward Walker Garter."

Collins and the writers of peerages who copy him misrepresent this grant of arms as an augmentation; but in it there is no reference either to the Catherick arms or to any arms belonging to Smithson; it is a grant *de novo* not only to himself but also to his brother the apothecary, who thus through him became dignified as an *armiger*; an honourable origin is this from the productive class—from yeoman, farmer, and merchant—nobler than from military adventurers.

Sir Hugh Smithson died, according to Collins, on 20th of October, 1670, aged 72 years. From him in succession descended Sir Jerome Smithson, Bart.; and Sir Hugh Smythson, Bart., who died in 1729, aged 72 years, and who had two sons, Hugh the elder, and Langdale, both of whom died in their father's lifetime. Hugh was never married; but from Langdale sprung Hugh Smithson, who married the Percy heiress.

Somewhat of romance there was in the elevation of Hugh Smithson to the Percy peerage. Being the son of the younger branch of the family, he, like the founder of it, went to London to push his fortunes, and carried on the honourable occupation of an apothecary in Hatton Gardens.* For antiquities he had a taste, and became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of which in after life he was president. He succeeded, however, to a baronetcy, on the death of his grandfather in 1729; and on the death of another relative, Hugh Smithson of Tottenham, he came into possession of estates in Yorkshire and Middlesex. He must therefore have cast

* Jeaffreson's Lives of Physicians.

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physic to the dogs, long before he aspired to the hand of the Percy heiress. He is said to have wooed another fair one unsuccessfully; but being one of the handsomest men of his time, he had pleased Lady Percy, who manifested her preference by expressing her wonder that any lady should have rejected his addresses. This was whispered to Sir Hugh, and it inspired him with courage; he laid his heart and fortune at the feet of the heiress, who looked kindly on him, and bid him rise and be happy and great. They were married on 16th of July, 1740.

After his accession to the earldom, the honours attendant on territorial greatness were heaped upon him. His princely revenues enabled him to live in great splendour. When, in 1763, he was lieutenant general of Ireland, he filled the office with dignity, patronised liberally the manufactures of the country, and dispensed a profuse charity. A grand entertainment he gave, on 5th June 1764, the king's birthday, when one thousand five hundred persons of distinction were invited, and his gardens were illuminated with ten thousand lamps. He was created, on October 22nd 1766, Duke of Northumberland and Earl Percy, with succession to heirs male of his body; and, on 26th January 1784, another peerage was added to his family, by his being created Lord Lovaine Baron of Alnwick, with remainder to Algernon his second son.

Leckinfield, Wresil, and Petworth, the chief residences of the later Percys, had passed away from the new family; and as the Percy estates lay chiefly in Northumberland, the new earl naturally looked to the north for a seat among his Northumbrian tenantry. The choice lay between Warkworth and Alnwick Castles. The former in the time of Leland was apparently habitable and in good repair, and its situation was eminently beautiful; the latter was ruinous, and so neglected had it been, that in 1691 a common school was kept within its walls; but being, however, of much greater extent than Warkworth Castle, and more associated with family incidents and historic events, it was chosen for the future home of the barons of Alnwick. It was thoroughly repaired and renovated in the pseudo-gothic style; and the interior stucco decorations were the work of Italian artists. Much of the Mediæval character, which gave a stern grandeur to this border castle, and which harmonised with old associations was destroyed. Still, however, it was a magnificent residence for a nobleman. A short time after its completion it was visited by

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Pennant, an antiquary and naturalist of some distinction; and he thus records his impressions of the castle and town in 1769.

"At Alnwick, a small town, the traveller is disappointed with the situation and environs of the Castle, the residence of the Percies, the ancient Earls of Northumberland. You look in vain for any marks of the grandeur of the feudal age; for trophies won by a family eminent in our annals for military prowess and deeds of chivalry; for halls hung with helms and hauberks, or with the spoils of the chase; for extensive forests and venerable oaks. You look in vain for the helmet on the tower, the ancient signal of hospitality to the traveller; or for the grey-headed porter to conduct him to the hall of entertainment. The numerous train, whose countenances gave welcome to him on his way, are now no more; and instead of the disinterested usher of the old times, he is attended by a *valet* eager to receive the fees of admittance. There is a vast grandeur in the appearance of the outside of the Castle; the towers magnificent, but injured by the numbers of rude statues crowded on the battlements. The apartments are large, and lately finished in the Gothic style with a most incompatible elegance. The gardens are equally inconsistent, trim in the highest degree, and more adapted to a villa near London than the ancient seat of a great baron. In a word, nothing, except the numbers of unindustrious poor that swarm at the gate, excites any one idea of its former circumstances."*

Naked and bleak was the country around Alnwick in the early part of the eighteenth century; many of the forests and woods had been destroyed in the days of border warfare; but this duke began to adorn the lands around his castle. Under the direction of a native of Kirkharle, Lancelot Brown called "Capability Brown," the tops of the hills were planted with clumps of trees; other clumps mostly of a circular form were scattered over the slopes, and on other parts were long belts of plantations, while in the valleys larger forests were created; the old parks too were extended and enclosed by high walls. Greatly beautified and enriched was the scenery by these improvements. Alas! that in carrying them out the ancient privileges of the people were encroached on, and a policy begun which destroyed the independence and importance of the corporation, and put a bar to the development of the natural resources of the town.

This duke had a vigorous mind and considerable capacity for business. Notwithstanding his great outlay in planting, in building, in buying pictures, his revenue more than kept pace with his expenditure. Walpole depreciates the pictures,

* Pennant's Tour in Scotland, p. 32.

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for which a large price had been paid. "I would" says he "scarce hang them up; and then copies by any thing now living! and at what a price!" He gives a sketch of the earl's manner of life:—"They are building at Northumberland House, at Sion, at Stanwick, at Alnwick, and Warkworth Castles! they live by the etiquette of the peerage, have Swiss porters, the countess has her pipers—in short they will soon have no estate."* A false prophet, however, was this cynical critic; not only was the rental of the old estates greatly increased; but new lands were added, many of which were around Alnwick. Overacres with the seigniory of Redesdale, including Harbottle and the advowson of Elsdon, and property in Yorkshire and elsewhere were purchased from William Howard.

Elizabeth the duchess had some literary taste, and one of her poetical productions has been given to the world. *Bouts Rimes*, or rhyming terminations of French invention had become a fashionable amusement, which was particularly patronised by Sir John and Lady Miller of Batheaston, near Bath. To the company assembled at this villa, *Bouts Rimes* were given out, which were filled up by lines having some poetic cadence, by candidates for poetic honours; these productions which were often ridiculous enough, were deposited in a vase, whence they were taken and examined by judges appointed for the purpose; and to the best exercise a myrtle crown was awarded. Elizabeth the duchess gained a crown by the following verses, which will give an idea of the literary amusements of the aristocracy of the period.

"The pen which I now take and brandish
Has long lain useless in my standish
Know every maid from her in patten
To her who shines in glossy satin
That could they now prepare an Olio
From best receipt of book in folio
Ever so fine for all their puffing
I should prefer a buttered muffing
A muffin Jove himself might feast on
If eat with Miller at Batheaston."

The duchess died on the 5th December, 1776, aged 60 years, and was buried in St. Nicholas' Chapel, Westminster Abbey. Chagrined with not being treated, as he thought, by the government with sufficient consideration, the duke retired, in a great measure, from public life, and spent his latter days in retirement. He survived the duchess ten years

* Walpole's Letters, 1752.

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and died on the 5th of June, 1786. One daughter they had, who died unmarried; and two sons—Hugh and Algernon.

## HUGH, SECOND DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Hugh, the eldest son of the first duke, was born in 1742; and on the decease of his mother in 1776, he succeeded to the new barony in fee, and was summoned to parliament as Baron Percy. In early life he served under Prince Ferdinand in the great seven years war. He was engaged in the unnatural war with the American States, and was despatched by General Gage with sixteen troops to the relief of a detachment, which, having been sent to destroy military stores at Concord, was exposed to destruction by American riflemen. In conducting the retreat, Lord Percy displayed sound judgment. The skirmish which took place, was called the battle of Lexington, where the first blood was drawn in the struggle between America and the mother country. General Gage praised him in the *London Gazette* "for his remarkable activity during the engagement." Lord Percy afterwards assisted in the reduction of Fort Washington, the column led by him being the first to enter the lines of the enemy.

He married in 1764, Anna Stuart, daughter of the earl of Bute, but from her he was divorced in 1779. For his second wife he took, in the same year, Frances Julia, the third daughter of Peter Burrell, Esq., a commissioner of the Excise.

Romantic, indeed, is the history of the Burrell family. The father had gone in 1774 to the shores of the Mediterranean in search of health, accompanied by his daughters; and, at the same time, Algernon, the second son of the first duke of Northumberland, being then in a delicate state of health, was passing the winter in the south of France. During an excursion to Marseilles, he accidentally met in a private company, Isabella the second daughter of Mr. Burrell, and became deeply attached to her. His mother consented to their union and they were married in 1775. About three years afterwards, the youngest sister of Isabella bestowed her hand on the duke of Hamilton, after whose death she married the marquis of Exeter; and next came the union of the third sister with the second duke of Northumberland. Modest, amiable, and virtuous were these women; but none of them it is said possessed extraordinary beauty or fascinating graces; but the eldest sister who was married to Mr. Bennett, a man of large estate, is described as a captivating woman. The singular fortunes

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of the family did not end here. The only son of Mr. Burrell, a young man of graceful person and engaging manners, gained the affections and hand of Lady Elizabeth Bertie, eldest daughter of Peregrine duke of Ancaster. Soon after the marriage, her brother, the only son of the duke suddenly died, and she succeeded to a barony of the creation of Edward III., along with the greater part of the Ancaster estates; she inherited also the high feudal office of lord great chamberlain of England, the duties of which were performed by her husband, and afterwards by her son. In course of time, Mr. Burrell's son was knighted; and in 1796 was raised to the British peerage by the title of Lord Gwydor.* Thus four peerages passed to the descendants of Mr. Peter Burrell.

There is little of interest in the public life of this duke of Northumberland; but when Britain was threatened with invasion from France, he caught the patriotic spirit of the times, and prepared for the defence of the country. He raised among his tenantry fifteen hundred men; and at his own expense clothed and accoutred them. They were formed into three corps, as riflemen, cavalry, and artillery. In those thrilling times of war when rumours of invasion were rife, the town of Alnwick presented a warlike appearance; for it was the head quarters of the military operations of the county. The local militia, the Coquetdale rangers—a body of cavalry raised in the western part of the county—and the Percy tenantry were drilled there. School boys even breathed the warlike spirit, and abandoning common amusements, their games were military—schools fighting against schools as English and French. Happily the services of our local soldiery were never needed on the battle-field—the tide of foreign invasion never rolled on the British shores.

During this war with France, the demand for food and the depreciation of the currency caused the prices of agricultural produce to range high; and as *vacant* farms on the Northumberland estate were let by *tender*, large rents were given under the artificial stimulus by new tenants; the rent frequently was doubled, and in some cases even quadrupled. When peace came prices fell, and then followed agricultural distress. The duke at this crisis tried to mitigate the evil, by a temporary reduction in the rents of his tenants of twenty five per cent, to enable them to overcome the pressure of the times. Some political economists deemed this a

* Wraxall's Memoirs.



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questionable expedient, and contended that an adjustment of the rental to the value of each farm would have been wiser—more in the spirit of justice to the tenant and permanently more advantageous to the landlord. The Percy tenantry, however, were delighted with the resolution; and they subscribed liberally to erect a column to perpetuate the memory of such a good deed. On the 1st of July, 1816, the foundation stone of this column was laid. It was designed by David Stephenson, and stands on a gentle hill at the south entrance of the town. It is an elegant fluted column in the Doric style, rising to the height of eighty-five feet; four lions couchant are at the base; and above the capital, a lion passant with a stiff extended tail—one of the crests of the Percys—stands on a circular pedestal. On the east panel of the base is the following inscription:—"To Hugh, Duke of Northumberland, K.G., this column is erected, dedicated, and inscribed by a grateful and united tenantry, Anno Domini MDCCCXVI."

The temporary expedient, so magnificently memorialised, failed to restore prosperity; tenants still failed, and others who could not bear up under the pressure of a heavy rent, gave up their farms expecting a considerable reduction; but then came forth the strange decree, that no tenant giving up a farm for a reduction should be allowed to compete for it again; and this rule, which drove many industrious tenants from the estates, continued in operation till the time of Algernon the fourth duke, who wisely struck it out of the Northumberland statute book.

A splendid hospitality was kept up by the second duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle; he had two "public days" weekly, when gentlemen both of the town and country were expected to dine with him. Even some of the tradesmen of Alnwick and dissenting ministers were honoured guests on these occasions. There were, however, tolls to pay, in the shape of fees to the porter and other servants of the castle; these being heavy, one tradesman deemed it prudent to dine at home. Missing this humble friend from his table, the duke inquired of him, why he had not appeared at the castle on public days? "Too many turnpike gates my lord," was the pointed reply. Promptly was the fleecing by menials put an end to; and the economical tradesman thenceforth could with prudence enjoy the ducal feasts.

His grace died on the 10th of July, 1817, aged seventy-four years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. By his second

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wife he had a numerous family. Charlotte, Elizabeth, Julia, Henry Hotspur, and Francis died unmarried; Hugh and Agnes, twins, were born on the 20th of April, 1785; Amelia, born on the 1st February, 1789, married Lord James Murray, second son of the duke of Athol; and Algernon was born on the 15th December, 1797.

## HUGH, THIRD DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

There is little of general interest in the life of this baron of Alnwick. When Lord Percy, he, in 1807, appeared as competitor for the representation of the county of Northumberland in opposition to the distinguished statesman Charles Grey, and succeeded in depriving him of the seat he had occupied for many years.

Before his father's death, Lord Percy was raised to the peerage in 1812, by the title of Baron Percy. After his accession to the dukedom in 1817, he was made lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Northumberland, and of the town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; he was elected chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in 1819 was admitted knight of the Garter. In 1825 he represented his sovereign at the coronation of Charles XII. at Paris, and in the years 1829 and 1830, during the duke of Wellington's administration, he was lord lieutenant of Ireland; in both offices he sustained the dignity of the crown; and in Ireland especially, his liberal charities and encouragement of Irish manufactures gained him popularity among the Irish people. One of the old English customs was observed for the last time in Alnwick, when this duke and his bride made their public entry into the town on the 20th June, 1818. About five hundred of his tenantry on horseback met them at Felton, and escorted them to Alnwick, a distance of nine miles. An ox was roasted whole in the market place. I recollect the scene; a grand day it was for the populace, especially for boys, who eagerly watched the cooking process, as men at both ends of the spit turned round the ox over a fire. When roasted it was cut up on an elevated stage; and then began the fun. Crowds of people assembled in the Market Place; and amongst them were thrown pieces of roasted beef. There was wild scrambling to catch the meat, and no little fighting for possession of the prize. Ale too was plentifully distributed among the populace, which helped to increase the uproar. We are perhaps wiser now, but not quite so jolly in our public rejoicings.

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This duke resided more at Alnwick Castle than his predecessors; his style of living was stately and magnificent, but somewhat exclusive, having more of the courtly formality of a petty German prince, than the social freedom of an Anglo-Norman nobleman. His treatment of the town cannot be eulogised as enlightened and liberal; the policy of the first duke was extended; old pathways and roads were blocked up; and there are still bitter remembrances of crushing power brought to bear on independent-minded men. He procured an improvement act for the town; but through his influence, Alnwick was struck out of the Corporation Reform Bill, and was thus prevented from enjoying, along with other towns, the privilege of self-government; and through his powerful influence too, the main trunk line of the North Eastern Railway was kept at a distance of three miles from the town. And yet this duke was an amiable man, benevolent and generous in his nature; his charities were profuse, and evinced kindness of heart and a wish to lessen the miseries of poverty. His last great charitable work was the building, and partial endowment of Saint Paul's Church in Alnwick; he lived not, however, to complete the whole of his intended arrangements.

His grace, the owner of hundreds of thousands of acres died in the silence of the night, all alone, and was found dead in his bed in Alnwick Castle, on the morning of the 11th of February, 1847, aged sixty-one years. There were stately processions when his corpse was removed from Alnwick, and when it was interred in the family vault in Westminster Abbey. He was married on the 29th of April, 1817, to Charlotte Florentia, youngest daughter of the earl of Powis, son of Robert Clive, the successful soldier, who in India won his way to wealth and rank; but by his wife, who still survives, he left no issue.

## ALGERNON, FOURTH DUKE OF NOTHUMBERLAND.

Lord Prudhoe, on the death of his brother, succeeded to his estates and hereditary honours. Some dignities enjoyed by the third duke were not conferred on his successor; Earl Grey was appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Northumberland and of the town and county of Newcastle, and Prince Albert was elected chancellor of Cambridge.

Algernon Percy was born on December 15th, 1792, and was educated at Eton. At the early age of thirteen years he entered the navy, as a midshipman on board the Tribune

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frigate. This country being then at war with the colossal power of France, the young sailor had an opportunity of seeing real service; he was actively employed on the coast of Catalonia in 1809; and in 1810 he commanded a gun boat in co-operation with the patriots on the coast of Andalusia. He, of course, rose rapidly in the service, received his commission of lieutenant on February 1st, 1812; became commander on March 8th, 1814, and post captain on March 19th, 1815. In the action with the French fleet off Toulon in 1813, he was acting captain of the Caledonia; and in 1814 he was engaged in the capture of Genoa. The fall of Napoleon the first bringing peace to Europe, Algernon Percy retired from active service. He was raised to the peerage on November 26th, 1816, as Baron Prudhoe, of Prudhoe Castle.

After leaving the navy he spent several years in travelling, chiefly in eastern countries, in Turkey, in the Holy Land, in Nubia, and in Egypt. Not only did he study the manners and habits of these eastern nations and collect relics illustrative of their ancient history, but he encouraged and liberally aided learned men in their researches. With Sir Gardner Wilkinson, one of the most eminent of scholars and archæologists, he spent some years investigating the remains of the Egyptian kings. With the Arabic language he made himself acquainted; and so interested was he in its study, that he munificently aided Lane, the translator of "The Arabian Nights Entertainment," to produce an Arabic Dictionary, which is still in course of publication. The manuscripts, coins, and part of the Egyptian relics collected by him, he presented to public museums; but many of his Egyptian antiquities are arranged in one of the towers of Alnwick Castle.

While still Lord Prudhoe, he was married on August 25th, 1842, to Lady Eleanor Grosvenor, daughter of the second marquis of Westminster. Happy for both was this union! Amiable and accomplished, this illustrious lady filled her high station with dignity and grace; she co-operated with her noble consort in all his generous schemes, and by her loving care and attention cheered and solaced his declining years. A great gathering of the people of Alnwick celebrated this union by a public dinner, which was presided over by William Burrell, Esq., of Broom Park.

Once only, and for a brief period, the duke entered into public office, as first lord of the Admiralty, when Earl Derby in 1852 formed a conservative administration. In the same year he was made knight of the garter. He bid adieu to

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official life, on the resignation of the Derby cabinet; and though subsequently solicited to join a conservative ministry, he never again would enter into public office, influenced probably in this determination, by the annoyance occasioned by a parliamentary inquiry into the abuse of admiralty patronage, in rewarding dock-yard workmen who had voted for conservative candidates. Still, however, he continued to support the conservative party with all his great territorial influence, in accordance with the traditions and usages of his family. More congenial occupation he found in the improvement of his estates, in restoring his great castle, in building churches, in aiding antiquarian researches, and in attending to those duties which devolve on the owner of hundreds of thousands of broad acres.

When the duke entered, in 1847, into the possession of the family estates, their condition was far from being satisfactory, due partly to traditional modes of management; many farm steadings were shabby and out of repair; much of the land was undrained; the cultivation of many of the farms was behind the age; and the cottages, the houses of the agricultural labourers, were in a miserable condition.

The changed circumstances of the times, arising partly out of the repeal of the corn laws, had awakened owners of property to a sense of their obligations and duties. Several landlords had entered on the career of improvement; and Earl Grey, especially, had set a good example in draining his estates, and replacing the wretched cottages, by others in which there were not only enlarged accommodation and more comfort, but a regard to sanitary conditions. The third duke of Northumberland had followed, but timidly, this course; and some draining had been done, some cottages repaired, and other agricultural improvements commenced. Algernon, however, was a bolder man and more impressed by the character of the times. He yearly devoted large sums to the drainage of his estate, the renovation of his farm-steads, and the improvement of his cottages. How much, during the eighteen years he held the dukedom, he spent on these objects I cannot certainly say; the amount by some is estimated at half a million of pounds, which would be about £28,000 annually. During the last six years of his life the expenditure is stated to have been—in 1859, £10,089; 1860, £13,887; 1861, £18,473; 1862, £19,282; 1863, £12,555; 1864, £13,473, making a total of £87,739, or an average yearly of £14,627. During the whole period, I understand £40,000

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John Storey lith. Leeds

from a Photograph by G. Potter

Revised & Sold in [illegible] Vol.

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have been spent in the improvement of cottages. These are large sums; not larger, however, than what was required, nor larger proportionally, than has been spent on other estates. They apply to 163,000 acres of land, or about the one seventh part of Northumberland. Wise measures like these, however, produce good to the farmer, who, when the owner does his duty has no excuse for unskilful or slothful management; to the community by the increased production of food; and to the owner in the increased value of his lands, and in the per centage received from the tenant on the capital expended.

But while the duke was thus vigorously improving his estates, he felt himself responsible in the use of the great powers with which he was entrusted, to give direction and help to religious, educational and charitable institutions on his estates. He liberally supported schools, and was notable in building and endowing churches, in which he is said to have spent about £40,000.

Throughout the whole of his life, he retained a warm attachment to his own profession; he felt for those who brave the perils of the deep. At the exhibition in 1851, he offered a premium for the best model of a lifeboat; he supplied some stations on the coasts with lifeboats, constructed according to the most approved model; and sought to diffuse information on this subject, by distributing the report of the board who examined and adjudicated on the models. To save mariners from dangers on the shore, greater indeed, than they encounter at sea, he built, at the cost of £8,000 "The Sailors' Home," at North Shields, in which provision is made both for the temporal and spiritual wants of the inmates.

His travels in the east imbued him with a taste for antiquarian researches, which remained with him till the close of his life; and soon after he became duke, he directed attention to the exploration of the antiquities of the north of England. At his expense, surveys were made of the Roman Wall, of Roman roads, and of ancient camps in the north, and researches by excavations into Roman camps, and into ancient British strongholds and sepulchres in Northumberland.

The great work of his life, however, was the restoration of Alnwick Castle; and in this he followed the example of his grandfather, who, a century before, reconstructed and to a considerable extent rebuilt the old Percy castle, in the pseudo Gothic style of his age; a style offensive to the taste of the present generation of critics. Ten years had Algernon, duke of Northumberland spent in this work, which was nearly

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completed, when he died. Successful generally has been the restoration of the exterior, which recalls the memories of bye-past times, and which an old Percy, were he again to re-appear, might recognise as the brave old fortress, where he had occasionally resided and trained his vassals; he would, however, be lost when he entered within, and gazed on the elaborate Italian carved wood work, blazing with gold and gay with colouring. Yet these rooms, thus adorned, impress beholders by their richness and magnificence. The cost of these restorations has been estimated at three hundred thousand pounds.

Generally, the duke acted with wisdom and generosity to the town. His parks were open to the public two days a week, and his gardens part of another day. He aided the Board of Health to carry out schemes for improving the sanitary condition of the town; and this was fortunate, for without his hearty co-operation the work would have been difficult, as much of the land in the district belonged to him. His appreciation of sanitary appliances was shewn, in bringing, sometimes from a considerable distance, pure water into several villages on his estate. In some matters he was influenced by the prejudices of his order, so that the treatment of the railway question was scarcely in accordance with his general character, and more like what might have been expected from his less liberal-minded predecessor. Northumberland is far behind the other parts of the kingdom in railway accommodation; there is no railway in the county westward of Alnwick, and all the distance from Alnwick to the Border has to be traversed by the slow means of a former age. A railroad through that district is a necessity of the times. Acting for the town, the Board of Health attempted to form a scheme for a railway to pass from Alnwick, through Wooler, and on to the Border; but their efforts failed, chiefly because the duke was hostile to a railway passing up the valley of the Aln, inasmuch as it would traverse a portion of Holn Park, though it would not have been nearer to his castle than about half a mile. Nature has there cut through the great hill between Alnwick and the west, and scooped out a line for a railway. In consequence of this failure, a railway from the Borders and Wooler, will pass by Rothbury and onward to Scotch Gap, and thus divert an important traffic from the town of Alnwick. Since his death, it has been said on good authority that he would have agreed to a line through the park and up the valley of the Aln, provided the people of Alnwick had

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given up their ancient rights and privileges connected with the great north road and the Pasture, which had from time immemorial been in effect the people's park. To another important change in Alnwick he was, however, a consenting party; he agreed to give up a part of his manorial claims over Alnwick Moor, on condition of receiving from the freemen two hundered and fifty seven acres of their land.

Eighteen years, Algernon enjoyed the dukedom; but in the latter period of his life he was sadly afflicted by gout. While the country around was covered with snow, he fell a victim to this disease, and died on Sunday morning, February 12th, 1865, at Alnwick Castle.

Though the duke had passed beyond the three score and ten allotted to man, we cannot but feel sorrowful, that he should have been taken away before he had completed the works he had undertaken, and enjoyed something of the fruit of his anxieties and labour. Much still remained to be done on his estates, to bring the cottages and dwellings of workmen into a proper sanitary condition. His great castle was nearly finished; yet he saw not the triumphant end of his work. So is it, however, with other actors in large schemes—many sow who never reap; yet it is a blessing that we are so constituted, that there is frequently more enjoyment in the pursuit of an object than in its possession.

Deeply lamented was the death of the duke in the county; and it created a sensation even in other parts of the country. He was known to fame; for his charitable acts, his good deeds, his architectural achievements, his archæological surveys had been fully recorded in the chronicles of the day, as they were in progress.

The duke lived more at Alnwick than any of his predecessors; he seemed attached to his northern home. His early life as a sailor, his experience as a traveller, and his intercourse with learned and scientific men, had not only liberalised his mind, but given freedom to his manner. Less formal and stately than former dukes, he mingled more with the people on his estates, many of whom, in consequence, felt towards him strong personal attachment. Yet had he a lingering feeling towards old feudal times, when the baron was the chief among his vassals. The restored castle is a reflex of his mind; there we have a combination of the old feudal fortress with the modern palace. Largely did he give in charity, and in support of modern schemes to benefit humanity; but he gave as a chieftain—the schemes were his own or



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essentially modified by him; and most of them were for the districts over which he was lord. He seemed, however, to regard himself as the steward of a great estate, for the management of which he was responsible. And this feeling is spreading among the dominant families in Britain; and well for themselves it is so; for the wise and generous use of the great powers with which they are entrusted, will command respect, which long lines of ancestors, a galaxy of heraldry, or even vast territorial possessions would fail to secure.

His body lay in state for two days at Alnwick Castle; and it was conducted out of the town, and interred in Westminster Abbey with stately ceremonies, similar to those with which his brother's remains were honoured.

The third and fourth dukes appear to have been strongly inclined to maintain and extend the territorial greatness of their family. By a settlement made in 1817, what are called the female baronies including the manors of Tynemouth, Newburn, Prudhoe, and Barrasford, worth it is said about £40,000 yearly, would have passed to the duke of Athol; but his reversionary interest was purchased, so that the Northumberland estates might descend without diminution to the succeeding lords. New lands were also purchased of the value of about £500,000. Through the will of Algernon the fourth duke and through earlier settlements, the whole of the vast possessions of the deceased duke became the inheritance of the earl of Beverley, the heir to the dukedom, charged only with the payment of annuities to the dowager duchess. This will presents a contrast to that of the fourth earl of Northumberland; for in it are no bequests or legacies to any other branch of his family, nor to any of his friends or servants, nor to public or charitable institutions. The Beverley estates do not, however, swell those of the dukedom; for it was directed by will, that if ever the earldom of Beverley should be united to the dukedom of Northumberland, the Beverley estates, worth about £12,000 a year, should go to the next younger male branch of the family; and hence they would pass to a clergyman, the son of the late Bishop Percy of Carlisle.

## GEORGE, FIFTH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Algernon, the fourth duke, being the last male descendant of Hugh, the eldest son of the first duke, the succession to the

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barony of Alnwick and to the dukedom passed to the descendant of Algernon his second son, who on the death of his father became Lord Lovaine. On November 2nd, 1798 he was created earl of Beverley, and he died on October 21st, 1830. George Percy, his son, then succeeded him as earl of Beverley; and on the death of the fourth duke on February 12th, 1865, he became duke of Northumberland. He was born on June 22nd, 1778, and he married on September 26th, 1801, Louisa, third daughter of the Hon. A. Stuart Wortley.

His eldest surviving son, Algernon George Percy, now Earl Percy and Lord Lovaine, was born May 6th, 1810; he, in 1845, married Louisa daughter of Henry Drummond of Albury Park, Esq.; they have two sons Henry George Percy, Lord Warkworth, born May 20th, 1846, and Algernon Malcolm Arthur, who was born October 2nd, 1851.

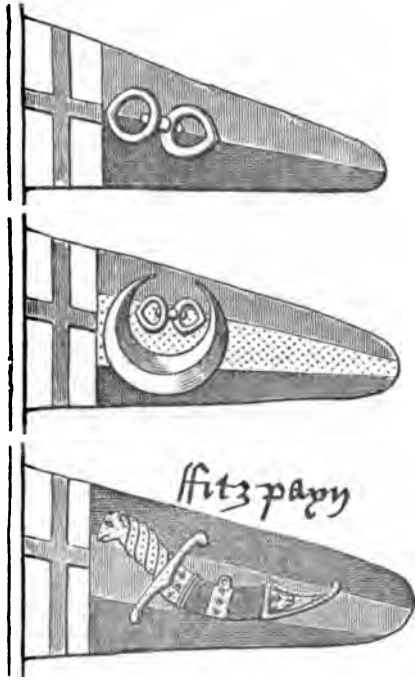


FIG. 45.—PENNONCELLES OF HENRY ALGERNON PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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# CHAPTER XX.

## ALNWICK CASTLE.*

For more than seven hundred summers the sun has glittered upon the walls and towers of Alnwick Castle, ripening patches of their masonry to an amber-grey tint, and casting great shadows in the courts within, without much change having occurred to its original configuration. There are still fragments existing of a massive Norman fabric, in positions which prove that the keep must have occupied the site of that now standing, and have consisted of towers grouped around an inner court as at the present day, and that the line of circumvallation must have been, in some places at least, identical with what we now see. These remains are the ponderous ribbed archway leading into the inner court, having a semicircular arch 9ft. 2in. wide; at each end enriched with a double row of Norman zig-zag ornament, and a label in which every stone forms a separate compartment of diaper work of different patterns; and portions of the curtain wall, easily distinguishable by the character of its masonry, each course being uniform and each stone being small, and though originally square, now so much worn as to appear to be almost round. Buried several feet below the surface of the soil, we have further evidence of the similarity of the dimensions of the earliest structure with the present, in the low retaining wall of the Norman fosse, which was uncovered when preparing the foundations of the new Prudhoe Tower, and was observed to follow nearly the same curve as would be required to enclose the existing group of buildings. There are castles in Normandy having considerable resemblance to this configuration, and occupying corresponding positions in reference to the adjoining towns, showing that although very clever

* I am indebted to Mr. Fred. R. Wilson, architect, for this description of Alnwick Castle.

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adaptations were made to suit sites in particular instances, there was a general system developed and pursued by the Norman conquerors in military as in ecclesiastical architecture. The town of Coucy, in the department of Aisne, occupies a position with reference to the castle of the proud lords de Coucy, curiously identical with that of Alnwick to the stronghold of the De Vescys.

The castle retains more extensive remains of the additions effected by the first Percy, lord of Alnwick. He appears to have compassed and commenced, although he may not have lived to complete, a general scheme of converting the Norman fortress into the more complicated stronghold, demanded by the improvements made in Edwardian times in the modes of attack. He built a new entrance between two polygonal towers, which he additionally defended by a crenelated barbican furnished with turrets at its most advanced points, from which the besieged could defend the gateway, a middle gatehouse dividing the area within the *enceinte* into two wards; and proceeding along the curtain wall, which he may have extended in some portions, he added parapets and placed strong towers at short intervals, each capable of separate defence. He strengthened the Norman entrance into the inner court of the keep, by building a three storied polygonal tower on either side of it, and rebuilt some portions of the keep, including that length of it which contains the graceful lancet-headed arcaded draw-well. Within the gateway towers one on either hand, he provided two dungeons for prisoners. These are small cells about ten feet square lighted by "archières," entered by narrow passages through shoulder headed doorways, having gratings inserted in their floorings, down which prisoners were lowered to dark subterranean prisons, nine feet long by eight feet, having no other approach. On most of the merlons of his towers he placed stone figures of warriors (whole and half length) in the armour of the period, in attitudes suggestive of defence, to confuse assailants; and that they were likely to answer his purpose there was evidence lately, in the difficulty of distinguishing these figures from those of the numerous workmen who were employed at the same elevations. In the recent alterations, the dining-hall of this baron, or of his immediate sucessors, was discovered beneath a veil of profuse ornamentation in plaster work, with which it was modernised in the last century. Rather less than half across its length the mark of the dais was observable, and at the superior end there was a curious recess which was

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probably formed for the *dressoir*, a piece of furniture now only made in common materials for the array of kitchen wares, but formerly placed in the reception chamber for the display of plate and costly articles of ceramic ware. This recess was finished with a hood moulding having a lion's claw as a termination; and by the side of it was a small niche with a hollowed shelf and drain from it, like a piscina. As if to enable us to realize more vividly the ancient hall, the hooks were left in the wall by which tapestry was formerly suspended to cover the bare ashler wall-work. At one side of the room, too, there was a door communicating with a staircase leading to a floor above; and at the lower end was the principal staircase of approach to the hall from the court. Unfortunately it was decided that the ravages which time and intermediate alterations had made to this interesting chamber, were too considerable to admit of repair; and all its leading features were demolished. The large rib-vaulted chamber beneath the hall was, however, preserved, and the staircase turret projecting from the round tower at one end of the hall was rebuilt stone for stone.

A later lord of Alnwick, the son of Hotspur, has also left indications of a comprehensive repair of the castle; and several buildings taken down in the alterations of a century ago, making provision for the accommodation of more men and horses than could have been housed in the first instance, may have been among his additions.

The most material transformation, however, that the castle suffered since the first Percy lord came into possession, must have been that effected by the first duke of Northumberland about a century ago. The belt of towers and intermediate curtain walls forming the keep—with the exception of that containing the Percy dining hall just mentioned, the polygonal towers at the entrance with the Norman gateway attached to them, and the middle gate-house—were taken down and rebuilt, so as to form one vast suite of apartments on the first or principal floor, in which most of the rooms opened out of one another, and which was approached by a large fan-shaped staircase occupying the whole of one tower. The various isolated buildings, amongst which was a chapel in the inner bailey, were removed and the moats filled. The stone figures on the parapets were multiplied. Three of the towers on the curtain wall were rebuilt, and the site of one that had fallen filled up by a length of walling; and a long line of new offices was built outside the southern portion of the

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line of circumvallation. Where in old times a curtain wall extended from the keep to the middle gate-house, to divide the ground within the *enceinte* into two wards, a wing of buildings was erected which to some extent made a communication between the keep and the new line of offices. The severe and irregular fenestration of the Edwardian builders was supplanted by tiers of larger window openings, of what we should now call a theatrical character; the mediæval intention of the building as a fortress, and the capabilities of the style being lost sight of, in the design of converting it into a modern nobleman's mansion. The principal suite of apartments, consisting of saloon, drawing-room, dining-room, breakfast-room, library, chapel, and state bed-chambers, was decorated in the most profuse manner with plaster moulding and fan-tracery, in imitation of the ornamentation of the most florid period of Gothic architecture. This was, however, the fashion of the day; and the new works were considered superb and lauded to the skies.

The extensive alterations, which have just now been completed, were commenced by Algernon, fourth duke of Northumberland, in October, 1854. The leading idea followed out in their scheme was the external restoration of the mediæval character of the pile, combined with the erection of a central mass that was to give additional height, size, and dignity to it. This involved the removal of the work effected in the last century, which, being of no great interest, was to be supplanted by an arrangement embracing, in the interior, the artistic elegance of a cinque-cento Roman palazzo, with the various luxuries and contrivances demanded by the nineteenth century cultivation. The idea of preserving the mediæval interest of the structure was not, however, strictly carried out in detail, as two of the ancient towers on the wall, the Edwardian Falconer's and Armourer's Towers, with Norman curtain walls between, were taken down to give better views from the windows of the new Prudhoe Keep Tower; as we have seen, the Percy Dining Hall was not preserved; every window the first duke put in was removed; and most of the additional figures with which he peopled the parapets were taken down. The Italian portion of the scheme, however, was worked out in its integrity. A congress held at the castle, presided over by the late duke, at which the Roman antiquary Commendatore Canina, Signor Montiroli, architect, and the English professors of architecture Messrs. Cockerell and Donaldson, attended,

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discussed the various artistic difficulties, including the anomaly of a building being externally English and internally Roman. The professors urged that the walls of the Percy stronghold should represent the deeds of the race, a recommendation that has been to some extent adopted; but in other respects they countenanced the general scheme; and Professor Donaldson undertook to bring this phase of foreign art, held by the late duke of Northumberland to be a matter of national importance, under the notice of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Meanwhile, an Italian sculptor in wood, Signor Bulletti, from Florence, recommended for the work by Cardinal Antonelli, commenced, in a studio fitted up for him in the castle, the work of carving the profusion of Italian ornament required for the proposed decoration, and, assisted by a staff of English and Scottish carvers, was for several years engaged upon it. The work executed by them is a marvel of delicacy and finish; an excellence that is most apparent, perhaps, in the walnut and pine wood carvings of the state dining-room, which are not coloured and gilded like those in other apartments. Some of the panels of the window shutters in the drawing-room 9ft. 4in. by 2ft. 3in., occupied one man a year in their production. A second studio was established, in which the plaster decorations of some of the state bed-chambers and private apartments were modelled and cast; and, besides this, an evening drawing school was instituted by the duke, for the improvement of such of the employès as chose to avail themselves of it, for a time investing the castle with much of the character of a school of art. When the progress of the new works was at its height there were three hundred artizans employed.

There were several curious discoveries made in the prosecution of the works. When the fosse was excavated, part of the mediæval metal bit of a horse was found, as well as a triple iron spiked claw intended to lame horses. And when one of the towers built by the first duke was taken down to make room for the Prudhoe Tower, a corked black glass bottle was found built up in the masonry, containing a piece of parchment on which was written—"This castle was built by Matthew and Thomas Mills, master masons, in the year 1764." Besides the bottle, there were pieces of Norman and mediæval stone work built in—such as the lancet and shoulder heads, sills, jaumbs, mullions, and caps of ancient windows, lengths of moulding, a stone half-length figure, &c., proving that these masons used up the materials

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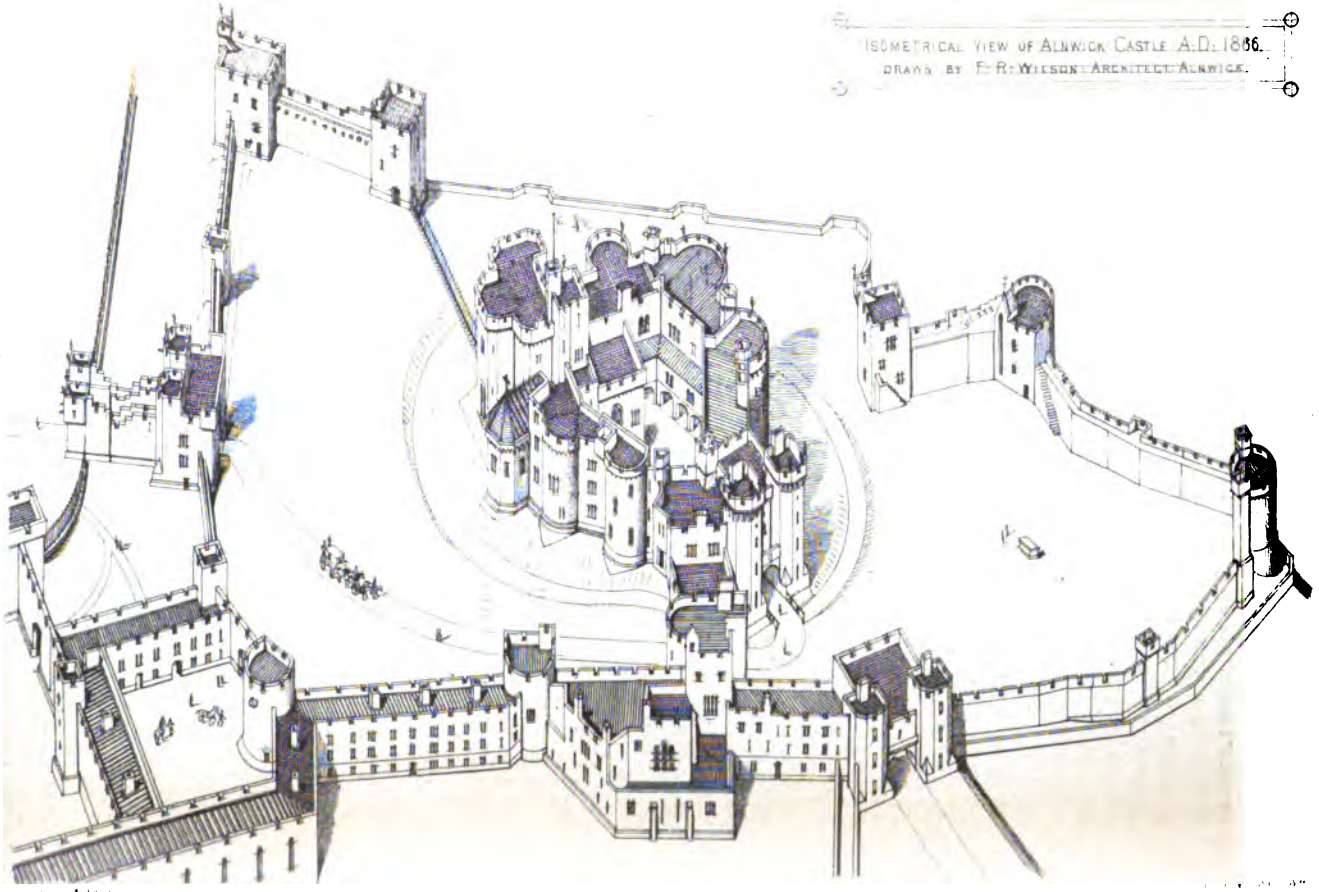
PLATE IX



ISOMETRICAL VIEW OF ALNWICK CASTLE A.D. 1866.
DRAWN BY E. R. WILSON, ARCHITECT, ALNWICK.

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of a former structure, which it is not improbable they had pulled down. There were also many metal articles such as an old saw, chisels, numerous keys, several coins, and a quantity of the bones of animals found.

Another relic was discovered enclosed in the marble monumental sarcophagus erected in the chapel, to the memory of Elizabeth duchess of Northumberland. This was a packet of letters from her grace to her husband, specimens of several silver coins, struck in honor of the restoration of the castle effected by them, intaglio portraits of both duke and duchess of the size adapted for rings or seals, and some silver coinage of the reign of George II. The letters powdered away as they were lifted up, mere fragments remaining in the hands of those who made the discovery; but all that could be removed, with the coins and portraits, were carefully preserved.

The space enclosed by the castle wall may be compared to an irregular three sided figure, the line of curtain being broken by the projections and recesses formed by the towers and garrets upon it. Near the centre of the northern frontage of this rude triangle stands the belt of towers forming the keep, the new Prudhoe Keep-tower with its flag turret rising conspicuously above the rest. From this frontage the ground slopes rapidly down to the plateau by the river's edge, which, artificially widened at this point, flows placidly through pastures dappled with kine. The southern frontage of the castle would overlook the town, but for the intervening blocks of offices, and a high mound recently thrown up to exclude this view. By reference to *Plate IX.*, it will be seen that to approach the state apartments it is necessary to enter the castle at the Barbican and principal gate-house on the west side, and thence to traverse the outer bailey in the direction of the middle gate-house, the gate of which the visitor must also pass through, before he finds himself in sight of the Norman gateway leading into the inner court, in which is situated the entrance to the keep. It is impossible not to be charmed with the old-world air of all around; with the grey curtain wall and its wind-bleached towers shutting out the world of to day; the gallant keep; the four ancient rib-vaulted gateways, one to be traversed to gain the other; the parapets with square blue patches of sky between, still showing the bolt holes for the wooden shutters, with which the square blue patches of sky were blocked out in times of peril; the worn figures looking down from the towers; the masterly, we might almost say loving, transition from



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round, and pointed, and segmental arches, to round and pointed and segmental arches again; the long narrow *archieres* or arrow slits; the barbed cross-bow slits; the portcullises; the quaint projections, here splayed, there corbelled; the traces of the *houards*, the wooden armour with which the castle was girded for the fight; the heraldic sculptures; the shadowy recesses; the old mellowed masonry of the Normans and the grey stonework of the Edwardian builders, albeit these latter bring into unwelcome relief the cold, hard, stiff style of the Georgian era, and point out too unerringly the additions of the last decade.

In the inner court one of the features in the recent improvements will be observed. This is a corridor running round part of the court on piers and corbels, formed to afford separate access to the state apartments, which, as we have mentioned, were formerly without this convenience: A large double porch, the outer one of which admits carriages so that their occupants may be set down under cover, indicates the entrance. Both the outer and inner porch are mediæval in character, having wrought stone semi-circular arches and groinings with chamfered ribs; but on passing through these the visitor steps into the interior of a Roman palace. The scheme of the Italian decorations required that the entrance should be treated with simplicity, and a gradual enrichment take place till it culminated in the principal state chambers. Accordingly, we find the walls of the entrance-hall to be plain masonry, technically known as dressed and rubbed ashlar work, and the pavement to be of the stone of the county. An inner hall, giving access to the grand staircase, shows the first sight of the gorgeous ornamentation we are gradually approaching. This chamber is somewhat richer than the last, the walls and ceilings being panelled.

The staircase is a fine feature in the interior. Each step is wrought of clear white Rothbury stone and is twelve feet long; and the landing stage is in one stone twelve feet square. The walls are also panelled with marbles and stuccoes, and the ceiling is vaulted in stucco work and picked out with cream tints and gold. The staircase terminates in a sort of *loggia*, a vestibule thirty feet square, of which one side consists of an open arcade looking down upon the staircase. This is called the Guard Chamber. The flooring is composed of a Venetian mosaic pavement of small pieces of variegated marbles, and the ceiling is panelled; and in the deep frieze are subjects connected with Chevy Chase painted by Herr Gotzenberg.

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From this thoroughly Raphaelesque apartment depart corridors right and left, in which the chapel, state bed-chambers, and private apartments are situated; it also affords access to a gorgeous ante-room twenty two feet square, the ceiling of which, panelled into a large octagon centre-piece, is elaborately carved in wood and resplendent with gold and colour. On the left hand of this chamber is the great library which is within the walls of the new Prudhoe Tower; and on the right the saloon, drawing-room, and dining-room. It may, thus, be briefly stated that there are on this floor two staircases besides the grand staircase, eighteen chambers, besides the gallery of the chapel, ten of which are in the ring of towers composing the keep, one over the Norman gateway, two in the polygonal towers adjoining, and five in a wing of building connecting the keep with the middle gate-house and the range of kitchen offices, the site of which was, in old times, occupied by a length of curtain wall. The ceilings of five of these apartments are superbly carved, coloured, and gilded; a sixth is carved but uncoloured; eight present Italian designs in plaster-work; and another, now called the breakfast-room, retains the decorations of a century ago.

The library is a large oblong apartment fifty four feet long by twenty four feet wide, having a bay in the centre at right angles with it, twenty four feet wide by sixteen feet long, thus following the contour of the Prudhoe Tower. This form admits of the division of the ceiling, by means of panelled beams, into four large square compartments, three of which are in the principal part of the chamber, and the fourth in the large bay or recess mentioned. In the centre of each of these compartments is an octagonal coffered panel, having a carved device allegorical of the arts and sciences relieved boldly from it. The same set of colours exquisitely toned by subtle mixtures, is used throughout the decorations with a most harmonious result, a variety being obtained by a prominence given to different tints in each chamber. Thus in the library, though there are many positive as well as neutral colours used, there is an impression made on the eye of the predominance of a subdued blue as a background for the gilded carvings. Two tiers of book-cases lining the walls, the light gallery running along the upper one being approached by a staircase in the thickness of one of the walls, and three fire-places of coloured marble, give an air of a literary sanctuary, at once suggestive of quiet, repose, and luxurious comfort.

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The saloon is of a different form to the library, and of somewhat smaller extent, being forty-two feet long by twenty-two wide; the bay which occupies one of the circular towers is finished internally to the form of a semi-octagon, having canted angles at the points of contact with the main portions of the chamber, making the room here thirty-six feet broad. The ceiling, friezes, chimney-pieces, window shutters, doors, and dados of this apartment present further specimens of the sumptuousness of cinque-cento decorations. Carmine and ultra-marine are the predominant tints in the ceiling, although, as we before mentioned, all the other colours throughout the ornamentation are present. The design was suggested by decorations in St. Peter's, Rome. The chimney-piece was executed in the eternal city. Two caryatides representing Roman slaves executed by Signor Nucci, support the corniced shelf. A deep frieze, painted on canvas by Signor Mantovani, runs round the room between the cornice and the architrave, and at the base of the walls is a walnut and maple inlaid skirting or dado, three feet high.

In the drawing-room ceiling the gilded carvings are seen against a gorgeous, and, at the same time, harmonious background, in which orange and green are used on larger surfaces than the other colours. The shelf of the white Carrara marble chimney-piece in this room, also of Roman workmanship, is supported on either side of the fire-place by a female figure copied from the antique canephoræ. The frieze, like that in the saloon, is of a design consisting of nude boys and festooned conventional ornaments, but it differs from it more markedly in the colour of the back-ground—that in the saloon being of a deep red—this of an ultra-marine blue colour. It is understood that the friezes by Guilio Romano in the commendante's apartments in the castle of St. Angelo, have furnished the theme of these. The form of this room is polygonal terminating in a semi-octagon at each end, and having a semi-octagon projecting from the centre of one of its sides, and it is forty-six feet long by thirty-four feet wide at its broadest point. The wall damasks and the rich carpets were designed in reference to their several destinations.

The dining room, sixty-feet long by twenty-four feet broad and about twenty-four feet high, covers part of the site of the ancient hall and extends beyond it. It is of a rectangular form having a projection, within the contour of the round tower at one end of it, which forms a convenient recess in the service of a state dinner. The marble

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chimney-piece in this room is a large and splendid work of the sculptor's art, displaying the arms of the late duke and duchess Eleanor in the centre of the frieze, and is supported on one side by the figure of a fawn and on the other by a bacchante. The coffered ceiling—the design of which is taken from one existing in the basilica of San Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome—the cornice, frieze, and architrave are all in rich pine wood carvings and mouldings, with cedar panels for the back ground left in the natural colour of the wood employed. The dado is in walnut with very richly and minutely carved panels. The room adjoining this truly ducal apartment is the breakfast room, the sole relic of the works so much applauded in the days of Horace Walpole, Beckford, Batty, Langley, and their contemporaries.

The chapel is of considerable interest. It was here that, during the progress of the works, English and Italian art met face to face with all likelihood of being difficult to reconcile. We have seen that the mediæval character of the building was left behind as the visitor passed through the porch; but here, in the stone-groined roof and lancet windows it came into close contact. It was resolved, however, to employ Italian art in mediæval decorations, and accordingly it will be perceived that the compartments in the fascie, at the base of the windows, are similar in character to some of the most valuable specimens of *opus Alexandrum*—foreign mosaic work placed by early abbots round the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey. The Chapel is oblong with a semi-octagonal apsidal end. The ground floor, devoted to the seats for domestics, measures thirty-two feet by eighteen feet. It is lighted by five lancet windows. The gallery, intended for the ducal family and their guests, is on a level with the floor of the state apartments, and being recessed back with a continuation of the groined roof, the total length is increased to forty-six feet.

Proceeding along the corridor on this side of the vestibule, after passing one of the smaller staircases, we come to the set of state bed-rooms and dressing-rooms, and the suite of private apartments of the ducal owners. Each of the state bed-chambers occupies a semi-circular tower measuring twenty seven feet in length and eighteen feet in width respectively, and is provided with an exquisitely finished dressing-room; the first of which is hexagonal in form and the second octagonal, subject, however, to the exigencies of the external form, which causes it to assume a rectangular form at one end

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beyond the boundary of the octagonal panelling of the ceiling. All these chambers are luxuriously fitted and furnished.

Continuing our route past a second best staircase, affording convenient access from this part of the castle to the court below, and in the wing extending from the keep over the middle gateway to the block of offices, we come to an elegant apartment called the duchess's boudoir. This measures twenty-four feet in length by twenty feet in breadth, except where an obtuse triangular recess increases the breadth to twenty-six feet. It has a carved pine-wood flat coffered ceiling, coloured and gilded like those in the state apartments, the design of which was taken from the Camera Borgia in the Vatican. This room in its artistic sumptuousness of chimney-piece, damasks, dados, doors, carpets, and fittings, might be compared to a casket of jewels, in which every article has been considered with reference to its close association with the rank of its owner. Adjoining it is the duchess's dressing-room, twenty feet by seventeen feet, scarcely less elegant in its general effect; and beyond this, again, is the family bed-chamber, twenty feet square, opening on the other side into the duke's dressing-room, twenty feet by eighteen feet, which in its turn has communication with the duke's sitting-room, twenty-two feet by twenty feet. The consummate manner in which the various irregular forms of the different chambers, not two of which are alike, have been blended into the separate designs for the superb ceilings, all geometrical in their general character, is as remarkable as their exquisite colouring. All these chambers have been treated as works of decorative art, forming part of the scheme of a Roman palatial interior, and are well worthy of study.

The fenestration requires a word of explanation. The externally cusped and arched windows, which light the grand staircase from the inner court, are transformed within to a more Italian character, having semi-circular heads. The library, saloon, drawing-room, and dining-room windows, are also altered within to harmonize with the cinque cento decorations. Those of the chambers south of the Prudhoe Tower are, however, all left cusped or shoulder headed or lancet headed as the case may be. The state bed-chambers are furnished with double frames and glazing, the outer frame work being of copper—the inner of oak.

The Prudhoe Tower has two chamber floors above these apartments, which contain additional suites of bed-rooms and dressing-rooms furnished with every sanitary appliance; and in the flag tower there is an altitude of two more chambers.

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The grand staircase and that portion of the corridors in the neighbourhood of the chief state apartments are warmed by a hot apparatus by Price and Co., placed in the basement of the Prudhoe Tower. Further along towards the private apartments a gill stove by Stuart and Smith, of Sheffield, is placed at the bottom of the second entrance staircase, the heat from which ascends and warms that portion of it. A fourth contrivance, consisting of pipes heated by steam, proceeds from the kitchens and heats the corridor communicating with the family suite of apartments.

On the ground floor, on a level with the entrance hall, are the various chambers required by the principal domestics of the household, properly classified, viz.; the room for footmen in waiting, under the saloon contiguous to the main entrance; the housekeeper's-room, the walls of which are lined with oak presses for linen; the still-room, fitted with all the latest culinary contrivances; and the housemaid's-room, all *en suite* under the great library in the Prudhoe Tower; the groom of the chambers' rooms; the comptroller of the household's rooms; bath-room, lamp-room, brushing-rooms, and footmen's rooms. Here, too, arranged with special reference to the service of the dinner, are the butler's pantries, consisting of plate-closet, and glass and plate-pantries. These are immediately below the drawing-room, and consequently adjoining the large vaulted chamber below the present dining-room, which is now used as wine cellars and cellaret. Between the pantries and this noble Edwardian vault rises a circular staircase to a small lobby, close to the dining-room door, by which means, and the contrivance of a lift, all the service of the butler's department is ordered in the most systematic and efficient manner.

In the new block of kitchens, &c., the baronial idea, only, finds expression. Although every known modern contrivance has been adopted likely to perfect each domestic arrangement, such as lifts, steam tables, the various culinary mechanical pieces in the way of gas and charcoal stoves, as well as the huge open fire, consuming a ton of coals at every replenishment, it is not possible to be unimpressed with the really mediæval proportions and effect of this part of the new works. The brass and steel hydraulic roasting jack, with its huge mediæval oak and brass lined screen, might be a relic of the thirteenth century. The walls of the kitchen with scullery and pastry are of dressed ashlar. The principal kitchen, which is thirty-four feet square, has a groined roof which rises to a

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height of forty feet and then takes a lantern form, as at the chateau of Montreuil Bellay, the abbeys of Fontevrault, St. Pierre de Chartres, and Marmontier, the palace of the dukes of Bourgogne at Dijon, and the papal palace at Avignon. The service of the dinner from this department is facilitated by means of a lift, twenty-seven feet in height, which raises the various dishes to a small chamber provided for the purpose at the south-east end of the corridor on the principal floor, whence a train of servitors place them on the dining table in due order. The cook, as clerk of the kitchen, has an office in this group of buildings and the completeness, thus indicated, is still more perfected with separate larders for cold meat, stock, fish, and game. These are all on one level to avoid unnecessary labour and accident, and are furnished with every requirement such as marble slabs, tiles, streams of running water, &c. Below the kitchens, furnished with a coal lift, is a vast vaulted receptacle for coals, and others for charcoal and wood, and a plucking room. Here, too, are a large steam boiler, and the hydraulic apparatus for the dinner lifts. Above this suite of buildings is a set of bed-chambers for the kitchen servants. Perhaps in no part of the castle has so much change been effected as in the kitchens. The first Percy lord of Alnwick, built his kitchens in the keep adjoining his dining hall. The first duke banished these to a site fringing the line of curtain wall, and cut them off from all communication with the keep by means of the middle gate-tower, through the archway of which every dish destined for the dining table had to be carried in all weathers. The late duke retained and extended the last mentioned site, but formed an in-door route.

The towers in the line of circumvallation will have more interest for some minds than those of the keep, as many of them are the works of the first Percy, lord of Alnwick. The Barbican is a lesson in mediæval warfare. It covers an area about fifty-five feet in length and thirty two feet in width. Should the besiegers have succeeded in crossing the moat and passing through the ribbed-gateway, which is some fifteen feet long and protected by two turrets, they would have found themselves in a small open court, surrounded on three sides by galleries in the thickness of the walls fortified by double parapets; with another bridge drawn up before them; and with the massive and closed entrance of the gate-house protected by portcullis and its parapet, and those on the gate-house towers bristling with armed men. From the galleries mentioned

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the besieged would harass them by every device in their power, such as throwing missiles on their heads and swinging great bundles of flax, dipped in pitch and sulphur and set on fire, in their faces. Besides this, the besieged would make every effort to cut off their retreat. There is, however, no evidence that besiegers ever tried so forlorn an experiment. The Percy lion and the motto *Esperance* are sculptured over the entrance. The upper rooms in the gate-house are approached by a new staircase, and are appropriated as bed-rooms for strangers' servants. The lower rooms serve as apartments for the gate-porter.

Passing a garret on the line of wall we come to the Abbot's Tower, a fine Edwardian piece of architecture having a rib-vaulted chamber in the basement, and two floors above approached by a turret staircase. The window openings on the ground floor are arrow slits, those above are mullioned or transomed lights with cusped or shoulder heads in recesses of the wall, which are not less than five feet in thickness. This tower is capped with battlements, having a turret at the north west corner.

The razed Armourer's and Falconer's Towers were the next on the wall; they have been supplanted by a square tower at the end of the shortened curtain wall. Passing along the new terrace wall, which has been erected at the base of the keep, we arrive at the postern or sally-port which is an ancient tower. A flight of steps descends to the basement vaulted chamber, from which the sally-port communicated with the grounds outside the castle. Here is a curious staircase in the walls, and an example of a *latrine* in one of the external walls, the stone shoots or drains of which discharge into the ditch without. This tower is now occupied as a museum for British and Roman antiquities.

The next in succession to this is the Constable's Tower. There are three external entrances to it, one in each floor. There is also an internal newel turret staircase leading to the roof which terminates in a gable turret on the parapet. This staircase is lighted by cross-bow openings; but there is an exceedingly striking window on the second floor, consisting of a doubled transomed light, having an arched head with a cusped circle under a label. The great thickness of the wall within gives a deep recess, which is shoulder headed above and formed to give a stone seat on each side of it. This tower was left, both externally and internally, untouched by the first duke, as a specimen of the mediæval arrangements



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One of the chambers is called the armoury, wherein the public are shown the collection of arms and accoutrements, used by the Percy Tenantry Corps in the beginning of the present century.

Between this tower and the next there occurs a turreted projection upon the wall, built by the first duke, which is now called Hotspur's chair; and close to this is a large patch of modern masonry which fills up what is still called the Bloody Gap—in reality the site of a ruined tower.

The Record Tower is another of those built by the first duke, and is fitted up in the same style as the rest of the works executed by that nobleman. The late duke deposited his collection of Egyptian antiquities in the upper floor, and it is now called the Egyptian Museum. On the ground floor the records are kept.

Two garrets next occur; then we reach the new Lion Gate-house, through which lies the road to the Castle Gardens or Barneyside. This consists of two polygonal towers, having small chambers in each on the ground floor, on either side of the gateway, with a staircase in one, affording convenient ingress for the choice productions of the castle gardens, and for ice from the adjoining ice well, and leading to the large chamber over the gateway fitted up as a confectionary. The other tower gives access to the extensive ale-cellars, built below the gatehouse.

A recess of buildings containing a large servant's-hall on the ground floor, a steward's-room on the first floor, and bed-rooms above, brings us past the middle gate-house to the group of kitchen offices, adjoining which is the Caterer's Tower containing the butchery. We then come to a series of commissioner's, accountant's, clerk's, bailiff's, and clerk of the work's offices, having another tower at the end of it, in which is the entrance to them,* and beyond this is the opening into a large quadrangular area occupied as a stable yard.

In this quadrangle are stables, rooms for harness, forage &c., lining two sides of it, with bed-chambers for the coachmen, postillions, and stablemen above; and on the third side is a large coach-house, in the vicinity of which are the laundry and wash-houses replete with every modern contrivance.

* Anciently a corner or ravine tower but called in modern times the Water Tower, from the circumstance of the tank that acts as a reservoir for the castle having been placed in it. It now contains the clock which has two faces and five sonorous bells.

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The wash-houses occupy the vaulted basement. On one side of the stable-yard there is an opening into a second area, through which is a carriage way into Bailiffgate. The second area has an opening into a third quadrangle, containing a riding school, loose boxes, a farrier's shop, &c., in separate divisions.

The absence of one of the principal features in a baronial castle—the large banqueting-hall in which the knights, squires, and retainers of a former age were entertained, and in which their more peaceable representatives, the tenant farmers on a large estate, are wont to be feasted, may be remarked. The sumptuous piece of art-work, the new dining-room, would be out of the question for the banquets of the Percy retainers. Provision has been made, therefore, for the reception of this class of guests in a large building in the stable yard, which is, in the intervals between these festive occasions, used as a coach-house. This erection has an open-timbered roof and is lighted by long lancet windows. Concerts and theatrical entertainments have been given in it, when upwards of six hundred guests found accommodation.

There are few persons who will require to be informed that these, as well as all the structural features of the new works, have been erected from the designs of Mr. Salvin. The writer acknowledges with pleasure, his own association as the resident architect with both the English and Italian portions of the work, from their commencement and during the first five years of their progress.

It has been so much the mode, in the last two centuries, for nobles to desert the grand remains of feudal times, and build for themselves Italian looking palaces or villas, that the few examples of ancient castles in repair that we still possess, have become priceless. Alnwick castle, especially, has ever been esteemed in most minds as the old head quarters of border chivalry; and in truth, it has that aspect still. No one, be he gentle or simple, could look upon this very "gudlye howsse" as King Harry's commissioners called it, or upon its grassy courts fringed with "faire towres," its stately keep with its "marveylouse fare vaulte" and "tryme ladgings" as Clarkson described them to be, without feeling they had seen the martial, social, and most knightly centre of mediæval life in Northumberland.

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# CHAPTER XXI.

## THE PEDIGREES AND EARLY HERALDRY OF THE LORDS OF ALNWICK.

VESCY HERALDRY—PEDIGREES OF TYSON, VESCY, ATON, BEK, AND PERCY.

The pedigrees of the successive lords of Alnwick with a critical notice of their early heraldry have been deferred to the close of their history, that we might give the result of additional researches into collateral branches of these families, without disturbing the general flow of our narrative. In this I have derived most essential aid from my friend Mr. Longstaffe, to whom I am indebted for the following preliminary dissertation on the early heraldry, and for the elaborate pedigrees of Tyson, Vescy, and Bek. The new matter and illustrations incorporated in these essays, though not of a popular character, will I hope be useful for reference to students of northern history, and give to all information as to the connections of the great families who held the barony of Alnwick.

The ancient heraldry of the Percys has been reviewed in the Archæologia Æliana, N.S., IV., 157, and in Tonge's Visitation, p. 89, and brief notices have been given in the course of this history. In the ensuing pedigrees, the cotemporary evidences of insignia for the older lords of the barony occur under the respective individuals, but some generalization is desirable.

The Norman invaders of England "had (according to Master Wace) shields on their necks and lances in their hands, and all had made (or adopted) conventional signs or cognizances (the MSS. read variously *convenances* and *cognoissances*) that one Norman might know another by, and that none others bore." It is not clear how these badges were worn, but, assuming the probability that their owners would adopt them for their seals also, and seeing that on those the devices are generally minus the shield, we may conclude it likely that they were not upon the shields, or at least not exclusively so. They sometimes continue in the later

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armory of the family wearing them, sometimes not. They were frequently hereditary, and are supplied on the seals by more formal heraldry with an evident reluctance and at a slow pace. In support of these deductions we need only refer to the history of the cinquefoil of Umfreville, the annulets of Veteripont, the interlacing ornament of Lacy, and the muscæ of Muschamp. Seals with the devices of their ancestors and seals with armorial shields occur for the same individuals fifty or a hundred years after the presumed rise of heraldry about 1160. Their conclusiveness as evidences on the subject has been overrated, in the absence of consideration of the time when the ornaments of the shield took precedence of personal distinctions generally. If it is a fact that heraldry did not arise until the period named, then it is a consequence that forthwith relations flocked together and settled what arms their ancestors *ought* to have worn, their subfeudatories taking part in the discussion.

It does not follow because Eustace de Vesci, born after the introduction of formal heraldry as stated, clung to the paternal vetch on his handsome seal, that he or his father had no other distinction on their shields. There is a weird charm about early devices which makes us thankful that we are not in ignorance of those of the Vescis. The pun between "Vescis, vesce, vetches," was pointed out in the Liber de Melros of the Bannatyne Club. When we find the old metrical chronicler, Jordan de Fantosme, spelling the name *Vesci*, *Vedci*, and *Vedsci* indiscriminately, we need not scruple to accept the proposition that Gerard's "Tare, Vetch or Fetch—called in Latin, *Vicia a Vinciendo*, of binding or wrapping, as Varro noteth—in high Dutch, *Wicken*; in low Dutch, *Vitsen*; in French, *Vesce*," was really intended as a play upon the name of those ancient lords, who, according to the Alnwick Chronicle, sprang from the vill of Vescy over the sea. The leguminous vegetable is not botanically, but conventionally drawn, and a herald would probably describe each seal as *vetchy*. On the seals of Eustace and his wife, representations of a very queer beast occur in conjunction with the plant.

The secretum of Eustace, which may be seen in the Liber de Melros and Laing's Scottish Seals, presents vetch pods arranged in quatrefoil or cruciform fashion, but it requires some imagination to trace the origin of the *Cross Patonce* of the Vescis in this, or the trefoiled forms into which some portions of the plant are thrown in his larger seal. When we meet with this cross on the shield of St. Michael on the corporate seal of Alnwick, we naturally suspect that it may have been in compliment to the charter-giving lords of the borough, rather than the bearing then usually conceded to the patron saint of the parish church, who, most certainly, on the great seals of Henry V. and Bishop Fordham, Skirlaw and Langley, wears a plain cross. Whatever its origin, the Cross Patonce of Vesci rapidly spread among the relations,

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feudally or by blood, of the family. Need we mention the two great houses of Lascelles and Latimer, whose tenancies were of ancient feoffment, *i.e.*, before the death of Henry I.? Coleman may perhaps also be adduced. The Cross Patonce of the Lords of Dalden, to which birds were added, making an elegant coat, approaching that attributed to Edward the Confessor, is familiar to every Durham herald, and derives new interest when he reads the entry—"Jordanus de Dalden tenet villam de Dalden," among the tenures of the barony of Alnwick in 8 Edw. II. Not that it was really so held, but when we substitute barons for barony, not *qua* barons, we arrive at the truth.

In all this there is nothing conclusive. There is no proof that the tares or the archangel originated the coat, or that its adoption by the tenants was cotemporary with the commencement of their tenancy. But there are other reasons for a belief in its very early origin.

Glover has preserved an entry of it with a difference for Warin de Vescy, who, supposing all the statements of his descendants, the Atons, to be true, was, at the nearest, brother of Eustace and dead in 1235. It was ascribed to those Atons on a canton with their paternal coat. It occurs on the seal of John de Vescy, whose grandson held Ryton in Yorkshire as early as 1292. That John's relationship was so remote that his issue never ventured to appear among the claimants to the heritage of the main line. It will hereafter be seen that Eustace had a sister apparently of the half-blood, much older than himself. It is stated, with every appearance of accuracy, that she remarried a Carlisle. It is the fact that the primary arms of the Carlisles were *O. a Cross Patonce G.*, an obvious differencing of the coat of Vesci.

The heralds probably happened to hit the truth in supposing that the bearing was used by or attributed to Beatrix the heiress of the older Vescis, and adopted with her name by her son.

But her descendants also wore another coat, hardly inferior to the Cross Patonce in antiquity, and latterly taking preference over it. This was a *plain Cross*. It is obvious, from the tinctures, that it was radically distinct from the Cross Patonce, the two bearings standing thus:—

G. a Cross Patonce A.
O. a plain cross S.

It is clear also that its origin is incorrectly ascribed by Camden to William de Vesci, who died in 1297, in the description of him as "famous for his exploits in Ireland and who changed the old arms of the family into a shield Or, with a Cross sable." For it had also been borne by his elder brother John, and William, so far from being its inventor, differenced it during that brother's lifetime, as a younger son. The mutual rights of these two sons of William, who gave the Cross Patonce, fairly carry the plain Cross also to his time; and Glover, in his collections of old arms,

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ascribes it to Eustace Vescy of the previous generation who presented the animals and vetches on his seal. The writer is disposed to rank the two coats alike, and to think that the plain Cross refers to Eustace Fitz John. The arms ascribed to him by the heralds, *Quarterly O. and G. a bordure Vaire*, was really the coat of Mandaville as differenced by the Fitz Johns and Fitz Geffreys of Essex, quite a different race. The exclusive use of the Cross Patonce by the descendants of Beatrix de Vesci, and that of the Bend on a Quarterly field by those of Agnes the heiress of the Constables of Chester, appear to identify the two bearings with the commemoration of those wives of Eustace Fitz John respectively, rather than that of himself. But it is very unlikely that the Vescis would forget to associate some insignia with so great a baron as he was, independently of his spouses.

The sentiment affecting the user might differ from time to time. Although the barony of Alnwick was legally given by the king in fee to Eustace Fitz John, who alienated portions of it, yet morally it came by Beatrix. Her more immediate descendants, affectionately assuming her name, might well prefer the arms considered to be hers. She had probably something to do with recommending the foundation of Alnwick Abbey, and, although the charters of Eustace Fitz John gave no countenance to the idea, the monks esteemed him and her as joint founders. We need not wonder that in late times the two crosses occur at the same date on the south front of their gateway, or that the heralds should record:—"In Alnwick church are these armes: O. a plain Cross [S. ?] and G. a Cross Patonce O. [A. ?]"* But outside, among the laity, the distinctive history of the component parts of the great fee which descended from Eustace Fitz John would be feebly remembered. We know, as a fact, that eventually the descents of Malton and Alnwick were supposed to have been identical. And after the plain Cross superseded the Cross Patonce on the seals of their owners, indications are found of an association of the plain Cross with the actual possession of the land, of the Cross Patonce with the descending right by blood to it. The plain Cross on the gateway of Alnwick Castle goes for nothing, as a match between Percy and Aton explains it. More to the point is its occurrence feudally on Hylton Castle, the barons whereof held Shilbottle under the Percy fee of Alnwick, and its conjunction with Percy and Lucy in genuine work in the partially falsified chapel at the east end of Tynemouth Priory. These are late instances, but more interesting circumstances occur before the heirs of Vesci released Alnwick. When the Fitz John fee and the heirship of his blood were (for a time at least) parted, we find that the plain Cross was borne by the Bastard Vesci of Kildare without any abatement, as if his enjoyment of Malton carried it to him, notwithstanding his infirmity of blood. On the other hand, the very roll that proves this also shows that Sir

* Visit. Nd. 1575-1615. Harl. MS., No. 1554.

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Gilbert de Aton, who, as heir of blood, succeeded to that estate, even then wore the Cross Patonce coat without difference. It is there called a Cross Patee, but is sufficiently identified by the tinctures, and the circumstance that various other crosses patonce are in the same manuscript called patee, the convertibility of the terms in early times being well known.* After the Bastard's death we find the very same Gilbert wearing the plain Cross, being then possessor of the Vesci inheritance not alienated under Bishop Bek's grant of Alnwick. His brother William bore the same coat and his coheirs quartered it. In the pedigree is inserted a curious document showing that this William charged the plain Cross with five Bull's Heads during Gilbert's lifetime, and released the compound coat to a stranger after he became entitled to the cross without difference. The stranger had usurped to it, by ignorance or design, and Aton, before the release, thought fit to vindicate his rights in solemn form. One Nicholas de Eton, Rector of Leven, who should perhaps stand as another brother, sealed in 1327 with the plain Cross charged with five Roundels.†

In those days, when arms were strictly protected as trade marks are now, the public were not to be deceived, and vanity served, by two persons wearing one coat. The Bastard Vesci wore one shield of his ancestors, the legitimate Aton the other in the undifferenced or whole state, and if Vesci affected the Cross Patonce, it must have been with due abatement. This he may have done, and it would not be right to omit mention of a truly beautiful specimen of ancient armoury existing at York, though its application may be doubtful. In Drake's Eboracum, p. 309, it is mentioned that "in an old wall hereabouts [i.e. near Haberdashers' Hall, Walmgate] is a statute of a knight templar; on his shield *a Cross Patonce, with a Bar. Latimer*," and this is doubtless the cross-legged effigy now preserved in the truly valuable museum near St. Mary's Abbey. It presents the prick spur. Angels support the pillow; a lion is under the feet, as usual. A dragon bites the shield as doth the ask of Aslakby at Egglescliffe. What Drake calls a bar is a *very* thin Bendlet dexter over a magnificent Cross Patonce. The effigy may belong to some younger or illegitimate Latimer, but the place of find and the site of the Vesci foundation for Friars Carmelite‡ on the opposite side of the Foss, are not sufficiently distant to militate against the supposition that here we may have the tomb of William Vesci of Kildare.

* The entry is under "Westmerlond a le Counte de Lancastre." Cf. Constable's Roll. "Atton of Westmerlande. G. a Cross Patonce A."

† Harl. MS. 1985, fo. 276 b.

‡ Memorandum quod 5° id' Januarii ceperunt Fratres Carmelistæ inhabitare civitatem Ebor', Anno D'ni 1295°. Et anno D'ni 1212° in Angliam intraverunt.

Anno milleno CC° duodeno
Rolu' Carmeliste capiu't ad termina vite
Carmis concessi p'us in boria loca Vessy
Persy firmavit Deus huic sibi nos sociabit.

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No direct evidence of any crest of Vesci or Aton has occurred to us; but there is reason to believe that, if one was worn, it was a Neat's head. William Aton, as already mentioned, differenced the plain Cross of Vesci with five Bull's heads. Conyers of Sockburn, coheir of Aton and Vesci, in glass, which the regal shield of Scotland shows was intended to commemorate his relationship to the line which matched with William the Lion's daughter, placed a horseman bearing on his shield the head of a bull or cow, reminding us of the way in which the Nevils sometimes placed the dun bull of their helms upon their "shield of peace." As the vetch was not considered a far fetched pun by the early knights of the name of Vedsci or Vesci, it is not inappropriate to remark that Veitch of Dawyck, anciently Vach, gave the head of a cow (vache) for crest and three of such heads for arms. Whatever originally was the sex of the neat, whose head we believe was used by Vesci, it probably was considered as masculine when heraldry settled into a science.

For, besides the fact of Aton's usage, we have a strong corroboration not only of that surmise, but also of the whole view of the subject in the ensigns of the Percehay of Ryton, in Yorkshire, whose interesting descent from some early Vescies would be out of place in the stemmata of the lords and claimants of Alnwick which follow, but is suitable here and is a convenient mode of presenting the evidence in question.*

The subsequent descents in the visitations need not be given. That of Tonge in 1530, begins with one John Percehaye; that of 1584, gives a generation higher—one William Percehay, who married "Maria, filia et hæres, relicta Willelmi de Acom, per finem 2. Ric. II. Ridley, 10, 36, 37." This William might well be the son of Sir Robert, who closes the testamentary pedigree, or one of his brothers. There are no more Percehay wills in the printed Testamenta Eboracensia.

In the 16th century the difference between Percehay and Colville had been abandoned. The coat given by Tonge for Percehay is Vescy of Alnwick, with the tinctures transposed:—*A. a Cross Patonce G.* The same coat was still used at Dugdale's Visitation, 1665. In the Harl. MS. 1487, containing Withy's Amalgamation of the Visitations, the crest is *a Bull's Head couped B., the horns per fess B. and O.* Dugdale agrees, except that the colours per fess of the horns are transposed into *O. and B.*

It remains to note some of the other phases of the arms of Aton and Vesci. We have seen that the coheirs of William Aton, lord of Malton, the families of Clifford (from Bromflete and St. John), Eure, and Conyers, quartered the plain Cross of Vesci. Elizabethan heralds added a quartering for Tison, and the coat of Fitz-John of Essex for our Eustace Fitz-John, about which nothing more need be said. They also added *O. three Bars B.*

* See Pedigree page 400.



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[or Barry of six O. and B.] *on a Canton G. a Cross Patonce A.*, for Aton. This was, probably, in substance a genuine coat though long disused. It does not, indeed, occur very early for this line of Aton. The superior arms of Vesci blotted it out. Still we have it in Canterbury cloisters (not, perhaps, for Willement's reason) in company with the plain Cross of Vesci, temp. Hen. IV. There it occurs as *O. five Bars B. on a canton G. a Cross Patonce O.* The canton doubtless relates to Vesci directly or indirectly. There are earlier evidences of the bearing in connection with the Ettons of Gilling, in right of whom the Fairfaxes in 1530 quartered *Barry of eight A. and G. a canton S. charged with a Cross Patonce O.* In the first window from the east on the south side of the clerestory of York Minster nave, it occurs as *A. six Bars (or three Bars Gemelles) G. on a canton S. a Cross Patonce O.*, beside the coat of Sir Ralph Hastings, governor of York Castle in 1337. There are some variations in the ordinaries. The canton is sometimes sable, without charge. That of the Gilling line looks like Latimer and only derivative from Vesci—that of the Aton line may well refer to Warin de Vesci himself. With regard to the former, Ivo de Vesci and Eustace Fitz-John granted large lands, and the church of Gilling, in Rydale, to St. Mary's Abbey at York.

It would not be proper to leave the arms of the lords of Alnwick without remarking that the Cross Moline of Bishop Bek, its lord between the Vescies and Percies, seems to have left its "footsteps on the sands of time." Such a coat occurs in the chancel of the parish church. So also the ordinary dictionaries of arms have *A. a Cross Moline S.* for Alnwick or Alnwyke, and the genuiness of the coat is affirmed by the fact that Bishop William Alnwyck, of Norwich, bore a Cross Moline in 1426.*

We come to junior branches or families of the same names, who lack any proof of kindred to the parent stems of Vesci and Aton. In 2 Edw. II., Gilbert de Aton obtained a charter of free-warren in Knapton and other estates in Yorkshire. In 1612, Vescy of Brampton in le Morthinge traced descent, before the herald St. George, from one Esmeus de Vescy de Knapton, and the plain Cross of Vescy and the suppositious coat of Tyson quartering Brumpton and Twitle are given as the arms. The Lords Knapton, now Viscounts de Vesci, in Ireland, and the Vescys of Chimley in Oxfordshire, claim boldly from Thomas and Richard alleged to be brothers of the father of the Bastard of Kildare. The abstinence of these suppositious ancestors in not claiming the inheritance of their fathers is not explained. The Irish peers give the plain cross coat, differenced with a *patriarchal cross of gold*, "traditionally attributed to the age of the Crusaders;" those of Oxfordshire, *Ermine, or a Cross S. five martlets O.* Another coat of Ireland gives a golden cross crosslet fitchee as the difference.

* Brown's Repertorium.

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The name has always lingered in the north and is now Vasey. In 15 Edw. III. Robert Vescy of Halywell, in Northumberland, recovered lands there from Roger Fitz-Robert de Haliwell. In In 1326, John Vescy, of Gateshead, grants his tenements to Pipewellgate there to his daughter Sibilla (qu. Sibilla wife of Gilbert Gategang, *vide Surtees*, ii. 116), and seals with the device of some "beast admiring his tail which is unmistakeably patonce." In 9 Hen. V., Henry de Eton was rector of Gateshead, and John de Vescy chaplain there. In 1615, a respectable family of Vasey, of Newlands, in the Bishoprick, entered their pedigree, "no arms allowed." Some relations at Coniscliffe, springing as would seem from John Veyse a freeholder there in 1436, and called Vasey and Vesey, give, with monumental inscriptions there of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the arms *A. a plain Cross S. in the first quarter a Martlet.* From this stock sprang Marshall Vesey, a well known bookseller, of Newcastle, who married the daughter of another equally famous, Patrick Sanderson, of Durham, the compiler of a useful summary of county antiquities.

The younger Atons have not the same claim on our attention as the Vescis. One or two instances may suffice. A monument of last century in Houghton le Spring Church to some descendants of William Ayton who purchased part of West Herrington in Elizabeth's time, gives *A. a plain Cross S.*, evidently borrowed from the arms of the heirs of Vesci. The De Uvedales also, in the debased period of heraldry, quartered *Six Bars, on a Canton a Cross Crosslet* in right of Isabel (dead in 1348) daughter and heiress of Gilbert de Etton, by Alice, coheiress of Thomas de Tycheseye, who died in 1297.

Drake mentions an epitaph in All Saints', North Street, York, on one Etty, an ingenious architect, who died 1709 with the lines: —"His art was great, his industry no less; what one projected, the other brought to pass." And he adds "But whose art it was that put the arms of the antient family of Atton, or de Etton, on this stone, I shall not say."

Leaving these straggling ambitions to link with noble stems, and having disposed of the armorial part of our subject, something must be said on the motives leading to the publication of the genealogies which follow, and on one or two moot points therein.

Latin has been somewhat freely used in the pedigrees. It is familiar to all who will care to use the tables, and has been adopted in order to work in the very words of the evidences on which they are based.

In Pedigree I., Tison, the addition of the *Hesati* leads to the inference that the Constables and Belvers, though coheirs of Adam Tisun, were not descended from his son William, but from sisters. The general conclusions as to the falsity of any claims for the Vescis to represent a sole heiress of Tison are strengthened,

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without reference to the wide dispersal of Gilbert Tison's estates, too surely proving a forfeiture.

Nos. II. III. explain themselves as exemplifying the descent of the estates of Eustace Fitz-John, and the heraldry of the holders to the death of William de Vescy, of Kildare.

This text is more convenient than the pedigree to state some doubts as to Isabella Longespee the first wife of William Vescy II. having neither son nor daughter. The claim to the crown of Scotland made by his second surviving son, William, who was born in 1245 and must have been by his second wife, leaves little doubt that the general descent is accurately stated* and that all the possessors of the barony of Alnwick are included. But in a charter in the Kelso Book, Liber de Calchou, 139, the father, "Willelmus de Vesci, filius et hæres quondam Domini Eustachii de Vesci," leaving no doubt of his identity, has in the witnesses "*Willelmo filio meo, Domino de Sprouestoñ.*" Sprouestoñ (in Scotland) is afterwards found in the hands of John the elder surviving son, not of William the younger one, who, a child of seven or eight at the death of his father in 1253, would hardly be a witness or be called lord of the manor in his lifetime. Unless the record is in error and reads *filio* instead of *fratre*, an explanation not to be adopted unless all others are impossible, it seems likely that there was an older heir apparent called William, who might be born as early as 1210, who attained age, took Sprouston by settlement or arrangement, and died before 1245. The monastic language is still sufficiently satisfied by none of Isabella's children living to be of importance in the "stemma fundatorum."

No. IV. is an attempt to show the conflicting statements of the claimants of the estates. It will be seen that an attempt was made to thwart the claims of the Atons, by showing that their ancestor Warin de Vescy, was illegitimate, and that he was not named as a relation by the Vescy whose charters he witnessed.

* And if this were loose, here is independent cotemporary evidence, "beautiful exceedingly." "Sir, what a pleasure a *fact* is!"

Ego Eustacius de Vesci dedi Fratribus de insula Farneland septem summas de frumento meo de Suinehoo. Testes Gilbertus Abbas de Alnewic, Will. de Vesci, &c.

Willelmus de Vesci filius et hæres Eustacii de Vesci. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse Fratribus de insula de Farne donum quod parte meus Eustacius de Vesci fecit eidem domui viz. septem summas frumenti. Testibus, Dominis Willelmo de Vesci seniore [his illegitimate uncle], Willelmo de Perci &c., militibus, Nicholao de Perci, &c.

Johannes de Vescy filius et hæres Willelmi de Vescy. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse Fratribus de insula de Farne donum quod pater meus Willelmus de Vescy eisdem fratribus concessit, viz. septem summas frumenti. Testibus, Dominis Willelmo de Vescy, Roberto de Hilton, &c., militibus.

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A more grievous objection on the latter evidence is of the early character of those charters. Seeing that Eustace de Vescy, being a minor in 1185, and of age in 1191, must have been born very late in his father's lifetime, in fact not until 1170; it does seem unlikely that the Sir Warin of that father's charters was Eustace's younger brother. But it does not follow that there was not a younger Warin who really was his brother, but who was not the witness. It is obvious that the claims of the Atons to set aside Bishop Bek's sale of Alnwick to the Percys, must have been much weakened by the cross impeachment of the Aton heirship. The hush money was small, but the influence of the Percys in favour of the Atons inheriting the residue of the Vescy estates and a marriage were valuable. The allegations of other claimants must have been mischievous, though they cannot be said at present to be satisfactory. For that of John, son of Arnald de Percy (of Kildale, it is presumed), no evidence has occurred. In that of an heir of Bulbeck, a generation is evidently omitted; and, even with this assistance, the great grandson of Eustace Fitz-John would be found in the *Pipe Roll* the year after his death, which would make Fitz-John *grandævus* indeed. The connection is not proved by any grant in frank-marriage. It is different with the Muschamps. There was some marriage there, and the evidences show pretty clearly that the bridegroom and his father in law died about the same time. His wife Matilda, was doubtless, as stated, sister of Eustace de Vescy, but much older. The charters tie the generations so that we cannot surmise the confusion of two Williams or two Eustaces, but we know that William had an elder son William born in concubinage, defending Alnwick Castle when Eustace was an infant in arms, or little better. And it does seem probable that Matilda Muschamp was only sister by the half-blood to Eustace, either by a former wife or a concubine. It is remarkable that a marriage between a coheir of Muschamp and one of Bolebec come all right. Possibly the monastic descent of Bolbeck.

Cecilia=Hugo, senior. Walterus. Hugo, junior. Felicia;

should read as—

Sibilla=Walterus, senior. Hugo. Hugo, junior. Philippa;

in which case Matildis de Muschamp and Sibilla might stand as sisters, but, as previously remarked, probably of the half-blood. It is hoped that, regardless of Vesci, the pedigrees of the barons of Wooler and Bolbeck, differing, as they do, from those hitherto received, will be useful.

The statement that Matilda, "daughter of William Vescy, sen., Lord of Alnwick" the wife of Muschamp had another husband, Adam de Carlisle, and a son Eudo de Carlisle, is copied from Raine's North Durham, p. 266. The marriage is not mentioned by the historian of the Carlisles, but his quotations show an intimacy between the families. Eudo de Karliel flourished in the

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reign of King William the Lion, and is witness to a charter of Eustace de Vescy of 20s. yearly out of the mill of Sprouston to the monastery of Kelso, about the year 1207. He died in 1230. The manor of Cargo, par. Stanwick, in Cumberland, which belonged to John de Lacy, constable of Chester, passed from him by conveyance to William de Vescy, by whom it was given to Sir *Ivo* de Karliel in exchange for lands in Yorkshire. Whatever became of Eudo, *Ivo* was certainly son of Adam de Carleol, for he is a witness as such to a charter of Eustace de Vesci (Raine's N. D. app. p. 122). Now it has already been observed that the primary arms of the Carlisles were *O. a Croes Patonce G.** a coat most widely diffused among the various branches.

In No. V., obligations to an article by Mr. C. T. Beke, in Coll. Top. will be apparent. The extra Bernician and heraldic evidences incorporated will be acceptable to the Durham antiquary.

The early pedigree of Percy, No. VI., may appear out of place, but the melancholy circumstance that, for book-makers, Bishop Percy lived in vain, will excuse the printing of his accurate deductions once more, as an antidote against modern persistence in the errors which he exploded. We need not treat with gravity the earldoms of Caux and Poitiers and other things, appearing in some of the fictitious pedigrees; we can, however, hardly doubt that the Percys originated, as stated, at the place in Normandy bearing their name. But how does it happen that when their documents increase, their birthplace is not found in them? The only evidence on the subject which occurs to us has a north-country interest. It is this:—

William de Perci, of 1133, when he founded Salley Abbey in 1147, had a wife Adliza or Adelidis de Tunbrigge, who had three children at least, Alan, Matilda countess of Warwick, and Agnes de Louvain. The two ladies, sooner or later, divided the English lands between them. Their father was re-married in 1166 to Sibilla the widow of Robert de Ros, and died before 1181. Matilda died childless about 1204, probably at a considerable age, as her sister's husband and eldest son were both dead, the latter leaving issue. Had Matilda had any issue, they might well have been born as early as 1154. In that year, 1154, Hugh de Pudsey, eminent of race and person, a youth of 25, ascended the palatine throne of Durham, having had, while treasurer of York, three children by three mothers. The mother of Henry de Pudsey, the first born, was, we are told by William of Newburgh, "of noble birth." Her son is more precise and tells us plainly in his charters that he was son of the Bishop and of Adelidis or Alice de Percy. He gives to Salley Abbey some land in Craven in accordance with other charters of Richard de More-

* Sire William de Carlel. De or, a une Crois Patee [patonce] de goules. (Roll, 1308—1314).

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vill and William de Perci. Moreville may have been his mother's husband; at all events Alande Morville confirmed to his brother Henry de Pudsey the gift the latter had received for his homage and service from his mother Alice de Percy. It was of all the land at Settle and the church of Giggleswick; and the countess of Warwick had also an interest there, for she too granted the vill of Setel and the service of Giggleswick and the advowson of the church to Henry de Pudsey. He gave the church to Finchale Abbey; he gave his estate of Osmundal to Robert de Perci; Settle fell back to the main line of Percy on his childless death, and his manor of "Wichton Cumptin," derived from his father, was, subject to the dower of Dionisia (daughter of Oto de Tilli) very strangely divided in 1211 or 1212 between Peter Fitz Herbert his kinsman on the father's side, (they were both great nephews of King Stephen) and Robert de Ros the grandson of William de Percy's second wife Sibilla. His charters abound with Percys as witnesses. But more remains. The estate of *Perci* in Normandy itself belonged to him, and he parted with it, exchanging it and Mureres in the same province with a family named Burel for Windegate, Whetlawe, and Smethetun, as by the charters of Hugh Burel and Roger his son in the Finchale muniments most plainly appeareth.

What then gave the "jolly bishop's" child such a settlement among the heads of the house of Percy? It is not probable that Adelidis de Tunbrigge the mother of the heiresses, old enough to be the Treasurer's own mother, was the object of his affections, or that he would in such case have been a favourite of her children, and secured grants of important English estates from them. Still less that in any way he could so derive the home of their ancestors. At present the only mode of explanation seems to be the bold assumption that there was an elder co-heiress, who married Morville, and that she and her son, Alan de Morville, died early without legitimate descendants. As eldest daughter she would be entitled to the *caput baroniæ* in Normandy, and she could give it, as she gave English acres, to her issue by the Treasurer. He got it, that is certain, and his alienation of it stood good. Let us in dealing with the story not forget that the marriage of priests in England had only been forbidden in 1102; that society was greatly disturbed thereby and would continue to be so for a generation or two, and that when the other Pudseys were born, the future prelate was probably forbidden to associate with the mothers of their brethren; or that, notwithstanding his other peccadilloes, his eldest son *may* have been legitimate in all eyes except those of the clergy. And be it remembered that he only is described in the charters of his father as his son.

In the pedigree of Percy no attempt is made to define the origin of two branches of the Percys, who long held the manors of Kildale and Sutton upon Derwent. It may be remarked that in after times they are found wearing a coat of millpikes, only differing from that of the main line in colour.

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## PEDIGREE OF VESCI AND PERCEHAY.

*(Harl MS. 1487, with Test. Ebor.)*

"The auntient armes of this Perchay were *Gules, a Fess between fifteen Cross Crosslets Argent*, wherefore it seemes, at sight of their evidences, that one of them *matchinge with a daughter and heyre of Vescy*, his posteritie left their ould armes and thenceforth have borne *the armes of Vesey* as their owne proper coate."

Johannes de Vescie dedit Domino Roberto de Percehay et hæredibus suis= messuagium in Eboraco, s.d. SIGILLUM JOHANNIS DE VESCY, *a Cross Patonce.*

"Joane, d. and h. of John Vescis." Joanna Percehay, Domina de Riton—Waltero Percehay filio meo et hæredi—manerium de Strudightyn Martyn in comitatu Forford in Scotia quod habui per discensum hæreditarium. s. d. = Robertus Percehay, Dominus de Ryton.

Walterus Percehay, filius et hæres bonæ memoriæ Dominæ Johannæ de Vescy, ut per cartam dat. apud Wilton in Tividale, 1292. Testamentum, 1344, prob. 6. Dec. 1346. Dominus de Ryton. Sepeliend. in ecclesia Abathiæ B. Mariæ de Malton—Lego die mortuarii mei ad errogandum vicum 10*l.* et cum pannis nigris circumeuntes corpus meum *cum scutis armorum meorum et antecessorum meorum* 100*s.*—Johanni des Arches et Isabellæ uxori ejus.—Aliciæ sorori meæ—Johannæ sorori meæ—Waltero filio Johannis des Arches. = Agnes Percehay, relicta Domini Walteri Percehay militis, Testamentum dat. et prob. 1348. Sepeliend. in prioratu de Malton juxta corpus mariti.—Agneti filiæ Willelmi de Bylton et Johannæ sorori ejus.

Willelmus Percehay, filius et hæres Domini Walteri Percehay ut per testamentum patris sui et per cartam dat. apud Malton 1347. SIGILLUM WILLELMI DE PERCEHAYE. Shield hanging diagonally, charged with *a Cross Patonce.* On a wreath above a mantled helmet is *a Bull's Head.* "Monsire Henry de Colville port *d'Argent, a une Crois Patey de Gules.* MONSIRE WILLIAM DE PERCEHAY port *mesmes les armes a une Lozenge de Gules en le quatre devant.*" (Rot. Arm. 1337-50). = ....

Johannes, 1344, 1348, [qu. de Swynton in Rydale. Test. 1391.]
Walter, 1344, 1348. MONSIRE WALTER DE PERCEHAY port *mesmes les armes de Colville, a une border gules recersele.* (Rot. Arm. 1337-50.)
Thomas, 1344, 1348.
Robertus, 1348.
Georgius 1344, 1348.
Elizabetha, 1344.
Johanna, monialis de Yedingham, 1344, 1348.
Agnes, monialis de Watton, 1344, 1348, 1391.

Dominus Robertus Percehay, Chivaler, frater Agnetis de Lokton, 1391. = ? "Elizabetha uxor fratris mei," 1391.

Walterus 1344, 1348.

Johannes 1344.

Agnes, 1344, 1348. Testamentum dat. et prob. Oct. 1391. Agnes de Lokton. Sepeliend. in ecclesia conventuali de Veteri Malton, juxta seniores meos.—Mariæ filiæ meæ—Christianæ de Welles unum lectum rubeum, pulverizatum cum *lokkys.*

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# STEMMATA DOMINORUM ET CALUMPNIATORUM DE ALNEWYKE.

## I. Tison.

Dominus GILBERTUS TISON, Domini Regis Angliæ Summus Vexillator, ad instantiam nobilis Reginæ Angliæ, Matildis nomine, pro animabus regis S. Edwardi et Willelmi Bastardi concessit Ecclesiæ de Seleby et monachis ibidem terras in Polkerthorp &c. Test. Alredo Archiepiscopo Ebor. (1061-1068).—Concessu uxoris suæ et filiorum suorum dedit Gundeby, et decimam in Aigruna (Everham, Notts.) et in Alvelay (Kirk-Ella) ut in eadem ecclesia esset plenarius frater: Test. Thoma Archiepiscopo (1070-1100), *Domino Ada filio suo* &c.— Tenens in capite 1086 (Domesday.) His estates were evidently forfeited, probably in connection with the rebellion of Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, 1095, his tenancies in capite being dispersed into various families. Among his possessions in 1086 were Staretorpe, Aygrum, and part of Wincheburne, places named under his descendants below.

Adam Tisun reddit compotum de 32*l.* 2*s.* pro omnibus debitis patris sui. Et de 15 m. argenti ne placitat de terra sua donec filius Nigelli de Albini (Mowbray) sit miles, 31 Hen I.—Gave land in Egrum to the Canons of Thurgarton, and Winkeburne to the Hospitallers. With the consent of *Emma, his wife*, and *William, his son*, he gave Aton Croft in Holme to Selby Abbey. = Emma

Richard Tysone, son of Gilbert of Alnwick Abbey. Gave the Church of S. Wilfrid of Gysnes, &c., to that Abbey, 1147.

Willelmus Tisun held 15 fees of Roger de Mowbray, in Yorkshire, 1168. These appear to have been of ancient feoffment, *i.e.*, before the death of Hen. I. This William gave, and *Adam, his father*, confirmed land in Aghrum to Rufford Abbey.

Avicia = Henry Hoset, with the assent of his wife, confirmed Adam Tysun's gift to Thurgarton.

William Tison held two fees of Wm. de Vesci in 1168. He and *his son German* witnessed a grant of Wm. de Vescy, who d. 1184.

William Constable of Flaynburgh, confirmed Adam Tyson's grant to Selby and S.

Maude de Belver, widow, by consent of John de Belver, her son, gave to Selby Abbey all

Hubert Hosatus or Hose, Rector of Egrum, 1218, when he gave lands in

Henry Hosatus or Hose in 13 Joh. levied a fine to Walter, the Abbot of Rufford, of lands included in Will. Tysun's charter. Gave the Churches of Wynkeburne and Egrom to the Hospital-

.... = German Tison, occ. 1184-1213. N.B. The Church of Selby was dedicated to S. German. = 2. Agnes de Hilton married before 1209, liv. 1211.

Domina Bona Tison, named as daughter = William de Helton, died before 1208.

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increased it at Holme by giving Holterhirst.

that part in Holterhirst which had belonged to *Adam Tisun, her grandfather.*

Startorp to Rufford Abbey.

lers, which King John confirmed, as had Roger de Mowbray.

of German in the Alnwick Chronicle, probably mar. about 1198.

Sir Alexander de Helton, s. and h., a minor in 1208, a crusader in 1241, died before 1243. Had a brother called *German.*

BARONES DE HELTON held Shilbottle &c. under the Barony of Alnwick.

*** Hugh Hose brought to Matthew, Abbot of Rufford, the testament or devise of Henry H. his brother, who, with tears and grief of heart at his death, repented that he had disquieted the monastery, and with tears also begged their pardon and earnestly besought his heirs that they should permit the monks to hold their lands in peace, whereof discord had been between them. Of this Hugh was a most faithful witness, having the said devise of his brother *sealed with the seal of Jocelin the Queen's brother*, who by the king's command brought the body of the said Henry into this land, and the said Jocelin had the demise sealed. (Thoroton's Notts.)

## II. Vescy.

IVO DE VESCI. Henricus II. confirmavit Willelmo de Vesci "Castrum de Alnewyco et totum honorem qui fuit Ivonis de Vesci avi sui." Feodavit ij milites et ½ militis de suo dominio.

BEATRIX, unica filia, "quam mortuo patre suo, Rex dedit Eustachio filio Johannis uxorem." Wills. de Vescy dedit Canonicis de Alnewic ecclesias salute animarum patris sui Eustachii, et matris suæ Beatricis.

EUSTACHIUS FILIUS JOHANNIS, "monoculus," tenuit feoda Willelmi de Vescy anno et die qua Henricus I. fuit vivus et mortuus. Habuit terram in Northumberland, anno 1130. Habuit castrum munitissimum, Alnewich, anno 1138. Dedit ecclesiam de Lesbury Canonicis de Alnewic "pro anima Ivonis de Vescy, et pro salute Willelmi de Vescy filii mei, et omnium puerorum meorum," (v. Stemma IV.,) c. 1147. Vir magnus et grandævus, ab Wallensibus interfectus, interiit, anno 1157. (v. Will. de Newb.)

WILLELMUS DE VESCI, "cæso ventre matris, natus est, et mater mortua." Confirmavit Canonicis de Malton terras pro

Burga, soror de Stotevill. Willelmus de Vescy confirmavit Canonicis

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salute Eustachii filii sui et pro anima patris sui Eustachii et Beatricis matris suæ. Henricus II. confirmavit ei omnes terras patris sui, scilicet castrum de Alnewyco &c. ut supra. Vicomes tenuit terras suas 30 Hen. II. Requiescit ante ostium Capituli Domus de Alnwyke juxta sponsam suam Burgam, habitum canonicorum circa finem suam sumendo. (*Vide Sigillum.*) Cepit cum Burga in maritagio villam de Langetone.

de Maltona terras pro anima uxoris suæ Burgæ. Eustachius de Vescy dedit terras pro animabus patris sui Willelmi de Vescy, matris suæ Burgæ, sponsæ suæ Margaretæ, et Willelmi heredis sui. Requiescit ante ostium capituli Domus de Alnewyk.

**EUSTACHIUS DE VESCI**, natus cir. 1170-1. Hæres Willelmi de Vesci fuit 14 annorum et in custodia Regis, anno 31 Hen. II., 1185. Plenæ ætatis, 2 Ric. 1190-1. "Eustace Vescy," *O., a plain Cross S.* (Glover's Coll., penes Surtees.) In obsidione castelli Bernardi, anno 1215, elevando galeam, capite cerebratus est per balistam. Vide sigillum in margine, et secretum in Munimentis de Melros, (a gem with a horned animal, or a bird upon a praying figure, impressed on a sort of four petalled rose, or rather a cross, the limbs of which are united by *vetch pods.*) *Sigillum Eustachius* (sic) *de Vesci.*

=Margareta, filia notha Willelmi Regis Scotiæ. "Margarita de Vescy, filia Regis Scottorum" *var.* "Margeria de Vesci," in cartis. *Vide Sigillum Margarie de Vesci* (Device, one of the animals in her husband's seals, with vetch pods,) in Munimentis de Melros.

*Vide Stemm.* IV.

Isabella filia Willelmi Longespee,

=**WILLELMUS DE VESCI**, "secundus," filius et hæres Eustacii de Vesci. *Sigillum*

=Domina Agnes de Vescy, una hæredum Sibillæ de Ferrariis [Counte de

Willelmus de Vesci, frater Willelmi, ut

Ricardus de Vescy frater Willelmi, testis cartarum ejusdem—Dns. Ricardus de Vesci vicarius

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uxor Willelmi Vescii filii Eustachii de Vescii. Hæc requiescit in ecclesia conventuali de Alnewyke. Post discessum prædictus Willelmus accepit sibi uxorem aliam nomine Agnetem.

*Wilelmi de Vescy*, habet *Goules a ung croix patonce d'argent*. Et vide Rot. Arm. c. 1240-5, et sigillum Agnetis. Obiit 1253, sepultus apud Watton.

Ferrers. *Vairy O. and G.* Rot. Arm., ante 1295.] sororis et alterius hæredis Walteri le Marescall' [Counte Marescal. *Per pale O. and V. a lion rampant G.* Ibid.] fratris et hæredis Willelmi quondam viri Alianoræ Comitissæ Leicestriæ defunctæ quæ fuit uxor Willelmi Marescalli comitis Pembrochiæ, dudum defuncti, 3 Edw. I. Tenuit tenementa in liberum maritagium suum de dono Willelmi de Ferers quondam Comitis Derbeye patris prædictæ Agnetis. Domina Agnes de Vescy alias Wesci obiit die Ascensionis Domini, anno præterito, i.e., 17 Edw. I. 1289. [Inq. 18 Edw. I.] Dna. Angnes de Vescy sepultitur in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum Scarburgiæ. [Dictus Willelmus pater habuit uxorem Agnetem sororem et hæredem Ranulphi, Comitis Cestrensis. Counte de Chester, *B., three garbs O. tied G.* Rot. Arm. ante 1295.] Mater Johannis de Vescy.

per cartas ejusdem Willelmi.

ecclesiæ de Chetton et Canonicus Beverlacensis, ut per cartam Ricardi de Marisco Epi. Dun. 8 pont. sui.

JOHANNES DE VESCY=1. Agnes, filia Memfredi=2. "Mary,=3. Domina Isabella de WILLELMUS DE=Domina Isabella,
filius dicti Willelmi natus fuit xv. Kal. Aug. Saluz, nutrita in camera Reginæ Angliæ sister of Hugh de Bellomonte, filia Agnetis de Bellomonte, VESCY, natus fuit 13 Kal. Oct., secunda filia et una hæredum

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1244. *Sigillum Johannis de Vesey* habet *O. a cross S.*, et vide Rot. Arm. c. 1283. Proficiens cum Rege Angliæ in Vasconiam ibi apud montem (*var.* in Monte Passulano, Mumpelers.) decedebat, 1288-9. Hujus Johannis ossa Abbas Alanus de Alnewyk fecit secum asportari de Vasconia. Cujus corpus in Ecclesia Conventuali de Alnewyke cum magno honore est humatum. Obiit sine hærede de se. Inq. p. m. 17 Edw. I.

sponsæ Henrici III. Petrus de Sabaudia post mortem Willi. de Vescy habuit maritagium hæredis ejusdem W. pro unam filiarum Domini de Camera vel vicecom. Augustens. ut per Cal. Rot. Pat. 37 Hen. III. Quæ audita Domini sui incarceratione [post prælium apud Evesham, 1265.] præ doloris augustiæ a seculo migravit inbrevi. Dame Alys femme a Mess. Edmond Lascy conte de Lyncon, item Agnes de Vescy seur alad' Dame Alys de Lascy sont enterres ou Freres Precheurs de Pontfret.

Lezinian, Earl of March and Engolesme Claus. 7 Edw. I., in dorso m. 11." [Dugd. Baron., i. 94, where the marriage covenants are set out.]

soror Domini Henrici de Bellomonte, cognata Reginæ Angliæ. Contr. in matrim. 8 Edw. II. Quæ quidem Isabella post ipsum vixit. Construxit sumptibus suis propriis navem ecclesiæ, claustrum et domitorium domus Fratrum Prædicatorum de Scarborou. Et sepulta est in choro dictæ ecclesiæ. Inq. p. m. 8 Edw. III. Henricus de Bellomonte frater et hæres, æt. 50.

1245. *William de Vessi* portavit *O. a cross S. a label of 5 points G.* in Rot. Arm. c. 1283. Frater et hæres Johannis, æt. 40 ann. et amplius, 17 Edw. I. Obiit apud Malton vigilia S. Margaretæ virginis, 1297 sine hærede de se. Unus calumpniatorum coronæ Scotiæ, 1291. Sigillum *habet O. a cross S.* (Concessio Baroniæ de Alwyke Antonio Episcopo Dunelm.)

Domini Adæ de Periton alias Perington, plenæ ætatis 50 Hen. III. Vidua Domini Roberti de Wellis tunc mortui. Mortua 8 Edw. II. [Qu. "Isabella Lady Perey," who in her seal in Whitaker's Craven holds the *plain cross* of Vescy in her right hand, the *lion rampant* of Welles being above her left."]

Johannes de Vescy, filius unicus, dicti Willelmi, juvenis et elegans, natus fuit 18 kal. Octobris, 1269, et obiit apud Coneway 5 kal. Maii 1259, inter Paschas et Pentecosten. *Ultimus suorum.* Sigillavit submissionem clamei patris ejus, 1291. Vide sigillum in margine. Sepultus apud Maltone.

=Clementia, cognata Reginæ Angliæ [Alianoræ sponsæ Edwardi I.] contr. in matrim. 18 Edw. I. Clementia quæ fuit uxor Johannis de Vescy filii Willelmi de Vescy fecit fidelitatem Regi, 27 Edw. I.

Mortuo Johanne, filio dicti Willelmi, dictus Willelmus feoffavit Dominum Antonium Episcopum Dunelmensem in Alnewyk et cum reversione manerii de Eltham: et prædictus Dominus Willelmus feoffavit Dominum Edwardum regem Angliæ de Kyldare in Hyberniâ et Sproxton in Scotia, propter licentiam feoffandi de omnibus aliis terris suis, Willelmum filium suum quem genuit in Kyldare. (Inq. 8 Edw. II.)

Episcopus castrum de Alnewyk, quod ei W. de Vesci contulerat, confidens in eo quod illud ad opus filii sui parvuli et illegitimi W. conservaret, et ei adulto traderet, accepta pecunia, Henrico de Percy vendidit. (Robt. de Graystanes, in Hist. Dunelm. Scr.)

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## III. Vescy de Kyldare.

Isabella de Periton ut supra. = Willelmus de Vescy, senior. Memorandum quod unus finis levatur in curia Regis [Edw. I.] inter Antonium Episcopum Dunelm. et W. de Vescy sen. de Castris de Alnewyk et Malton et aliis tenementis. — Dervorgule filia cujusdam reginæ Hiberniæ, nomine Dovenald Rochmaccarti.

Johannes, s.p. ut supra.

WILLELMUS, filius bastardus, natus in Hibernia, quem pater suus genuit in Kyldare. Summ. ad Parl. 1313-1314. Occisus apud Strivelin, 1315, s.p., sepultus apud Eboracum? Ces sunt les nons e les armes a baneres de Engletere (1308-14) (inter alia) Sire Willm. de Vesci. *De or, a une Croys de Sable.* = Matilda, vidua Thomæ Nevil de Chetham. ut patet per Claus. 9 Edw. III.

## IV. Aton, &c.

Sciendum est quod Eustachius filius Johannis, post mortem uxoris suæ, desponsavit Agnetem, filiam Willelmi Constabularii Cestriæ et genuit filios et filias; de quibus processerunt calumpniatores hæreditatis Willelmi de Vescy; et ex unâ illarum processit quidam Willielmus qui vocabatur Willielmus de Vescy, et genitus fuit in....et nutritus fuit cum Willielmo filio Eustachii primogenito. Et iste Willielmus bastard genuit Warinum, qui vocatur Warinus de Vescy, ex unâ ancillâ cujusdam nutricis, in Castello de Malton in....et quia nutritus fuit cum Eustachio filio Willielmi de Vescy: ideo vocabatur Warinus de Vescy. Qui Warinus desponsavit Matildem filiam Walranni de Wellon, et genuit ex eâ Matildem et Marjoriam, filias et hæredes; quarum una fuit desponsata Gilberto de Aton, et sic linealiter, de hærede in hæredem, usque ad Gilbertum modo petentem. Esc. 9. Ed. ii. per Mon., sub Watton.

Willielmus de Vescy—Canonicis meis de Maltona—pro anima patris meæ et matris meæ et fratrum meorum Ricardi et Galfridi et omnium parentum meorum tam vivorum quam mortuorum. Hiis testibus—Warino de Vescy.

Willielmus de Vescy—Canonicis de Malton—pro salute animæ meæ et patris meæ Eustachii et matris meæ et fratrum meorum Ricardi et Galfridi et omnium antecessorum. Testes—Warinus de Vescy.

Willielmus de Vescy—Canonicis de Maltona—pro anima patris mei et matris meæ et uxoris meæ Burgæ—Hiis testibus—Warino de Vescy.

Willielmus de Vescy—Canonicis meis de Malton—pro salute—Eustachii filii mei et pro anima patris mei Eustachii et Beatricis matris meæ. Hiis—testibus, Dno. Eustachio filio meo, Dno. Willelmo Latimer, Dno. Willelmo filio Walonis. Dno. Warino de Vescy.

Cartæ prescriptæ transcriptæ sunt ad evidentiam quia Warinus de Vescy nominatus est testis in qualibet carta præscripta nec in aliqua earum nominatus est idem Warinus filius frater avunculus seu consanguineus, per quod videtur quod idem Warinus non fuit propinquus de sanguine Willelmi sed omnino extraneus vel talis conditionis quod prædicto Willelmo jure hæreditatis succedere non potuit nec debuit prout plenius continetur in transcripto ultimæ cartæ, in qua Eustachius est unus testium et nominatur ibi Eustachio filio meo.

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Beatrix de Vescy=Eustachius filius Johannis, ob. 1157.

Agnes de Gant, soror Willelmi (nepotis Walteri de Gant) Constabularii Cestriæ, filii Willelmi Constabularii, filii Nigelli.

Ivo de Vescy, testis in carta Eustachii filii Johannis, 1146-53.

Willelmus de Vescy *senior*,=Burga—..... genuit duos filios Willelmum et Eustachium. concubina.

Ricardus, ut per cartas patris, matris et Willelmi fratris ejus. Constabularius Cestriæ.

Galfridus ut per cartas easdem.

Willelmus de Vesci, testis in cartis Willelmi de Vescy filii Beatricis. "Dunc dit li reis Willame—Alum vers Audnewic, si me volez loer, a Willame de Vesci ke jo ne puis mater. Si le chastel *sun pere* me volt quite clamer, senz perdre de ses membres dunc le larrai aler.—A tant si irrum a Audnewic le grant ost d'Albanie; Mes Willame de Vedci ne s'i ubblia mie.—Mult esteit le pere joius en sun curage, ki bon fiz engendre, *tut seit co en suignantage:* pur *jofne Willame* le di en mun language, ki le chastel sun pere tint par vasselage." (1172-4. Chron. Jord. de Fantosme).

=Aelina, anno 2 Joh., loquela fuit inter Rob. Bertram et Will. de Vesci et Aelinam ux. ejus de 7 car. terræ in Lang'et in Esinden et in Mora.

Willelmus de Vesci, in Rot. Pipæ, Northamb. 1187-1190.

Willelmus de Vesci, senior, miles, testis in carta Willelmi de Vesci secundi.

*** Dns. Warinus de Vescy, testis in cartis Willelmi de Vescy, senioris, tempore Burgæ et Eustachii.

Willelmus. "Willelmo mortuo, Eustachius successit in hæreditatem." (Stemma fundatorum Domus de Watton).

Matildis. Bollesdun dedit terram pro salute Thomæ de Muschauns et pro salute Matildis uxoris suæ. Renupta Adæ de Carliel.

Thomas de=Thomas de Muscampo, filius Stephani de Bulemer et Ceciliæ de Muscampo. Mortuus 30 Hen. II. 1184. Terra Willelmi de Vesci. Adam Carduil reddit compotum, &c., et pro instauranda terra quæ fuit Tomæ de Muscamp.—Baronia de Vescy. Robertus de Muschamp tenet—per liberum maritagium. (Testa de Nevil).

Hugo de Bolebec, mortuus 1166. cui Henricus I. dedit baroniam (said as "senior" to have married Cecilia secunda soror Matildis).=

Eustachius natus circa 1170-1.

BARONES DE VESCY.

Warinus de=Matildis filia Walranni Vescy, pleg. Radulphi de Bolebec in Ebor. 2 Joh. 1200. Frater Eustachii avi Willelmi de Vesci, ex parte patris. Pleg. Ricardi de Scales, in Ebor. 9 Joh. 1208. "Warrinus de Vescy." *G. a Cross Patonce A., a label of three points B.* (Glover's Ord., penes J. Raine.) de Wellon.

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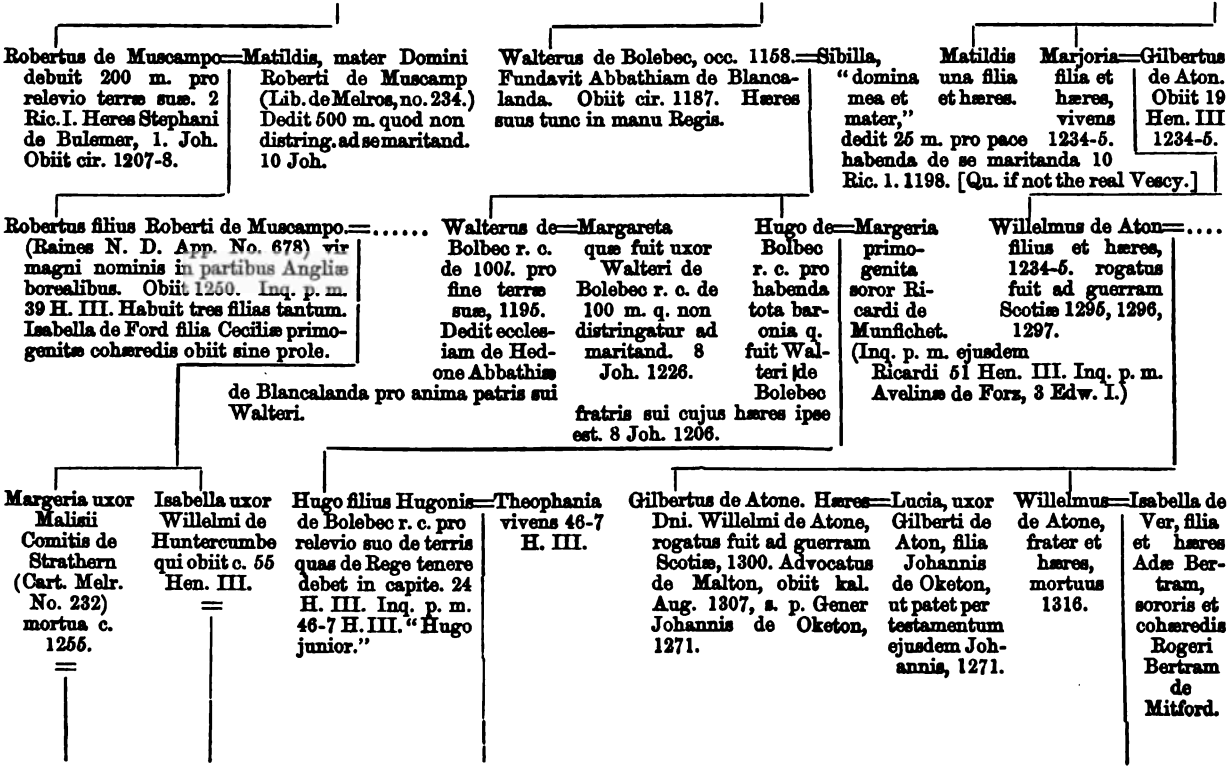


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Muriella Comitissa de Mar. æt. 10, 1255. Inq. p. m. 20 Ed. I. Ob. s. p.

Marjoria uxor Nicholai de Graham, æt. 6, 1255, mortua 34 Ed. I. = Johannes de Graham, æt. 28, 34 Edw. I.

Eustachius de Huntercumbe. Gonnora uxor Ricardi de Newbaud. = Nicholas de Newbold alias Huntercombe, æt. 30, 6 Edw. II. Vendidit medietatem de Wolloure Johanni de Lilleborne, Inq. 20 Ed. II.

Walterus de Huntercumbe, plenæ ætatis 55 H. III. obiit s. p. 6 Ed. II. = Alicia tertia filia æt. 16-17, 1262. Hugonis et Theophaniæ uxoris ejus.

Hugo de Bolbek filius Dni. Hugonis confirmavit Monasterio de Newminster concessionem ejusdem Dni.

Philippa filia senior æt. 23, 1262. Uxor Rogeri de Lancaster. Obiit 1294. = Dominus Johannes de Lancaster.

Margeria filia secunda æt. 21, 1262. Uxor Nicholai Corbet. Postea uxor Radulphi Filii Willelmi. = Robertus Filius Radulphi, Dominus de Greystoke.

Matildis filia quarta, cum matre, æt. 13, 1262. Uxor Roberti de Beaumeys 47 51 H. III. Uxor Hugonis de la Valle, 51 Hen. III.

*** In the Stemma Eustachii Filii Johannis, fundatoris Abbatiæ de Alnewike, quoted by Dugd. as a schedule to Esc. 8 Edw. II. n. 63, the above Eustace de Huntercombe and Sir John de Lancaster are the only two of the coheirs whose descent is traced. Eustace, who might either be identical with Walter or an elder or younger brother, does not seem to occur elsewhere. Philippa de Lancastre is called Felicia.

Gilbertus de Aton, filius et hæres, habuit concessionem liberæ warrennæ, 1309. Plenæ ætatis, (var. æt. 26 et amplius) et propinquior hæres Willelmi de Vesci senioris, 1316. "*Sire Gilberd de Atone, de Goules, a une crois patee de argent.*" (Rot. Arm. 1308-14 sub Westmerlond e le Counte de Lancastre.) *O. a plain cross S.* in fenestra navis Ecclesiæ Cath. Ebor., dat. circa 1338. Confirmavit Alnwick Henrico de Percy, 17 Edw. II. summonitus ad Parliamenta, 17 Edw. II.-16 Edw. III. =

Willelmus de Aton, æt. 87, 1386, natus c. 1299, armatus c. 1320, summ. ad Parl. 44 E. III. =Isabella filia Dni. Henrici de Percy. Obiit ante Mai. 1368.

—"Soit connu a touz par ceste escript endente fait a Semer le cinnq jour d'Avrill l'an de grace, 1375: Que come Monsr. Willm. de Aton le pere en presence du Sire de Percy chalengea Monsr. Robert de Bointon des Armes q'il portoit, cestascavoir *d'or, ou one croiz de sable et cinque testes de boef d'argent en la crois.* Les quelles avantditz Monsr. William et Monsr. Robert apres longs controversies sesmisrent en le judgment du Sire de Percy susdit. Le devantdit Sire de Percy par bone deliberation agarde les armes avantditz a Monsr. William de Aton susdit come chief des armes entiers et droit heriter dicelles. Et l'avantdit Monsr. Willm. de Atton a grannte par cestes endentures enseales de son seal au susdit Monsr. Robert de Boynton et a ses heires q'desore ils aient les armes *d'ore ou une crois de sable et cinque testes de boef* sans empechement de luy ou de ses heires par tous jours. En testmoigne de quelle chose a la partie de

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ceste endenture demourant vers l'avantdit Monsr. Robert de Boynton Monsr. Willm. de Aton susdit a mys son seale, et a la partie demourant devers Monsr. William susdit le devant nomie Monsr. Robert de Boynton a mis son seale, les jour, lieu, et l'an susditz. *Sigillu' Will'm' de Aton.* Vetustate adeo complanatum hoc sigillum quod *præter crucem* nihil docerni poterat." Sigillum armorum in 1385 *a plain cross.* Obiit ante Jul. 1389.

Monsieur de Aton fitz et heir Monsieur Gilbert de Aton, 1349. ex Registro de Selby.

Willelmus d'Aton nepos Thomæ Percy Episcopi Norvicensis, ut per testamentum ejusdem Episcopi, 1368. Obiit s. p. ante 1385.

=Margareta, vidua. (Vincent, B. 2. f. 259.)

Anastasia, vidua Edwardi de Sancto Johanne, militis.
Catharina, uxor Radulphi Eure, mil.
Elizabetha, uxor Johannis Conyers, 1385 (quondam uxor Willelmi Placye).

} Filiæ et cohæredes, fecerunt partitionem, 22 Julii, 13 Ric. II. 1389.

*** In Bridges' Collins, Isabel, daughter of Henry, the 2nd Lord Percy of Alnwick, is stated to have been the wife of William, son and heir of *William* de Aton—Dugd. Bar. and Great Percy Chartulary, fol. 74, fol. 94, b., are quoted. Dugdale, however, has the father's name Gilbert, quoting Pierpoint's MS. The nonpublications of this cartulary, and that of Tynemouth, are not a little astounding, considering the quantity of rubbish over which type and paper are now wasted and the yearning after truth, characteristic of the age. Blessing Bishop Percy, we further learn in our darkness that according to some writers, Henry, the 3rd Lord Percy of Alnwick had "a daughter Isabel, wedded to Gilbert de Aton, junior, brother of William de Aton, before mentioned, who married Isabel her aunt." and, for this, "MS. Collect. of Mr. Tho. Butler" are quoted.

## V. Bek.

Pinceon Dapifer, temp. Bishop Flambard. "Ranulfus, Dunelmensis Episcopus—Pinceon Dap. tenet de illo." (Cat. Tenentium= in Com. Lincoln. Bib. Cott. Claudius C. V. per Hearne's Lib. Nig. 410.) Several estates so held.

Hugo filius Pinceonis. Held lands in Lincolnshire temp. Flambard. (Cat. ut supra, 415) Secessit Episcopus [Willelmus de S.= Barbara] inchoante Quadragesima [Feb. 1144] in Northumbriam relicto super negotia sua in Episcopatu Hugone filio Pintonis dapifero suo.—Hugo Filius Pintonis castellum de Tornlauu [Thornley] Willelmo [Cumin] prodidit. *pactis inter eos firmatis de filia ipsius Hugonis cuidam nepoti Willelmi conjugio copulanda.* (Cont. Hist. Dun.) Idem Episcopus [1143-1152] confirmavit donacionem quam Hugo filius Pinceonis fecit Hugoni Burel de Windegat et *Smethetun.* (Cart. Dunelm. 2. 1. Pont.) Hugh Burell in 1180 exchanged this acquisition with Henricus de Pusato, son of Bp. Pudsey and Adelidis de Perci, for Perci and Mureres in Normandy.—Carta Domini Hugonis [Pudsey] Dunelm. Epi. In Lincscire tenet de veteri fefamento Hugo Pincon' feod. vij militum. Ultra Tisan in Dominio B. Cuthberti tenet de veteri fefamento Hugo filius Pincon' j milit. In eadem terra B. Cuthberti de novo tenet feffamento Hugo Burellus j milit.

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Agnes filia Hugonis filii Pincionis, uxor Walteri proavi Johannis Beke (Cart. Joh. Beke.)=Walterus Beke proavus Johannis Beke.

Hugo Bek died on his return from Palestine 1189-92.

Henricus Bek, avus Johannis Beke. Being weak of understanding, his brother divided the inheritance with him. (Reg. de Alvingham)—Linc. Henricus Bek dat 60 m. pro habenda pace Dni. Regis, et de fideli servicio suo liberabit in obsidem *Thomam filium suum.* (Rot. Fin. 17-18 Joh. 1216)—Henr. Bec—Elemosinariæ Dunelm.—terram juxta Abatiam Dunelm. inter terram Prioris Dunelm. et terram Stephani fratris celerarii. Test. Aimerico Archid., Ph. de Ulec., Henr. de Puteaco. (Lib. Elem. lxxiii.)—8 H. III. Henricus Bec debet 5 m. pro habend. marit. Emmæ de Radmor. [Redmarshall] q. ad ipsum pertinet ut dicit. (Rot. Pip. Northumb.)

=Hawyse or Alice, sister of Thomas de Multon who gave with her in free marriage land held of Simon de Kyme.

Walterus Bek, of Lusceby. Linc.=Walterus Bek dat, pro habenda pace Dni. Regis, 25 m. et liberabit in obsidem *Saherum filium suum.* (Rot. de Fin. 17-18 Joh. 1216.)
Johannes Bek tenet mediet. unius feodi in Boby. (Test. de Nevil.)
Defendant in two pleas of land in *Smedeton* co. Ebor. 2 Joh. 1206. (Abb. placit.) Obtained licence to marry the widow of Wm. de Bardolph. (Rot. de Fin. 7 Joh. 1205.)
Nicholaus Bek.

Walterus Beck tenet feoda de Episcopo Dunelm. et idem Episcopus de Domino Rege in capite. (Test. de Nevil, Linc.) Pater Johannis Beke. Alienated 4 oxgangs *de dominio villæ* at Redmarshall. (3 Surtees, 71.)

=Eva, niece of Walter de Grey, Archbp. of York. Fine on marriage 6 Hen. III., 1222.

Thomas, 1216.

Henricus Bek of Lusceby. "Cognatus Walteri Beke de Eresby." Episcopus Dunelm. tenet in Fuleteby et Oxecumbe feod. ij milit. quæ Henricus Bec tenet de eo. (Testa de Nevil.)

=....

Saherus, 1216.

Johannes Beke. In Com. Linc. tenet 7 feod. mil. Inter Tinam et Tesam Joh. Bek tenet in Redmarshall duo partes feodi. (Kirkham's Feodary, c. 1250.) Joan Beck, var. Jon Beck, *G. a Cross Moline A.* (Rot. Arm. ante 1295.) Will, 1301. Obiit 1330-4. In 30 Edw. I. he gave Eresby

=....

Thomas, Bishop of Saint David's, d. 1293.

Antonius Episcopus Dunelmensis 1283-1310, Constable of the Tower of London, 1275, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 35 Edw. 1., King of Man. Held the Barony of Alnwick by conveyance from William de Vesci, from 1297 to 1309, when he sold it to Henry de Perci. Le noble Evesq. de Douraume. *Vermeillie o un fer de molin d'ermine.* (La Siege de Karlaverok, 1300.) Le Evesque Antoyn de Dureem e Patark, de *goules a*

Margaret Beke wife of Galfridus de Thorp, 1301. (Test. Joh. Beke.)
...., a nun at Alvingham 1301.

Walterus filius Henrici Beke de Lusceby, cognati Walteri Beke de Eresby, occ. 1267, 1291.
Henricus frater Dni. Walteri Beke.

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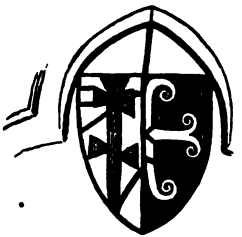
to Robert de Willoughby and sealed the gift with a shield bearing the Cross Moline. Above the shield is a sword, and on each side of it a garb, supposed to refer to the Earls of Chester, Ranulph the Earl of Chester and Lincoln having given land to his father. (Harl. MS. 245, fo. 103, and Montagu's Heraldry, 41.) Said to have sold Redmarshall to Tho. de Moulton. (Surtees.)

*un fer de molyn de ermyne.* (Roll, 1308-14.) His beautiful seals agree in giving this coat, but only the patriarchal one gives the ermine. The annexed example from Howden Church is interesting as to form and dimidiation of the arms in connection with the patriarchal staff. At present the Cross Moline is white on a red ground; the staff is rose coloured on a tawny pink ground. The Church of Durham after his death obtained his patriarchal cross of silver gilt, and two copes "de uno panno albi, indici, et rubei coloris palliatis, cum unâ *Cruce* de armis ejusdem intextis quæ dicuntur *Ferrum Molendini*." The fortress opposite a Cross Moline on his episcopal seal may refer to his being Constable of the Tower.



Walter, d. v. p. 1302.

Alice Bek, elder coheiress of her father. = William de Willughby of Willughby.

Margery Bek, younger coheiress of her father, wife of Richard de Harcourt of Stanton, co. Oxon, second son of Sir Thomas Harcourt.

Robert Willughby of Willughby, afterwards of Eresby, 40 years old, 4 Edw. II., 1311. = John de Harcourt, 4 Edw. II.

Found heirs of Bishop Antony Bek, 4 Edw. II.

*** Monsire de Wouuedale port d' Argent, une crois recersele de gules. Monsire de Beke port le revers. (Roll 1337-50.)

†‡† The Cross Moline or Millrind of Bek was adopted by the Willoughbys as their principal coat. In some political verses cir. 1449, the "Wylloby" of the period occurs thus:—

Our' *Myllesaylle* will' not a bowte
Hit hath so long' goon emptye. (Excerpta Hist. 161.)

## VI. Percy.

De Percy=

William de Perci ove le Gernouns, a tenant in capite = Emma de Port, mentioned by her

Serlo de Perci, prior of

.... de Perci=

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1086, mentioned by his grandson William. Died at Mountjoy in Palestine, and buried there. His heart was brought to Whitby.

husband and grandson William. Buried at Whitby.

Whitby, mentioned by his brother William.

Alan de Perci, the Great, mentioned by his father and his sons William and Alan. Buried at Reading or Whitby. = Emma de Gant mentioned by her her son William.

Walter mentioned by his father and brother Alan.

William mentioned by his father and brother Alan.

Richard de Perci mentioned by his brother Alan. Of Dunslai. PERCY of DUNSLEY.

Sir William de Perci nephew of William and Serlo, Abbot of Whitby.

Aaliza de Perci, niece of Wm. and Serlo, wife of Hugh de Boitorp and of Reginald Buscel. BUSCEL of HOTON in Pickering Lithe.

...., wife of Wimund de Lochinton whose son Ace was nephew of Wm. the Abbot

1. Aaliza or Adelidis, called both names by her husband 1147: called Adelidis de Tunbrigge by her daughter Matilda. Buried at Whitby. = William de Perci, founder of Hampoll, 1133, of Sallay, 1147, living 1168, Buried at Fountains, as mentioned by his daughter Matilda.

2. Sybilla de Valoines widow of Robert de Ros and mother of Ebrard de Ros, as appears by the fines paid for marrying her by Percy in 1166 and by Ralph de Albini in 28 Hen. II.

Sir Alan de Percy le Meschin, mentions his father, gave land at Hetune near Roxburgh and at Oxeneham to Whitby. David I. confirmed.

Walter de Percy of Rugemund, mentioned by his brother William.

Geoffrey de Percy, had land at Oxeneham, mentioned by Alan Meschin.

Henry de Percy, mentioned by his brothers William and Alan confirmed Alan's gifts to Whitby.

Robert de Percy, mentioned by his brother Henry. He had a son John.

Gosfrid de Perci, the clerk, mentioned by his brothers Geoffrey and Henry, became Abbot of St. Mary's, York.

*** Alanus de Perci, Magni Alani filius nothus, miles strenuissimus et in militaribus negotiis probatissimus, distinguished himself in David's army at the Battle of the Standard. If identical with the above Alan le Meschin, some of his brothers may have been illegitimate also.

Alan de Percy, son and heir, mentioned by his father and his sister Matilda: d. s. p.

Matilda, co-heiress, in charter to Salley Abbey mentions her birthplace Catton, her deceased husband William (de Plesset) Earl of Warwick, and her father, mother, brother and sister by name. Died circa 1204, s. p. To be buried at Fountains.

Agnes de Perci, the other co-heir: occ. 1195: buried at Whitby. = Josceline de Louvaine, brother of Adelicia queen of Henry I., and younger son of Godfrey Barbatus, Duke of Lower Lorraine, Count of Brabant and Lovaine: had the Honour of Petworth: and died before 1191: mentioned by his wife. Buried at Petworth.

Henry de Perci held = Isabel, daughter of

Richard de Perci on his mother's death obtained possession

Walter de Perci had a

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his father's honour of Petworth in 1195; executor of his aunt Matilda in 1204-5, but seems to have died shortly after. Buried at Whitby.

Adam de Brus Lord of Skelton, by whom he had Kirkleavingthorp, which was accordingly held of the Skelton fee in free marriage. Buried at Whitby.

of her moiety of the Percy fees, 6 John. Was one of the chief of the barons in arms against that king. Granted the patronage of Handale Nunnery to Richard Malebise (called by Agnes de Percy "nepoti meo"). In 1234, he agreed that the bulk of his estates should revert on his death to the elder line.

PERCY of SETTLE, probably extinct in the third generation.

share of the Countess of Warwick's chattels in 13 Joh. and occurs also in the Pipe Roll of 2 Hen. III., 1217-18.

1. Joan, daughter and coheir of Wm. de Briwere, whose ward her husband had been, and who in turn purchased the wardship of herself and her sisters in 17 Hen. III.

= William de Percy, a minor in 1211-12. Heir of the Countess Matilda, 1222-3. Called nephew and heir [i.e. by agreement] of Richard de Percy in 1243-4. Died 1245 and was buried at Sallay. ARMS.—*Three fusils in fess.*

= 2. Elen, one of the two daughters of Ingelram de de Balliol of Dalton Percy, and sister of Eustace de Balliol (the husband of one of Joan de Briwere's daughters,) whose inheritance on the death of his son Ingelram came to the Percys, Ingelram de Umfravil, representing the other coheir, being in rebellion. She died c. 1281, and seems to have had Dalton as a marriage portion.

Henry de Percy

PERCY of HESSET, ended in females in the third generation.

Anastasia, wife of Ralph Fitz-Ranulph, Lord of Middleham.
Joan, wife of Henry Ferlington.
Alice, wife of Ralph de Haringwood.
Agnes, wife of Eustace de Balliol.

} Coheirs of their mother.

Henry de Percy had his father's lands and licence to marry whom he pleased, 1249. Taken prisoner fighting on the King's side at Lewes, 1264. Died 1272. Buried at Sallay. ARMS.—"*D'azur, a la fesse engrele d'or.*" (Roll, 1240-5.)

= Eleanor, daughter of John Plantaganet, Earl of Warren and Surrey, had dower 56 Hen. III.

Ingelram de Percy had Dalton by gift of his mother. Died 1262, leaving a son William æt. 26., who, unless there is some error as to the relationship of the next two persons named, must soon have died s. p.

William de Percy, Canon of York Minster, gave his moiety of Dalton, accrued by the death of Ingram, to his next brother Walter.

Walter de Percy, erroneously stated to have been ancestor of Percy of Kildale. Stated to have been taken a moiety of Dalton on Ingelram's death by virtue of an entail. William's gift would give him the entirety.

Alan, to whom his father gave lands in Levington.

Henry de Percy, a minor in 15 Edw. I., of age 22 Edw. I. PURCHASED ALNWICK FROM BISHOP BEK in 1309.

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# VII. Percy after the Acquisition of Alnwick.

I. Henry de Percy, under age in 1286, first Baron Percy of Alnwick by purchase from Bishop Bek in 1309, rebuilt Alnwick Castle, d. 1315, bur. in Fountains Abbey. Arms.—*Gold, a blue lion rampant.* = Eleanor Fitz-Alan, daughter of John, Earl of Arundel, had Leckonfield for her dower, d. 1328, bur. in Beverley Minster.

II. Henry de Percy, b. 1299, in 1328 had grants of Warkworth, Rothbury, Corbridge, Newburn, and other lands formerly belonging to the Claverings, built the octagon towers of Alnwick Castle, in 1346 at the Battle of Neville's Cross, d. 1352, bur. in Alnwick Abbey. = Imania (or Idonea), dau. of Rob. Lord Clifford, d. 1365, bur. in Beverley Minster.

William, d. 1355.

III. Henry de Percy, b. 1322, d. 1368, bur. in Alnwick Abbey. = 1. Mary Plantagenet, daughter of the Earl of Lancaster, b. 1320, d. 1362, bur. in Alnwick Abbey; her arms, those of England, with a label of five points are on the octagon tower of Alnwick Castle.
2. Joan, daughter and heiress of John de Orby.

2. Richard, Lord of Semar, summoned to Parliament 1340.
3. Roger, had Stanerbotham in Craven 1335.
4. Robert had lands near Topcliffe 1335.
5. Thomas de Percy, Bishop of Norwich 1335 to 1369.

I. Earl Henry Percy, b. 1342, created Earl of Northumberland July 16, 1377, Marshal of England 1377, rebelled against Henry IV. 1402, attainted 1407, slain at Bramham Moor, Mar. 17, 1408, bur. in York Minster. Arms, after his marriage, *Percy quartering Lucy.* = 1st. Elizabeth, dau. and heiress of the Earl of Angus, by her came the Lordship of Prudhoe.

= 2nd. Margaret, dau. of Ralph Lord Neville, mar. July 12, 1358, d. May 2, 1372, bur. at Northallerton.

= 3rd. Maud, sister and heiress of Lord Lucy, and widow of Gilbert de Umfraville; she was mother of Percy's first wife, and mar. him about 1385; through her came the Honor of Cockermouth.

Thomas, Earl of Worcester, taken prisoner at the battle of Shrewsbury, behead. 1403, built Wressil Castle.

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Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), b. May 20, 1364, slain at the battle of Shrewsbury July 21, 1403, bur. in York Minster; he had possession of Keildar. ARMS. *Percy and Lucy quarterly, with a label of three points.* = Elizabeth, dau. of Edmund, Earl of March, b. Feb. 12, said to have mar. as second husband Thomas Lord Camois, living 1417.

Sir Thomas of Athol, d. in Spain in or before 1388. = Elizabeth, da. of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol.

- Sir Henry of Athol, Governor of Alnwick Castle in 1405, did not join the rebellion, enjoyed Mitford and other estates till his death Oct. 25, 1433, when they passed to his two daughters and coheirs.
- Thomas, died young at Carlisle.

Sir Ralph, taken prisoner at the battle of Otterburn, slain by the Saracens in the Holy Land 1399, s. p. = Philippa, da. of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol.

II. Henry Percy, 2nd Earl, b. Feb. 3., 1393, restored to the Earldom May 11, 1414, = Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, aunt of John Neville who was created Earl of Northumberland 4 Edw. IV. Constable of England 1440, slain at the battle of St. Albans May 22, 1455, bur. in the Abbey there.

III. Henry Percy, 4th surviving s. b. July 25, 1421, summoned to P. as Lord Poynings 1446, Earl of Northumberland 1455, slain at the battle of Towton Mar. 29 = Eleanor dau. and heiress of Lord Poynings, by her came the baronies of Poynings, Fitzpayne and Bryan, d. Nov. 11,

5 Sir Thomas b. 1422, created Lord Egremont 1449, slain at the battle of Northampton 1460. =

1. 2. 3. Henry, John, and John d. s. p.
6. George b. 1424, prebend of Beverley, rector of Rothbury and Colbeck, d. 1474.
8. Sir Richard, b. about 1426, slain at Towton, 1461.
9. William, b. 1428 Bishop

7. Sir Ralph b. 1425, steward of the Earl's courts, slain at the battle of Hedgley, 1464. = Eleanor da. and heir. of Lawrence Acton, had lands at Hasand Acton Shilbottle and Guysance, liv. 1498. Her mother Matilda had lands at Thriston. = John Carlyle died before 1498.

- Sir Henry Percy liv. 1489.
- Sir Ralph
- Margaret wife of
- Johanna, æt 28 et = Christopher Thirkeld

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1461, attainted. | 1474. Sir John b. 1459 living 1480. of Carlisle, d. 1462. | d. 1486. George had Newton, near Bambrough, during pleasure of the crown, d. cir. 1500. | Sir Ralph Harbottle, who in 1474 had the Thirston lands. | amplius 1488. | Esq., held Hasand 1519, as did his descendants for two generations.

IV. Henry Percy, minor 1461, restored in blood and honor 1469, Lord High Chamberlain 1483, slain at Coxlodge April 28, 1489, buried at Beverley. = Maud daughter of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, bur. at Beverley.

V. Henry Algernon Percy, b. Jan. 13, 1478, d. May 19, 1527, bur. at Beverley; in his time the Northumberland Household book was written. = Catherine dau. and co-heir of Sir Robert Spencer of Spencer Combe by Eleanor dau. and eventually co-heir of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.

2 Sir William, at the battle of Flodden 1513, at the Pilgrimage of Grace 1536.

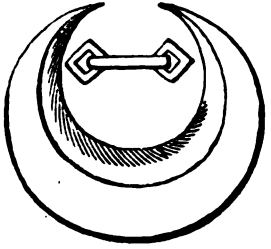
3. Alan Warden of Trinity College Arundel 1545.

John Percy, Esq., son and heir, had Newton-by-the Sea and Yerdle (*hodie* Earl), supposed to be the same John as owed suit and service at Emeldon Manor Court in 1520, to have settled at Worcester about that year, and to have been the ancestor of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Percy, author of the Hermit of Warkworth.

Margery wife of Sir Henry Widdrington, she held Yerdle 1519, and m. secondly W. Ellerker arm. by whom she had a son Sir Rob. Ellerker, a famous man in the borders.

4. Josceline, had lands in Sussex from his father, d. 1532. = Margaret dau. and co-heir of Walter Frost of Beverley, d. 1530.

Edward, inherited the lands of his mother, born 1544, died 1590. = Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thos. Waterton of Walton.



VI. Henry Algernon Percy, the Unthrifty, loved Anne Boleyn, sold most of the Poynings' lands, d. June 30, 1537, buried at Hackney. = Mary, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, no issue.

Alan of Beverley heir b. 1560, M.P. of Beverley 1603, died 1622. = Mary dau. of Robt. Moore of Beswicke.

Thomas, constable of Alnwick Castle, Conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot, slain at Holbeach 1605. = Martha, dau. of Robt. Wright of Plowden in Holderness.



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2. Sir Thomas Percy, a leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, executed at Tyburn, 1537, attainted. = Eleanor, dau. and coheir of Sir Guiscard Harbottle of Beamish in Durham, son of Margaret, dau. of Sir Ralph Percy of Hedgeley.

3. Sir Ingelram or Ingram, receiver of the Earl's revenue, took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace 1536, d. 1538, leaving an illegitimate dau. only, Isabella, who married Henry Tempest of Broughton, Yorks.

Henry, d. 169- ? | Joscelyn of Beverley, Esq., 1612, a page of the Earl, will proved 1653. = Elizabeth, dau. of Wm. Fitz-William of Clixby. | Edward Percy, Esq., a soldier, d. 1630, aged 32, bur. at Petworth.

1. Alan of Beverley, Esq., 1612, 1652, d. 1687, s. p.
2. Charles,) 1612, living 1652.
3. John, bur. 1634. Also two daughters.

VII. Henry Percy, b. 1528, created Baron Percy of Cockermouth, &c., and Earl of Northumberland, with remainder to issue male of himself and his brother Henry 1557, attainted 1571, beheaded 1572, bur. at York. = Anne, dau. of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester, no male issue, but five daus. from one or two of whom numerous descendants and coheirs, being, saving the attainder, the *heirs general of Percy*.

Guiscard, supposed to have died young.

Robert of Taunton, educated at Alnwick Grammar School. = Emma Meade.

Elizabeth, bur. at Alnwick, Feb. 2, 1602.

A Daughter, mar. to Rob. Catesby, a conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot.

Francis, bap. at Taunton, 1616, of Bickley, 1660. = Thomas and James slain fighting for Charles I.

Francis, bap. at Bickley, 1649. stone cutter, Mayor of Cambridge 1709, d. 1716, aged 67, had 6 sons and 6 daughters. = Margaret Wale of Shelford.

Charles of Cambridge, milliner, bap. Dec. 10, 1674, common councilman, d. there 1743. = Alice.

Francis, Capt. in the Navy, bap. 1675, d. 1741. = Sarah.

Robert, 1748.

Algernon, in the Navy, d. unmar. 1705.

Thomas, bap. 1678, d. before 1716.

Henry, in the Navy, cc. 1707.

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VIII. Henry Percy, succeeded by virtue of the entail August 22, 1572, suspected of treason and imprisoned in the tower, where he was found shot June 21, 1585. = Catherine da. and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, through her came Burton Latimer, d. 1596, bur. in Westminster Abbey.

Joslyn bap. at Cambridge 1698, Rector of Marham 1735, d. leaving a dau. only. = Martha Tryce.

Charles bap. 1695.
Charles, bap. 1701.
Francis, bap. 1711.
Algernon, bp. 1713.
Robert liv. 1748.
Also three daughters.

IX. Henry Percy, the Wizard, b. April 1564, imprisoned in the tower 16 yeare, had a grant of Isleworth and Sion House 1604, d. at Petworth Nov. 5, 1632, bur. there. = Dorothy da. of Will. Devereux Earl of Essex, d. 1619, bur. at Petworth.

2 Thomas d. unmar. April 1587.
3 Sir William d. 1648, s. p.
4 Sir Charles d. 1648, s. p.
5 Sir Richard d. 1628, s. p. from him James Percy, of Dublin, claimed descent.

6 Sir Alan d. 1613, s. p.
7 Sir Josceline d. 1631, s. p. he and Charles took part in Essex's Rebellion.
8 George d. 1532, unmar.

X. Algernon Percy, b. 1602, took the side of Parliament against Charles I., d. at Petworth, Oct. 13, 1668, bur. there. = 1 Anne da. of William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, she had 5 daus.

= 2 Elizabeth da. of Theopolis Howard, Earl of Suffolk, d. 1705, bur. at Petworth.

William Smythson, Newsom, par. Kyrkeby on the hill, Yeoman, grantee of lands in Scole Acle, in 1553 from Arthur Neville, he also purchased lands there in 1554, by charter he gave the lands to his son George, who in 1606 conveyed them to Francis Forster.

Anthony Smithson, of Newsom, said to have been bo. in 1565, and to have married a Catherick.

XI. Josceline Percy, b. July 4, 1644, d. at Turin, May 21, 1670, bur. at Petworth. = Elizabeth Wriothesley, da. of Tho. Earl of Southampton. —2nd. mar. the Duke of Montagu.

Henry, b. 1668 d. 1669, bur. at Petworth.

Elizabeth, Percy, only surviving da. and heir, b. Jan. 26, 1666-7, d. Nov. 23, 1722. = 1 Henry Cavendish Earl of Ogle, Mar. 1679, d. Nov. 1, 1680, bur. at Petworth.

= 2 Tho. Thynne Esq., of Longlete, murdered Feb. 12, 1681-2.

= 3 Charles Seymour Duke of Somerset, mar. May 30, 1682, d. Dec. 2. 1748.

Barnard, (probably eldest son) an apothcary in London 1663, had a grant of arms through his brother's loyalty.

Hugh Smithson, bo. 1598, a Merchant in London, created knight and baronet for his loyalty by Charles II., and had a grant of arms in 1663, d. Oct. 21, 1670; his estates were divided among his three sons Jerome, Anthony, and Hugh. = Dorothy da. of Jerome Rawthorne Esq., of Plaistow.

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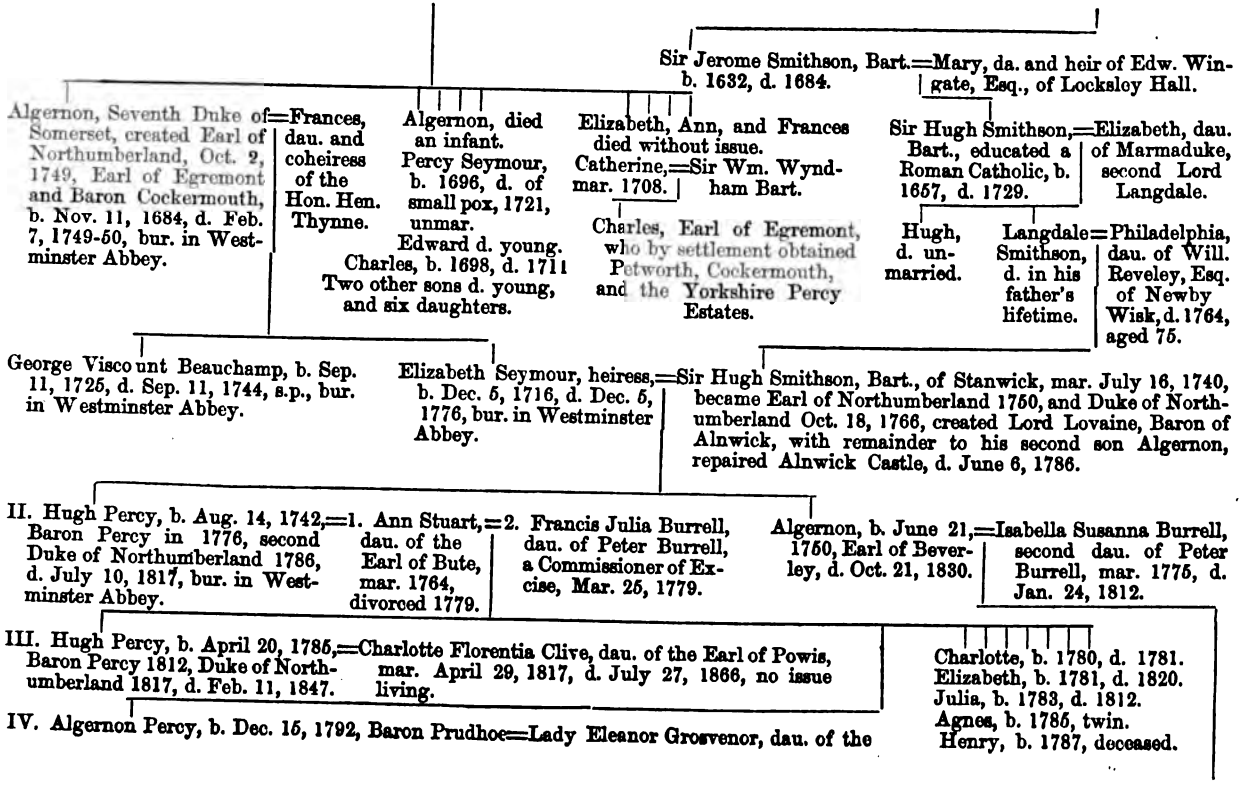


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Nov. 26, 1816, Duke of Northumberland 1847, d. Feb. 12, 1865, bur. in Westminster Abbey, renovated Alnwick Castle.

Marquis of Westminster, mar. Aug. 25, 1842, no issue.

Amelia, b. 1789, mar. to Lord Murray, 1810.
Frances, b. 1791, d. 1803.

V. George Percy, b. June 22, 1778, Earl of Beverley 1830, Duke of Northumberland 1865. = Louisa Harcourt, third daughter of the Hon. A. Stuart Wortley Mackenzie, mar. June 22, 1801.

Louisa, b. Sep. 26, 1802.

Algernon, b. Oct. 2, 1803, d. May 19, 1805.
Margaret, b. Mar. 18, 1805, d. Mar. 11, 1810.
Henry Algernon, b. Ap. 25, 1806, d. Jan. 2, 1809.
Alice Emily, b. Feb. 10, 1809, d. June 29, 1819.

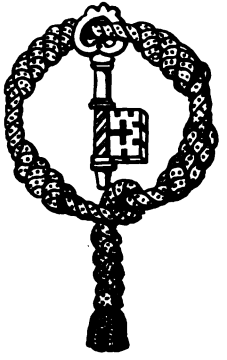
Algernon George, Earl Percy, Lord Lovaïne, b. May 20, 1810. = Louisa, dau. of Henry Drummond, Esq., Albury Park, Mar. 1845.

Josceline William, b. July 17, 1811.
Margaret, b. May 16, 1813.
Henry Hugh, b. Aug. 22, 1817.

Henry George, Lord Warkworth, b. May 20, 1846.

Algernon Malcolm Arthur Percy, b. Oct. 2, 1851.

FITZPAYNE, TEMP. ELIZ.



POYNINGS, 1357.

POYNINGS, 1416.

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# CHAPTER XXII.

## SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

LORD OF MISRULE—WAITS—HORSE-RACING—BULL-BAITING—COCK-FIGHTING—SHROVETIDE—KEPPIE-BALL—COBAN TREE—SOULUM—BON-FIRES—CARLINGS—THE FAIRIES.

The stream of our history must hereafter be interrupted and broken, and thread away into many different channels. In this chapter, I shall give an account of customs and usages in Alnwick, belonging to the past rather than to the present, from materials chiefly gathered out of the corporation records.

*Lord of Misrule.* "At the feast of Christmas" says Stow, "in the King's Court wherever he chanced to reside, there was appointed a Lord of Misrule, or master of merry disports." At the houses of noblemen, in borough towns and in country parishes, this merry fellow and pageant potentate also appeared, making the rarest pastimes, and delighting beholders with "fine subtle disguising masks and mummeries." Sometimes he was called the abbot of Misrule, and in Scotland the abbot of Unreason, where, on account of his excesses, he was put down by act of Parliament in 1555. All such mummeries as the feast of asses, the boy Bishop, the abbot of Unreason and lord of Misrule were probably derived from the Roman Saturnalia, when, during a season of merriment and feasting, slaves were allowed to indulge in raillery towards their masters. Selden says:—"Christmas succeeds the Saturnalia; the same time, the same number of holy-days; then the master waited on the servant like the lord of Misrule."

Doubtless the burgesses of Alnwick enjoyed the rare pastimes of this merry fellow long prior to the reformation; for in the early corporation records, from 1611 down to 1677, we have traces of him as appear in the following entries:—

"1611.—Richard Alder of the Lord of Misrule his money £1 4s. 10d.
1612.—Paid for the Lord of Misrule his charges 8s. 4d.; received the Lord of

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Misrule's money 9s. 6d. 1616.—Received William Forster for the Lord of Misrule his money £1 13s. 0d.; Thomas Partis for the Lord of Misrule £3 4s. 2d. More received of the Lord of Misrule, 1620, 15s. 1629.—Received of the Lord of Misrule £2 2s. 6d. 1631.—Received the Lord of Misrule money £2 4s. 0d.; Item received of Jo. Shepheard and George Richison for their monies in refusing to be Lord and putting themselfes in the towne's will 8s.; paid to Nicholas Forster for Lord of Misrule's clothes 13s. 8d.; Received of the Lord of Misrule at Easter last £2. 1633.—Received of the Lord of Misrowell £1 8s. 0d.; paid for the Lord's close 15s. 1635.—Paid to George Swan for playing the Lord of Misrule 10s.; received from the Lord of Misrule £1 13s. 0d. 1640.—Received from the Lord of Misrule's procters £1 0s. 1d.; from Thomas Hunter junior, George Watson, and Thomas Watson, concerning the Lord of Misrule 10s.; paid the Lord of Misrule for his wages 15s.; for his coate instead of 2 payre of shoes 9s. 4d.

After this, his lordship disappears for a time. The puritans made war against all amusements which "savoured of popery"; and during the commonwealth, the merry fellow had to hide his head; but he revived again under the reactionary influence of the merry Monarch's reign; and in 1664 there appear in the corporation accounts—"received, the lord of Misrule in money 15s. 6d. 1677. The lord of Misrule's moneyes in the hands of Henry Smith £1 13s. 4d., David Milliken 4s., Mr. Chessman 17s. 8d." But his lordship was not fostered by the new generation, and he died in 1677, never to rise again.

Our Alnwick records are imperfect, and we know not what were the gibes and merriment by which he set the good folk into a roar; he is seen only in the decrepitude of old age. Probably, as in other towns, some mystery or morality was acted, mixed up with gaudy pageantry and buffoonery. A fragment of one of the Newcastle Mysteries has been preserved, called "Noah's Ark or the Shipwright's account, play or dirge," wherein an Angel, Noah and his wife, and the Devil are the characters; Noah's wife is made a vixen, and her last words to her husband are—

> "The devil of hell thee speed
> To ship when thou shalt go."

It appears that in Alnwick a person was chosen to play the lord of Misrule, and paid a fine if he refused the honour; but he who acted the part received wages and clothes, coat and even shoes; he had officers called procters; and money was collected to defray expenses. The Alnwick merry disports were not held at Christmas as in the South, but at Easter; and this may have been the northern custom, as at Morpeth, the period was the same. An extract from Stainsly's Northern Journey in 1666 (communicated to the "Archæologia

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Æliana" by Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart.) helps to illustrate our Alnwick records.

"A custome in the towne of Morpeth (but since the warrs omitted) to choose one out of the young men in the towne to be St. George, and all the rest of the young men to attend him, and upon St. George day all to come to Church, and at the rehearsinge of the Creed the St. George to stand up and draw his Sword. Another custome in the said towne to have a Lord of Misrule chosen against Easter, and to continue till Wednesday and hee to keep a barrel of Ale upon the bridge and make all passengers drink thereof, and to collect money of them for repaire of the high wayes, and to give a just accompt at Whitsunday."

*A Fool* was maintained by the corporation, in the time of James I., to amuse the burgesses; in 1612 there is entered "for three yeards of whit to the foule 5s., and for dyinge and making of it 2s. 6d." A similar record appears in the Newcastle accounts; "1561 Decembere Item paid for seven yardes of yalowe Carsaye at 2s. 8d. the yarde, for the fulles Cottes and Capps agaynste Christynmas 37s. 4d." *A Beadle* too in these early days helped to give dignity and state to the Alnwick Corporation; in 1622 there is paid 6s. 6d. "for the bedle his coatte and making."

*Waits.* The time will soon come, when all personal recollection of the town's waits will cease. Still there are some, who in early life listened to them discoursing sweet music in the dark winter mornings, when all besides was still, and who would have saved from destruction this pleasant and harmless custom.

The Waits were an old institution in Alnwick; we meet with them in the earliest corporation records; "1612 paid for a coat to the comon wait 13s." Originally waites, or according to ancient spelling, wayghtes or waytes, were watchmen, and were so named from the old French, *guates*;* for keeping watch and ward, they received the *waytfee*; they *piped* the hour of the night and eventually passed into musicians, who at an early period were pipers. In 1623 and in 1629 there were paid in Alnwick 9s., and 10s., for "the pypers coat." According to the ordinances made by King Edward I., a warden was appointed and sworn to keep watch and ward in the City of London; he had to preserve the peace by night and day, and cause watches and *waits* to be

* In German there is *wacht*, in Danish *vaght*, and in Anglo-Saxon *wecean* and *wacian*, to watch.

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set; every gate was kept by day by two men, every sergeant keeping one Wait at his own cost.* In the time of Edward IV. "a wayte nightelye from Mychelmas to Shreve Thursdaye pypeth the watche within the courte fower tymes; in the sumere nyghtes three tymes and maketh bon gayte at every chambere-dore and offyce, as well for fear of pickers and pillers." Pipes were the musical instruments publicly used in Alnwick till 1639, when, according to the records of the corporation and of the Skinners' Company, they were superseded by fiddles or violins.

Besides performing duty in a particular town the waits itinerated from town to town, like the minstrels of an older time still, to exercise their skill and gain a reward.

> "Hark! are the Waites abroad? be softer pr'y thee
> 'Tis private Musick." *Beaumont and Fletcher.*

In the accounts of the Newcastle corporation we find; "1531 Feb. given in rewarde to the wayttes of Ledes 4s."; and similar rewards were bestowed on the waites of Thirsk, Darlington, and Cockermouth, and on the "Skottes minstrells." Money was also "given to Sir Henery Persey's minstrelles in reward."

In Alnwick there were usually two waits, but for a while in the middle of the eighteenth century there were three. Each had a salary of one pound, and livery clothes; at first only a coat, which was blue; in 1659 there was paid "for two Blew Coats 13s.;" which, in 1687, must have been trimmed as a livery, for there was "paid for Blew Coats triming and making to the waitts £3 1s. 3d." Seven years later they were decorated with yellow plush breeches, and an extraordinary quantity of lace and buttons, as appears from the following account:—

"1694.—To Geo. Alder for the Waitts Coats Stay tape 3d., 8 yards Blue Cloth £2., Thread 9d., Canvis 9d—£2 1s. 6d., 15 doz. La: buttons 6s., 3 doz. Buttons 6d.—5s. 6d., 30 yds. Lace 8s., Lining 6d.—8s. 6d., 9 yds. Plauish 10s. 6d."

The entries in the corporation accounts for waits' liveries are numerous; a few extracts are given to show the extent of the expenditure at different periods.

"1641.—Item to the Waits for their Coats 30s. 1645.—2 Coates to the Towne's Waytes 24s. 1705.—For Dyeing the Waitts Coats 12s. 1766.—Thomas Moffatt for Musicians' Silver laced Hats £3 17s. 0d.; Mr Richard Strother for Trimming for the Musicians Clothes, making them &c £4 17s. 1½d.;

* Liber Albus, pp. 244. 560.



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Mr Gray jun. for the Musicians Cloaths £9 15s. 1d. 1803.—Moffat for Waites Hats and Lace £2 18s. 0d.; Hardy for Waites Liveries and Herds Cockade £13 12s. 10d."

The town's livery was shewy and costly in the nineteenth century; the coat was made of blue broad cloth, faced with yellow cloth, trimmed with silver lace, and silver lacquered buttons having on them the town's arms; and attached to one sleeve was the town's badge of silver, with the figure of St. Michael killing the dragon, copied from the town's seal; the vest was of yellow, trimmed in like manner with silver lace and buttons; and the breeches were of yellow plush; a hat with a cockade and silver lace completed the outfit. Truly it was a gallant livery; and proud was the town of these functionaries when tricked out on public occasions. To the waits belonged the livery clothes with the exception of the badges, of which they had only the use. Two of these badges were bought in 1705 and cost 54s.; in 1760 there was "paid Mr. Langlands, goldsmith, Newcastle, for mending 2 old silver badges and making a new one for the musicians £1 19s. 0d." They are still preserved among the corporation muniments.

The waits were the town's musicians, and attended, dressed in livery, public ceremonials; at Fastern's eve, at the Alnwick fair, at the Alnwick feast, and especially on St. Mark's Day. In 1645 there was "given to the waytes the last St. Mark's Day 1s." They were the musicians of the companies or trades, who, in the days of yore, indulged themselves with music at their meetings. In 1640 the Skinners paid 6s. to the waits.

The peculiar vocation of the waits, however, was to perambulate the town on the winter mornings and serenade the inhabitants. Accompanied by a "caller," they went through all the streets of the town, every morning from Martinmas to the end of January, commencing about midnight, excepting when the weather was very inclement. As they passed along, they played on fiddles the favourite tunes of the district; the "Caller" at the same time proclaiming with a loud voice, the hour of the night, and the state of the weather after this fashion—"Good morrow masters all! half-past three o'clock in a frosty morning." Once or twice a week "the names were called;" that is every individual householder was hailed by name as—"Good morrow Mister Turner! good morrow Mistress Turner! half-past two o'clock in a cloudy morning; Good morrow Mister Smith! good morrow Mistress Smith! three o'clock in a rainy morning." While the names were

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called over, the fiddles continued to play; and the combined effect of the loud resonant voice with the shrill strains, in the dark and silent street, had a singular influence. What magical wild music, it seemed to me in my boyish days, when many a struggle was made to drive away sleep, that I might listen to these wonderful voices of the night! On the Christmas morning there was a different call—

"Dame! Dame! get up and bake your pie,
And let your lazy maiden lie,
On Christmas day in the morning!"

On New Year's Day the waits, dressed in their livery, called at every house in the town seeking their wait's-fee, and somewhat more than £30 were collected by them; five pounds of which were paid to the caller for his help.

Seventy years ago the manor of Canongate had waits; Blind Ralph the fiddler was the last of them, and John Walton was his caller.

Our forefathers took advantage of every public occasion to enjoy themselves; even when in 1640 the chamberlains choose waits, they spent 8d. John Horne was wait in 1649, the earliest named; he was also clock-keeper. Jo. Bone next appears, and played before the freemen on St. Mark's day and received 1s. as a reward; but the first order regarding them was in 1691, when "John Busby, John Cuthbertson, and William Cuthbertson is elected and chosen waites for the towne of Alnwicke." The waits, at the election in 1748, had not voted as the dominant party in the four-and-twenty wished; and forth came the crushing resolution in 1749; "it is ordered and agreed that John Young musician of the town be dismissed from his said employment, and that we shall have no town waits for the future; and it is further ordered that Wm. Cuthbertson, Daniel Cuthbertson, and the said John Young shall deliver up to the chamberlains the town's Badges, or otherwise they shall be sued for the same." The Cuthbertsons, however, came into favour again, and resumed their office. In 1776, it was ordered that "William, Daniel, and William Cuthbertson waits to have livery and Silver laced Hats to be worn on public occasions." This family of musicians were waits for 110 years, the last of them dying in 1800.

When old Wm. Cuthbertson died, a notorious character—Piper Allan—succeeded. On the 18th of October, 1769, "the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty ordered that James Allan be and is hereby appointed one of the Town's Musicians

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and to have a new livery and hat as the rest, which is intended to serve 3 years; and that if he goes away or misbehaves before the end of the Term, that then he shall give up the same to the then Chamberlains." They evidently had doubts of the stability of this unstable man; but on the same day, by order of the chamberlains, he gave a specimen of his musical skill, in the Town Hall, and was rewarded with 2s. 6d. The dull quietude of a town life was not to his taste; for though patronised, it is said, by the duchess of Northumberland, he soon broke loose, and on September 29th, 1770, he was discharged from his office, and ordered to deliver up his livery, hat and badge, "he having misbehaved himself." Famous was Allan for his roguery, as well as for his skill in playing on the Northumbrian Small Pipes. Born in the Gipsy camp, in Rothbury Forest, in 1730, he inherited the roving habits of the tribe. His strength and agility were displayed in all kinds of sport, and his superiority as a musician made him a welcome visitor of fairs and merry-makings; but his irregular habits and thievish propensities frequently brought him into trouble. He was twice tried for felony and acquitted; but he was afterwards convicted of horse stealing, and sentenced to death. His sentence, however, was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, and his long and stormy life was closed in prison on November 13th, 1810. His feats as a musician and sporting man, his troubles, his escapes, and his crimes are recorded in a volume which was published in Alnwick; but it is supposed that many portions are but fancy sketches.

Another family of musicians succeeded in 1771, when Thomas Coward, junr., son of Thomas Coward, shoemaker, was appointed; and he was rewarded with 2s. 6d, "for his trouble in playing before several of the Common Council *by way of a treat*;" the treat could not have been very exquisite—for Coward was not a proficient musician; but say the four-and-twenty, "in case he shall behave himself well and orderly in the ensuing winter, then the sum of five guineas shall be expended at or about Candlemas towards having him instructed in playing on the Violin." His conduct was satisfactory, the five guineas were paid, and he continued a wait in Alnwick till his death. His son, Thomas Coward, after the death of Wm. Cuthbertson, was appointed to the office on Nov. 4th 1800; and after the death of old Coward, John Hogg succeeded on April 25th, 1823. Strong was the spirit of reform throughout the country in 1831;

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corporations were loudly called upon to set their houses in order; and the Alnwick Corporation feeling the pressure, destroyed the first useless looking object they could lay hold of. Ordered say they, on the 29th September, 1831, "that the office of town's waites be discontinued, and that they deliver up their badges, but keep their present livery." Then fell to rise no more, one of the old institutions of Alnwick, which had been a source of delight to the burgesses, young and old, for centuries. Many lamented the destruction of a harmless, time-honoured, and pleasing custom.

Edward Hoodspath, "Fidler excellentissime"—so says the register in Alnwick Church—was buried on Nov. 6th, 1692; yet this noted fiddler never rose to the dignity of wait. One, however, of the last waits deserves a passing notice, as a musician of refined taste and wonderful skill. I have heard Paganini and other famous violin players, but none of their extraordinary performances had so much power over me, as our border airs, when played by Thomas Coward. He achieved greater wonders than even Orpheus did; he was musician to the Shoemakers Company, to which he belonged, the most uproarious and turbulent of all bodies; and yet he did, by his magic strains, hush them to silence and reduce them to harmony, even after they had enjoyed their goose, plum-pudding, beer, and punch. A monument in the church yard pays a tribute to his memory in the following inscription:—"This Stone was erected by Friends and Admirers of Mr. Thomas Coward, Musician, The last of the Waits of this Ancient Borough, who died on the 6th of February, 1845, aged 61 years.

> Mute is the Music, motionless the hand
> That touched with Magic Bow the trembling strings;
> But memory hath embalmed those viol tunes
> Which filled the enraptured ear and charmed the soul."

He was not, however, the last wait; his colleague John Hogg, died in 1865.

*Horse Racing.* About fifty years ago, horse racing ceased to exist in Alnwick; but during the two preceding centuries it was a favourite public amusement, under the direction and patronage of the corporation. The course was on flat high ground, on Alnwick Moor, called Hobberlaw Edge, but in more recent times, the race ground. Some of the Court Leet minutes are interspersed among the corporation records; and in one of these minutes is the earliest reference to the races:—

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"Mannor and Burrough of Alnwick. } At the Cort Leete and Cort Barron of the Right Hon. Algernoone Earle of Northumberland, held for the said Mannor and Burrough, before Matthias Hunter, gen. dep. Steward of the said Cort, on Monday, 17th of Aprill, 1654.

It is at the said Cort upon consideration had of the desyers of the Burrough and other inhabitants within the Said Mannor and Burrow, in relation to the altering of the Course of accustomed Horse race constantly had in the Common of the said Burrow, called Hobberlaw Edge, That for the future the course shall be on the feast day of St. Mark, the Evangelist, the course being on the outer side of the Stoopes leaving the several Stoopes on their right hands, which are to be placed in this manner, the first where they are to begin, the second Stoop leading towards the greene way that leads toward Hobberlaw House and then direct west down towards a round hill on this side of Branxpeth from thense North East to the same Bell Bush."

From this it appears that racing was an old institution in Alnwick, for in 1654, it is spoken of as accustomed and constantly held on the common.

The Alnwick corporation, like many others, dabbled a little in politics; and their support of one of the candidates for the representation of the county, was rewarded by a gift, which gave additional importance to the Alnwick Races.

"1685 May 6. Whereas Thomas Forster of Etherston Esq. did propose himselfe to stand to serve our Soverainge Lord King James in Parliament att the immediate sessions by his Majesties proclamation to sitt and begin the nineteenth day of this instant May: The said Thomas Forster for reasons to his selfe knowne, declined his design, and in consideration of the fre respect shewed him from the freemen of the Brough of Alnwicke is pleased to give to the said free men the sume of twenty pounds, which said sume wee the said freemen doe hereby thinke fitt to convert into a peece of plate of the true intrinsick value of twenty pounds, which plate shall be run for by the horse Gelding or Maire, the proper goods of any freemen at this day in his or thaire possession & to be run for upon the Tuesday in Whitsun weeke this Yeare and Yearely and every Yeare hereafter, upon Tuesday after St. Mark's Day for ever hereafter. And what freemen shall put his horse &c. to Runn for the said Plate shall depose upon the Evangelists before the Chamberlains of the Brough for the time being, that such horse &c. is his own proper goods, and hath been for two months before the said day yearly and every yeare. And every such freeman producing such horse Gelding or Mare shall putt into one of the Chamberlaines hands for the time being the sum of 5s., which Stakes so put downe shall be delivered to him whoes horse &c. shall winn the Course togeather with the plate. And what freeman shall receive the said plaite shall enter into good security to refound the said plaite upon the Tuesday after St. Mark's day in the Insuing yeare. And ever horse &c. soe to Runn his Rider shall wight 10 Stone and the horse to carry sadle and bridle. And noe freeman not Inhabitting in the said Brough shall ever be permitted to present any horse gelding or maire, Noe exceptions of vallue of horse price for this year. And to runn the usuall course of Hobberlaw Edge once aboute."

After this, there are frequent entries in the accounts for mending the race course—for proclaiming the plate at Morpeth, Hexham, and Wooler; and for the drummer. The chamberlains neglected not to drink "Esq. Forster's health when the plate came home." They spent in "1696.—May

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12th for ale in the Tankard to drink Esqr. Forster's health 1s." All honour was conferred on Esq. Forster and his friends; Thomas Forster, Esq., of Ederston; John Forster, of Bambrough; and Richard Forster, Esq., of Newham, were in 1690 "admitted to their personall fredome of this Towne of Alnwick;" and in 1700, Ferdinando Forster, Esq., received the same honour. In 1702 there is entered "Richard Shanks, for 2 pair of Gloves upon Inviting to Esq. Forster's funerall 2s."

The plan adopted of giving the use of the £20 plate, for one year, to the winner of the race "was thought not to be useful;" and therefore, this great plate was sold in 1696 for £16 7s. 7d., and the interest of the sum applied to a small plate to be run for by freemen's horses not above £5 value, with this condition—that any horse offering to run for the prize might be purchased by the chamberlains or any freeman, for that sum. In 1710, and for some years afterwards, the prizes run for were 20s. and a £10 plate.

Electioneering again brought rewards to the corporation in 1730, in the form of race prizes. "A Ten Guinea prize" was given by Lord Tankerville on behalf of Lord Ossulston, to be run for by galloways. Racing had now, in Alnwick, reached its culminating point; this was a wonderful year for the turf. Besides Ossulston's prize, there was a twenty pound plate from the corporation, for which a guinea entrance was paid; a fifteen pound plate was given by the innkeepers of Alnwick, for which there was also a guinea entrance; another galloway plate, of ten pounds; a hunters' plate, of £30; a forty guinea subscription plate, and a freemen's plate.

A few years after this the races dwindle away; and when we meet with records of them again in 1750, the prizes were to be run for by *freemen's* horses, and consisted of a two guinea and a one guinea plate, "bought by three years interest of Esquire Forster's money."

Horse racing could not be expected to flourish very vigorously for any length of time in Alnwick. During the last century a considerable portion of the inhabitants were dissenters, who were, generally, either hostile or not favourably disposed to such amusements as horse racing and cock fighting. The Methodists, too, who were in the latter part of that century an earnest, proselyting body, did what they could to check such sports; and in this work Robert Rand distinguished himself. "He was a man of great simplicity of manners and earnestness of spirit, but was sadly hampered

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with his partner. It was customary for him to stand at the door of his house, in Clayport Street, to warn the people of their danger during the races, and to impress them with the precepts of Christianity. On one of these occasions his wife, perhaps as much for the purpose of inflicting punishment as personal enjoyment, leaped behind a person, on horseback, on his way to the race ground, and left her husband to continue the word of caution or exhortation, which proved an annoyance to herself."*

*Bull Baiting.* Somewhat more than half a century ago, the barbarous sport of bull baiting was enjoyed with much zest by the women, as well as by the men of Alnwick and the neighbourhood. It had the countenance and support of the corporation from an early period; in 1664, 1s. 4d. was paid "for setting the Bull Stob;" in 1680, 3s. for a bull rope; in 1695 "paid to John Nesbit and John Gair for bringing the stone for the Bull ring 1s.; for Iron and Lead to it 7s. 11d.;" in 1750, William Young was paid 10d. "for going to Alemouth for a rope to bait a Bull," Alnmouth being then in advance of Alnwick in having a ropery. This stone is still in the centre of the Market Place; but the large iron ring to which the rope was fastened was removed many years ago. As branks, thumb screws, and boots, instruments of torture, are preserved in museums, so may this stone remain in the market as a historic memorial.

When a bull was baited, the Market Place was crowded with spectators—thousands were sometimes there; and such exhibitions were not unfrequent; towards the close of last century as many as seven bulls were baited in the course of one winter. Indeed, the lovers of this sport, in the eighteenth century, seem to have considered they had a vested interest in bull baiting. One butcher setting public opinion at defiance, whether from humanity or selfishness does not appear, killed his bull in 1709 without baiting him; and accordingly the defiant butcher was dragged before the Court Leet for his offence. "We," say the jurors, "present Henry Herrison, Butcher, for killing a Bull and not Baiting him contrary"—but Henry Herrison escaped punishment, for the verdict was "noe proofe."

The rope by which the bull was fastened to the ring, was tied around the root of the horns and was about fifteen feet long, and

* Everett's MSS. Our distinguished townsman, the Rev. James Everett, has kindly furnished me with several interesting notes relating to Alnwick.

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dog after dog was let loose upon him and endeavoured to tear his flesh, till maddened with rage he sought to gore his aggressor or toss him into the air. Sporting men then kept and trained bull-dogs and gloried in their achievements, just as sporting men now keep, and train, and glory in their fox-hounds, and racing horses, and the masters were careful and watchful of them, while engaged in the fight; and if any was likely to fall exhausted before the power of the bull, the master would rush forward, and drag the dog away all foaming at the mouth, and covered with sweat and blood, and plunge him into the cool water of St. Michael's trough; and then, refreshed it may be with the bath, back he would be brought to try again his prowess with the bull. Sport, this may have been to vitiated tastes; but cruel sport it was—to the bull, and to many of the dogs it was death. On October 25th, 1773, a bull was baited in Alnwick and treated with such brutal wantoness, that he lay down and expired. On November 11th, 1788, another was so baited, that enraged he threw down two tradesmen, one of whom had his leg broken, and the other received a severe wound in the head. One bull broke loose and galloped wildly through the streets, tossing dogs lifeless into the air and trampling down those blocking his way. What a scamper there was among the crowd to escape injury! He was pursued, however, by men and dogs, and at length caught in Denwick Lane and brought back in a wretched triumphal display with an Alnwick Freeman, who was notable in his day, riding on his back! And yet the accomplished Windham defended these brutal practices! I recollect the two last bull-baitings in Alnwick. Though a miserable, it was still an exciting scene; the market was crowded with women as well as men; they were clustered in the windows, on the cross, on the Town Hall stairs, and on the Shambles. I still seem to hear the loud bellowings of the bull, the deep barkings of the dogs, the shouting of men, mingled with the shrieking of women, as the crowd swayed to and fro with the changing fortunes of the fight.

Percival Stockdale, the eccentric but able vicar of Lesbury, raised his voice against this barbarity, in 1804; and delighted was the vain old man when "the saintly John Marshall," Burgher minister of Alnwick, also preached against it, and commended his pamphlet. From such influences, public opinion progressed in Alnwick and put down this cruel sport, long before it was forbidden by act of Parliament, in 1835.



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*Cockfighting.* The corporation extended its support to cock-fighting—another cruel sport—much indulged in by the people of Alnwick, where it lingered longer than bull-baiting. The old cock-pit in Alnwick belonged to the corporation, and was situated not far from Pottergate Tower. In 1695 "Richard Shanks at the cock-pit" is paid 6d; for making the cock-pit 1718 John Reavley is paid the same sum. To Henry Swinhoe, on October 13th, 1696, was let at 4d. a year, the Town Ridge, in Pottergate Close, "he to have the Liberty of the Cock-pit;" and in 1704 to Luke Hindmarsh, was demised for four years at 5s. yearly, "the Towne's Rige leading to Pottergate Tower, with the Cock-pit Roundabout; and to make a firme passage from the pitts up to Pottergate Close."

In the early part of this century there were several cock-pits in the town, and some coarse minded men were then very famous for their game cocks. The following two hand-bills shew the gambling character of the sport:—

"To be fought for, at the Gentleman's Subscription pit, Alnwick, on Easter Monday, April 3rd 1809, *Twenty five pounds*, by Cocks, Stags, and Blinkards, 4lb. 4oz. the highest. Also the Same day, *Twenty five pounds*, by ditto, 4lb. 12oz. the highest. Stags to be allowed 1½oz, and Blinkards 2oz, and 2oz. for feathers. To weigh at the Spread Eagle Inn at 8 o'clock, on the morning of fighting."

"A Subscription Main, to be fought for at Rob. Weelis's Pit, Alnwick, on Monday April 27 1809, *Fifty Pounds*, by Cocks, Stags, and Blinkards, 4lb. 4oz. the highest. Also the same day, *Fifty Pounds*, by ditto, 4lb. 12oz. the highest. Stags to be allowed 1½oz.: and Blinkards 2oz. and 2oz for feathers. To weigh at 9 o'clock in the morning. Gentlemen's names to be taken at Mr. Dixon's, Grey's Inn."

*Shrovetide.* "Collop Monday and Pancake Tuesday" occur at Shrovetide, which is so called from the Anglo-Saxon *scrifan*, to shrive or receive confession, and *tid*, the time or season; for on the Tuesday confession was made to the priest, as a preparation for the observance of Lent. On Collop Monday the dinner consisted of eggs and collops, that is slices of salted meat fried, the kind used by our fore-fathers during winter; on that day they bade adieu for awhile to flesh, as the Lenten fast commenced on Shrove Tuesday. Collops were in general use some forty years ago on the Monday in Alnwick; but, though this custom has fallen off, pancakes are still indulged in, on the Tuesday, by many. Formerly people were called to the preparation of this dainty by the ringing of the pancake bell in the church. "Shrove Tuesday," says Taylor in 1630, "at whose entrance in the morning all the whole kingdom is unquiet, but by

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that time, the clock strikes eleven, (which by the help of a knavish sexton is commonly before time), then there is a bell rung, called the pancake bell, the sound whereof makes thousands of people distracted, and forgetful, either of manners or humanity; then there is a thing called wheaten flour, which the cooks do mingle with water, spice, and other tragical magical enchantments, and then they put it by little and little into a frying-pan of boiling suet, where it makes a confused dismal hissing, until at last by the skill of the cook, it is transformed into the form of a flip-jack, called a pancake, which ominous incantation the ignorant do devour greedily."

*On Shrove Tuesday*, there was in many parishes in the north of England, a great game at foot-ball. Brand describes the ceremonial at Alnwick, in 1762: the waits belonging to the town came playing to the castle at 2 p.m., when a foot-ball was thrown over the castle wall to the populace. Some forty years ago, Shrove Tuesday was a holiday in Alnwick. Crowds in the afternoon congregated before the castle gates; and at 2 o'clock, forth came the tall and stately porter dressed in the Percy livery, blue and yellow, plentifully decorated with silver lace, and gave to the ball its first kick, sending it bounding out of the barbican of the castle into Bailiffgate; and then the young and vigorous kicked it through the principal streets of the town, and afterwards into the Pasture, which has been used from time immemorial for such enjoyments. Here it was kicked about, until the great struggle came, for the honour of making capture of the ball itself; the more vigorous combatants kicked it away from the multitude, and at last some one, stronger and fleeter than the rest, seized upon it and fled away pursued by others; to escape with the ball, the river was waded through or swam over, and walls were scaled and hedges broken down. The successful victor was the hero of the day, and proud of his trophy.

A similar custom was almost universal in the north of England, varied, however, in different parishes; at Wooler the game was between the married and unmarried; after kicking the ball through the town, one party endeavoured to kick it into the hopper of Earl Mill, and the other over a tree which stands at "the crook of the Till;" in the days of yore, the contest sometimes continued for three days. Utilitarianism put an end to the old custom in Alnwick in 1828, when an act for the improvement of the town was brought into operation. Attempts have been made to revive the old sport; but the ancient spirit has departed. Seldom indeed is it,

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that old usages after becoming effete can be revived; each age developes not only its own ideas and fancies, but even its plays and amusements.

All the ordinary games of foot-ball, hand-ball, droppy-pocket-handkerchief, kittie-cat-and-buckstick, or as it is called in Scotland hornie-holes, clubbing or bandy-ball, and through-the-needle-e'e, were played in the Pasture at Shrove-tide, Easter, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas, Christmas, and other holidays; but a favourite pastime of girls—*keppy-ball* deserves a passing notice, because accompanied by a peculiar local song. The name indicates the character of the game; *kep* is from *cepan*, Anglo-Saxon, *kappan*, Tuet., to catch, or capture; for when the game was played at by several, the ball was thrown in the air and *kepped* or intercepted in its descent by one or other of the girls, and it was then thrown up again to be caught by some other. But when the song was sung, it was played at by one girl, who sent the ball against a tree and drove it back again as often as she could, saying the following rhymes, in order to divine her matrimonial fortune:—

"Keppy ball, keppy ball, Coban tree,
Come down the long loanin' and tell to me
The form and the features, the speech, and degree
Of the man that is my true love to be.

Keppy ball, keppy ball, Coban tree,
Come down the long loanin' and tell to me
How many years old I am to be.

One a maiden, two a wife,
Three a maiden, four a wife, &c.,"

the numbers being continued as long as the ball could be kept rebounding against the tree. *Capon, coban,* and *covine* are several names of the same tree, the letters p, b, and v, being interchangeable. Not far from Fernihurst Castle, a very large oak tree, one of the last remains of the great forest of Jed, is called the capon tree; and near to Brampton, by the road side, stands the branchless trunk of a capon tree, beneath whose shade, tradition says, a cold collation, of which capons were the principal dainties, was provided for the judges of assize, when met there by the authorities of Carlisle. Dr. Jamieson describes covin tree as "a large tree in front of an old Scottish mansion house where the laird always met his visitors;" and it is very probable that the coban or capon tree, referred to in our local rhyme, stood in the pasture which is near to Alnwick Castle.

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School-boy-plays were enjoyed, when I was young, in the public Market Place; and a cheerful merry scene it then presented every ordinary day, from noon till two o'clock, and again in the evening, during summer time, by groups of children and youths heartily engaged in various amusements. Older lads chiefly patronised football, not in hails or matches, but by kicks sending the ball high up in the air. Games with marbles, handball, tops, skipping rope, hunt the hare, were all played there in their respective seasons. *Watch-webs* or stealy-clothes, a border sport representing the old contentions between English and Scotch, was played with great eagerness. At equal distances from a central line the respective parties placed their *webs* or clothes, consisting of coats, caps, handkerchiefs, knives, or anything a boy possessed; and each party struggled vigorously to take their opponents prisoners and steal all their *webs*. *Soulum*, a peculiar game, played there by boys or lads, not by girls, was something like the old pastime of club-ball, from which the more modern and fashionable *cricket* seems to have originated. *Soulum* was played by two parties one out and the other in, and with bat and ball as in cricket; but there were no wickets, and only three bays. The object of the party in was to run as often as possible to the three bays, after the ball had been successfully struck, and of the party out to hit the runner with the ball, or to throw it to the first bay before the runner reached it. I have not learnt that the name *Soulum* is in use in any other part of the kingdom; nor can I say whence it has been derived.

Colonel Leslie, in his able work on the early races of Scotland, regards the practices at Fastern's Eve as a relic of a heathen Celtic festival; it was the period fixed at Tyre for the Phœnician festival of the awakening of the sun. In Brittany the ball is contested for by two communes; and Souvestre considers the ceremony there, is a vestige of sun worship, for it is called *Soule*, a word meaning sun, and occurring with little variation of form in all Celtic languages. Is it too far-fetched to link our *Soulum* with the Breton word *Soule*?* Beltain fires, however, formerly lighted on the top of hills and even in the market places of boroughs at Mayday, Midsummer, Hallowe'en, and other times, are relics of sun worship; the

* The *Promptorium Parvulorum* gives *Sowlynge* or Solwynge (Solwynge or making fowle), *Maculacio*, &c. The defeated party may have been regarded as fowled or degraded.

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heathen festival of Midsummer, became christianised by being transferred to John the Baptist; according to an old rhyme:—

"Then doth the joyful feast of
John the Baptist take his turne,
When bonfires great with lofty
Flame in every towne doe burne."

From olden time bonfires* were an established institution in the Market Place of Alnwick, supported by corporate authority down to the beginning of the last century; and they were lighted up not only in commemoration of great events, but also on the church festival days, which had come in the place of the heathenish ceremonies of pre-historic times.

The ancient privileges of children are now sadly abridged; they have been driven from the Market, from the Haugh, from the Island, from Barbara's Bank, and from the sides of the river where they bathed and fished. I like not these aggressions on youthful enjoyments. Men engaged in the struggle of life, and engrossed with business and money-making need not forget that they were once young. In a quiet town, the Market Place is little used excepting on fair and market-days; but our modern local improvement acts have silenced the joyful ring of youthful voices, which sounded so pleasing to a former generation.

*Carlings.* The preparation and eating of carlings is a northern custom, and still flourishes in Alnwick. Peas steeped for a night in water, and then fried or bristled in a pan with butter, are called carlings. To make them more palatable, they are flavoured with sugar, pepper, and brandy, and are eaten on the Passion or Carle or Care Sunday (two weeks before Easter) and on the Monday following. Doubtless the custom is of great antiquity, and by some has been carried back to Saxon times. An old Scottish song in the seventeenth century refers to them—

"There'll be all the lads and lasses
Set down in the midst of the ha',
The Sybows, and Rifarts, and Carlings,
That are both sodden and raw."

Carlings were prepared not only in private houses but at inns, to which the burgesses in those days resorted to spend their *carling groat,* and enjoy themselves with carlings and

* Probably so called because *boo.s* or gifts for charitable or social objects were collected around them.

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drink. The origin of the name Care or Carle Sunday is quite conjectural; Brady says, "a day of especial *care* or devotional attention;" Hone, "the Friday on which Christ was crucified is called Friday, *Gute Freytag*, and *Carr Freytag*;" another writer derives it from *Ceorl*, a husbandman, because benefactions were made to the Carles or Carlen.

And now we may make a brief reference to an old belief which has died out with a bye-gone generation. Half a century ago the fairies were supposed to have local habitations in our district. There was a Fairies' Green not far from Vittry's Cross; but on moonlight nights these tiny folk trooped out of dell, and cavern, and mine, and from beneath the bracken, and from under green knowes, and out of other lonely places to hold their revels, with music and dance, in the Fairies' Hollow at the top of Clayport Bank. Their favourite haunt was the Hurle Stane near to Chillingham New Town, around which they danced to the sound of elfin music, singing,

> "Wind about and turn again
> And thrice around the Hurle Stane;
> Round about and wind again
> And thrice around the Hurl Stane."

Brinkburn and Harehope Hill too they frequented. Old Nannie Alnwick, the widow of the last of the ancient race of *Alnwick*, the tanners, had faith in the good folk, and set aside for them "a loake of meal and a pat of butter," receiving, as she said, a double return from them; and often had she seen them enter into Harehope Hill, and heard their pipe music die away as the green hill closed over them. Gone now are the fairies along with many other fantastic myths of our forefathers; even the Fairies' Hollow is to the present generation unknown.

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# CHAPTER XXIII.

MARKETS — FAIRS — TOLLS — BAKEHOUSES — BREWHOUSE — SALT — CROSSES — SHAMBLES — PILLORY — STOCKS — CORN EXCHANGE.

Neither market nor fair could be held without a grant from the Crown, or from immemorial usage, which by a legal fiction presupposes a royal grant. Nor was a charter obtained without previous inquiry, made by the sheriff and a jury, whether it would be to the detriment of the king or of neighbouring markets or fairs, or of any of his majesty's subjects. It was presumed, that the establishment of a new market or fair, in a town less than twenty miles distant from an existing market or fair, would be prejudicial. Fairs in ancient times were held usually on Saints' days and Sundays in church yards.

A market and fair were held in Alnwick, prior to 1291, from time immemorial,* but on what days we are not informed. From Edward I., Bishop Bek obtained a charter in 1297,† that a market be held weekly on Saturday, and a fair yearly on the eve of St. Patrick, (the 17th March), and the six following days. To the burgesses, Henry VI. granted another weekly market to be held on Wednesday, and two fairs yearly, each to last eight days, one commencing on May 1st, the festival of St. Philip and St. James the Less, and the other on December 13th, the feast of St. Lucy.

The Wednesday market long ago fell into disuse; but the Saturday market is still maintained. The St. Philip fair exists, being held, according to the new style, on the 12th of May; it is now the principal fair in Alnwick, because also a hiring for single servants. The fairs of St. John and St. Lucy have fallen into disuse; but to the latter there is a reference in the corporation accounts in 1737, when there was paid for "leading dirt at Lucy fair 1s.;" it was held, according to the new

* See Page 94. † See Page 149.

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style, on December 24th, and was a general hiring for those hinds or agricultural labourers, who had to find a female to work the "bondage;" but this hiring now takes place at a more convenient time of the year, on the first Saturday in March, which is one of the largest fairs in the district.

Palm Fair, formerly held a week before Easter, has long been discontinued; it may have been a relic of Bishop Bek's fair. Michaelmas fair, which is still held on the first Tuesday in October, at the feast of the guardian saint of Alnwick, is doubtless an ancient fair, though now unimportant; cattle and sheep are there sold, but it is chiefly noted for the display of horses.

The fair, held on the last Monday in July, chiefly now for the sale of cattle, sheep, and horses, is probably that which during the time of the De Vescys, had been held from time immemorial; for it is distinguished by the name of *Alnwick Fair*, and is ushered in with peculiar feudal ceremonies. The custom of watch and ward is still maintained in connection with it; a necessary provision in mediæval times, for the protection of the persons frequenting the fair, and of the valuable commodities exposed for sale, against the cupidity of lawless border thieves and marauders. The various townships in the barony owing suit and service, were then obliged to send armed men to guard the town; in 1707, the Knights' Court amerced, for neglect of this duty, "the tenants of Chillingham, Fawdon, and Swinhoe, 20d. each township, who owe service to his Grace by watching the fair according to ancient custom." The ceremonial commences on the Sunday evening preceding the fair, when the bailiff of the manor, the constables, and other petty officials, representatives from the various townships, and many of the tradesmen of the town, assemble within the castle walls; and, after being regaled with wine and ale, march in procession to the Market Cross, where the bailiff proclaims the fair to be held for eight days, and calls over the townships owing suit and service to the barony. For the watch and ward of the fair there are summoned four men from the townships of Chatton and Chillingham, four from Coldmartin and Fowberry, four from Fawdon and Clinch, four from Longhoughton and Denwick, two from Alnham and Alnham Moor, two from Tughall and Swinhoe, two from Lesbury and Bilton, one from Lyham and Lyham Hall, with the principal inhabitants of the borough of Alnwick. Men armed with ancient weapons are placed at the principal entrances of the town, and watch and guard it during the



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night—a useless precaution since the union of Scotland and England; but this service frees these townships from toll in Alnwick Market during the year.

Not content with drinking when they first assembled, the party after leaving the cross, returned to the castle, and so lavishly was wine distributed among tradesmen in the steward's room, and strong ale to the populace in the court yard, that the quiet and solemnity of the Sunday evening were disturbed by numbers of drunken men brawling, fighting, and quarrelling in the streets. Children, too, had their own play during the scene; numbers of them assembled both in front of the castle gates and in the Market Place, abundantly supplied with the cones of pine trees, locally called *scrab apples*; and with these they pelted each other during the evening, probably a representation of a border fight between the English and Scotch. The fruit of the crab tree is also named scrab apple, and such, when plentiful in the old woods of the district, may have been used as missiles, until their scarcity caused the substitution of the more abundant pine cone, to which the name of *scrab apple* would be transferred. So demoralising and unseemly did this useless Sunday carnival appear to the ministers of religion and others in Alnwick, that they memorialised the duke of Northumberland to put an end to it; and so far was this acceded to, that the refreshments at the castle were discontinued; but the fair is still called and armed men still watch at the gates of the town on the Sunday evening.

On Monday, the day of the fair, the retainers of the baron assemble about noon in the bailey of the castle, each man mounted; some on gallant well bred hunters, others on old worn-out mares, some on great rough cart horses, and others on shaggy galloways. After being regaled with strong ale, they leave the castle, headed by the bailiff, who is attended by several men carrying useless old armour, and followed by the duke's piper, dressed in livery, playing some border tune; and after him are marshalled the tenantry. They proceed through the streets of the town; and the bailiff proclaims the fair at the Market Cross, at St. Michael's Pant, where the ancient Grass Cross stood, and at the site of Clayport Tower; and then, in marching order, they return to the castle, where the ceremony is ended by deep draughts of strong Northumberland ale out of silver flagons.

In the middle ages markets and fairs of boroughs and cities were of great importance. An agricultural population was

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widely but sparsely scattered over the country; and artisans and merchants were to be found only in towns. Fairs, especially, were the great marts of commerce; all kinds of goods were exposed there for sale, and they were attended by a vast concourse of people; even in Alnwick a fair lasted for eight days. Improved roads, changes in the distribution and character of the population, and the greater security of property and life have combined to strip the fairs and markets of country towns of their importance; many have died out altogether, and only a few remain, dwarfed relics of ancient greatness. In mediæval times the tolls imposed on goods sold at markets and fairs yielded a considerable revenue to the barons who claimed them; hence great jealousy was manifested, when an attempt was made to establish a new market or fair. Sir Ralph Grey, sometime about 1615, made a market town of Wooler; and this was pronounced to be "to the great impoverishment of the burgesses of Alnwick, and impeachment of the lord's profits."

From the Burgh Court Rolls and corporate documents we have an account of the ancient tolls, chargeable in Alnwick Market.

"1693, May 11.—The Jurors find the following a true and perfect copy of what the Toles and Stallage ought to be according to the Ancient Custom and that there is no more due:—Every five Sheep's Skins shall pay ½d. Every Commodity above the value of 6½d. shall pay ½d. Every one that selleth apples and peares on the Market day shall pay ½d. Every peddler, Butcher and Smyth, Shoemaker, Glover, or any other that hath Stalls about the Markett ½d. Woollen and Lineing Cloath ½d. Every one that bringeth butter ½d. Piggs above 6½d. being not free on the Markett day shall pay ½d. Every fisher not of my Lord's Towne shall pay every pannyer a fish the next or next best in the pannier. All Stalleengers being not free in Alnwicke or Alemouth 4d. Every one that selleth salt there Toll is a ½d. or Toll Salt. Every Meele Maker pays Meele or a ½d. Upon the first faire day the butcher or buyer payeth 1d. for every beast. The Seller if he selleth never so many on the first faire day but a penny. All men (except Townesmen that keepeth theire watch on the faire day) payeth Toll both the buyer and the seller. The Latter faire day the buyer and seller but a ½d. All packes that striketh within the Towne goeing any way . ., payes ½d. Every Burgesse that is not free payeth 4d. If they sell any thing in the Markett day ½d. If he be of any occupation not free payes ½d. The Bakehouse will hold 6 boules att a tyme and the due for every boule is a groat. Every Churching Dinner baked att the Common Bakehouse a groat. And every Brydell Dinner 4d. We find these to be the right for the Toll and Stallage for our Markett and nothing due more to any of them. Every bowle bakeing without chargeing the Toll for it by Stallagengers 1d. Nicholas Forster, William Hunter, Geo. Alder, Antho. Adston, Luke Alder, John Wardle, Michael Hunter, John Salkeld, Henry Mettcalfe, Hugh Arrowsmith, John Gallon, Tho. Hunter, Tho. Salkeld."

At the present time the tolls charged are as follow:—

"One penny for each basket of eggs, poultry, and butter exposed for sale. One penny from each person exposing fish for sale. Twopence for each cart

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containing potatoes, apples, pears, &c., for sale. One penny for each stall where garden stuff is exposed for sale. Twopence for each head of cattle sold at any fair. Twopence or double rate for each stall of garden stuff, gingerbread, &c., on the days of proclaimed fairs. By custom this is practically returned to the regular attenders at the market, as no collection is made on the Saturday following. There is also a charge for caravans, wild beast shows, &c., which is a matter of bargain between the lessee of the tolls and the respective parties."

The Alnwick Market tolls produced in 1834, £70; now they do not much exceed half that amount; they were let in 1825 at £24 yearly, now they are let for £16. Such unproductive and vexatious imposts, for which there appears now no equivalent, as the repair of the Market Place and streets are defrayed by public rates, should be abolished or commuted, especially as the profit is small compared with the cost of collection. Peel and Gladstone might here teach a lesson in finance.

The following curious document, among the court records in Alnwick Castle, are letters patent by which Henry VIII., in 1545, granted the tolls of Alnwick with other privileges to Lancelot Carleton, for his services on the borders, and to Margaret the wife of John Heron.

Letters patent granted to Lanclott. } Henry the vijjth by the Grace of God King of England, &c., To all people to whom these our Letters patente shall come greetinge, know you that we in consideration of the true and faithful service to us done by our welbeloved Launcelot Carltone upon our borders foranempst Scotland and that he intendethe to doe have given and graunted and by thes presents do give and graunt unto him and Margaret Heron late the wyff of John Heron deceased and to the longer liver of them, thoffice of towne backhouses with Toll and Stallage of the Marketts and faires within our Towne of Alnewick in our County of Northumberland and Bowbearership of all our parks and outwoods within our Lordship of Alnewick aforesaid, To have hould occupy and enjoye the said office and eyther of them to the said Lancelot Carleton and Margaret Heron and to the longer liver of them their sufficient deputie or deputies during their lyves and the longer liver of them with an annuitie of vli. sterling by the yeare and three pound eight pence by the yeare for the exercysinge of the said office of Bowbearer, To be taken receaved and perceyved by the said Lancelot or the said Margaret or his or her own handes or the handes of their deputie or deputies of the profytte coming and growinge of the said towne backhouses toolle and stallage yearlie once a yeare, that is to saye at the feast of St. Michell the Archangell in as ample manner and forme as any the said offices or eyther of them by the graunt of our right trustie and right wellbeloved cousyn Henry late Earle of Northumberland had occupied and enjoyed or ought to have had occupied and enjoyed. That exprest mencion of the true yearely value or certentie of the premisses or any of them or of other gyfte or graunte by us to the foresaid Lancelot and Margaret before this tyme made at thes presente is not mad or anye statute act ordynance provision or Restreyne to the contrary had mad ordeyand or provyded or any other thinge cause or matter whatsoever in anywyse notwithstanding. In wytnes whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patente. Gyven at Westminster the xxvth daye of February in the xxxvjth yeare of our reigne.

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The owner of a market or fair could by common law hold a court for the prompt trial of disputes or disturbances arising within these fairs or markets; and as it was held especially for the convenience of travellers, who with "dusty feet" frequented these markets and fairs, it was called the Piepowder Court, from the Norman French *pieds poulders*, dusty feet. It was presided over by the owner or his steward, and its decisions were promptly executed. Many years have elapsed since this court was held in Alnwick. I have met with only one record of its proceedings, which I give entire.

Manerian et Burgus de Alnewicke. } The Estreat of the Fines and Amerciaments of the Court of Pypowder held in Alnwicke for the Most Noble Charles Duke of Somerset &c., 13th July, 1730, before Joshua Alder freeholder and others in the presence of Francis Anderson gen. deputy of Thomas Elder and Henry Simon Esq stewards thereof.

Imprs. of William Vallentyne for Breaking the said Fair in the publick markett place by makeing a Riott and Rout there and also for an affray and shedding blood on Thomas Reaveley of Cald Martin which did greatly disturbe His Majesty's peace and the civil government of the present fair contrary to His Grace's proclamation therefore fine one hundred shillings.

Thomas Reaveley for the like offence on William Vallentyne he is therefore fined xxs.

Richard Brown of Chatton for assaulting John Berwick in the Markett to the great disturbance of His Grace's said fair he is therefore amerced iijs. iiijd.

John Berwick for making an affray in the publick markett and fair on Richard Brown iijs. iiijd. Sol. in Cur. vjli. vis. viijd.

The Sergeants of Alnwick are required forthwith to levy by distress on the goods of these persons within the precincts of the Manor. Ex. pr. Fran. Anderson Clic. cur.

Officers were appointed at the Courts Leet, and also by some of the corporate trades to search the market and to prosecute those who transgressed its regulations. John Fargye and John Barker were, in 1618, curators of the market; in 1739, two market lookers were appointed for the Company of Skinners and Glovers, then important trades in the town. The Company of Cordwainers appointed two of their trade to be searchers of leather; and we find in the records of this company, "1633, Michaell Hunter, Edward Hutton, searchers sealers of leather sworne at Michaelmas Court last, past before Mr. Sacy deputy Steward." On September 30th, 1630, William Shepherd for "abuseing of the searchers upon the markett days" was fined by the company 3s. 4d. But the officers of this ancient body, as we shall see hereafter, went far beyond Alnwick in search of delinquents. The Common Council too sought out transgressors; on September the 8th, 1767, there were paid £2 2s. 0d. to "Jacob Standley for his trouble in attending the market 42 weeks to find out people ingrossing corn butter and eggs;" and in 1766, they passed

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an order to "prosecute persons who are guilty of forestalling, ingrossing, and regrateing* of corn and grain, butter, and cheese, fish or other dead Victuals."

In those restrictive times no man could buy or sell till the town bell tolled at 11 o'clock, announcing the opening of the market; the early bird was not then allowed to pick up the first worm. The bell still tolls on Saturdays and on fair days, at 11 o'clock according to ancient custom; a pleasant musical sound to the Alnwick ear, but nothing more, for all are free now to buy and sell when and where they please.

Many breaches of market regulations were punished at the Burgh Courts; and a few extracts will exhibit the stringency of the regulations and the character of the offences.

"1519.—The keepers of Cawsey present Robert Chryperth for forstalling in buying oats and he is amerced 4d. 1674.—10 persons are amerced in sums from 1s. 8d. to 3s. 6d. each for selling bread contrary to the assize; and others for having illegal measures. 1675.—For selling wares with unlawful weights amerced 6s. 8d. Edward Forster for bringeing corne to the towne of Alnwicke and lodging it in Thomas Harrison's house and not presenting it to the market each is amerced 3s. 4d. George Shepherd for denying the officers to serche for corne sett up on the markett day and not presented to the markett amerced 3s. 4d. Thomas Harrison for forstalling the markett in buying salmon and selling it again contrary to the statute amerced 6s. 8d. 1675.—Edward Fargye for buying sheep's puddings and selling them the same day contrary to the Statute was amerced 2s. 3d. 1676.—Robert Thompson presents Thomas Learmouth, George Shepherd, William Yellowly, and Robert Stephenson for setting forth stalls on the markett contrary to the order made by the fower and twenty is therefore severally amerced 6d. in all 2s. 1676.—Thomas Richison for bringing sheep to the markett to be sold, the skins being cutt off from their faces contrary to the ancient custom and order of this Brough is therefore amerced 13s. 4d. 1677.—Dorothea Moscropp vending wooll and not weighing it with the Toll Booth weights contrary to our ancient order amerced 1s. 1681.—Vending groate loaves for 6d. amerced. 1705.—The Jury present four Butchers for bringing sheep to Alnwick markett or cases of mutton, which hath not its skin affixed to the case, either at the head or taile, whereby they may be knowne in case any sheep may be stolen and search be made for the same, that then such Butcher or Butchers so offending shall putt in sufficient Baile to answer their contempt, and if it happen that the said cases of mutton appear to be stolen, the same to be confiscate to the Lord of the Manner—each amerced 20d. 1714.—Mungo Lee for opening his sack and vending his corn or grain before the Markett Bell Rang amerced 12d. William Clerk and Mr John Grey were also amerced for the same offence. 1716.—Mary the wife of Thomas Bell currier presents John Watson Butcher in Paikeshole for vending Lamb in Alnwick Markett and for Stuffing up the Kidney of the same with pieces of Lights and Plucks to deceive the buyer, we amerce him 3s. 4d."

* *Forestal*, to buy merchandise before it is brought to a market or to the stall where it should be sold, or before the time when the market by statute opens. *Regrate*, (*regrattier*, Fr., a huckster,) to buy merchandise in the market and sell it again in the same market, or within four miles of it. *Ingross*, to buy up large quantities of merchandise, with the intention of selling them again at an advanced price.

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A Wooler butcher shewed more art in stuffing a kidney; but he was so simple as to sell his cooked veal to the clerk of the baronial court. "1728.—Cuthbert Moffatt butcher in Wooller for vending and exposing Veall to sale in Alnwick Market with the Kidney thereof Stuffd up with a piece of a wispe of Hay or Strawe to deceive the buyer Fra. Anderson, which wispe was putt up soe close and hidden, that it was not discovered till it was ready Rosted and for Setting on the Table, wee amerce him 3s. 4d. 1737.—Several cord-wainers were amerced 3s. 4d. each for exposing for sale in the fair 1st October insufficient shoes. 1731.—Several were amerced for selling Oats before the Bell; and one for opening his Poke of Pees before the Bell."

The Saturday market still flourishes, and is resorted to—by farmers to dispose of their corn, by country people to sell their poultry, eggs, and butter, and to buy in return manures, seeds, clothing, groceries, ironmongery, and other articles, not produced in the country; it is the great day for the sale of beef, mutton, &c., by the butchers. Between fifty and sixty carriers frequent the market from the villages and towns in the district.

The principal old fairs are changed in character; they are now important as hirings for agricultural hinds and single servants. Other fairs have been established, suited to the changed circumstances of the times. A lamb fair, now held yearly in July, was first established in 1851; and at the same time a wool fair is held.

The corporation made a strong effort in 1751 to establish a fortnightly market for black cattle and sheep. About £20 were spent in advertisements and preliminary expenses; but the scheme failed; perhaps the four-and-twenty were then in advance of the public.

Since the introduction of railroads and telegraphs, all the movements of society have been quickened; and therefore the men of Alnwick began to see, that it was neccessary for the interest of the town, and for the maintenance of its trade, that they should provide for the agriculturalists of the district, a more ready and frequent means of disposing of their produce, than the old fairs, which were held at distant intervals, afforded; and, hence, it was resolved to establish a bi-weekly cattle market, on alternate Mondays; the first of which was held on December 16th, 1850.

Though the tolls of the markets and fairs were claimed by the lord of the manor, the Market Place belonged to the corporation, who exercised control and directive power, both over it and over the streets of the town. They paid to Thomas Harvies in 1637, "1s. for going with the drumme at the faire both Sunday and Monday;" at an earlier period, in 1612, market keepers were paid by them. The common bellman,

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or town's servant, enjoyed a perquisite from stalls in the Market Place, for when one was appointed in 1675 it is said, "he shall have all the perquisites to that office excepting six stalls to Jane Grey." They were at the expense of cleaning the Market Place, and keeping it in repair; in 1720 it was paved by them, and at the same time the old and new crosses were repaired. "The Corn Market" was paved in 1755 at the cost of £5 8s. 0d.; in the following year they paved "the Horse Market; in 1761, "Paving the Market Place" cost £10 12s. 4d.; and in 1765, "for Market Place paved round the Shambles" £17 18s. 9d. were paid.

*Public Bakehouses* belonged to the lord of the manor; one was about Pottergate and another near the Market. As a relic of this feudal burden, a rent of 2s. was levied from every public bakehouse in the town, till about 64 years ago, when the charge was successfully resisted.

*A Brewhouse* too yielded profit to the lord; "all the tenants of Lesbury rendered annually to the lord of the manor 10s. for a common brewhouse within the town as from ancient custom it was wont." The Alnwick Brewhouse was on the site of the Town Hall. Founded on this feudal claim was a charge of 2s. yearly upon every licensed retailer of ale in Alnwick. This impost was discontinued in 1860.

*On Salt* too a feudal toll was levied; at Martinmas or thereabouts yearly, the foreign bailiff took a measure of salt out of every sack sold in the Market; and when salt came to be sold in shops, the lord, that he might not lose this petty profit, made a charge of a peck of salt or 6d. yearly on every retailer; and it was not till about thirty years ago that this tax was extinguished.

*Crosses.* In Alnwick Parish there were eight or more crosses in the olden times; there was the cross standing on the King's Way towards Rock; Vittry's Cross was on the south-west boundary of Alnwick Moor; the base of a cross still remains in a field called the White Cross Howls near to Denwick; a cross stood in Bailiffgate, and a portion of its plain octagonal shaft is now lying in Bailiffgate Square; there is a Grinde Stone Cross mentioned in the baronial court records in 1683; the Grass Cross stood in 1695 on the "South Raw of Clayport;" there was a Bondgate Cross in 1689; and there were a "Market Cross" and an "Old Cross" belonging to the corporation. The Market Cross was important; it was the centre of the commerce of the town. From the Old Cross royal proclamations were made;

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public rejoicings took place around it; repentant sinners stood on it on successive market days, clad in penitential garments, as a punishment for ecclesiastical sins or offences. The stocks and the pillory for the punishment of other offenders were generally connected with this cross; and both were kept up by the corporation. Much used had stocks then been; for often were they repaired or made new; twice they were mended in 1619; and at "Palmson Eve," and again "at the last faire" they were repaired in 1637. New stocks were made in 1781. For making the pillory in 1716, £1 12s. 8d. was paid. The corporation, indeed, was compelled to keep these instruments of punishment in an efficient condition; in 1677, "William Locke Bayliffe of the Borough of Alnwick presents John Carr, John Strother, Thomas Harrison, and Robert Claxton for not making or cause to be made a sufficient paire of stockes;" and by the court they were amerced 6s. 8d.

Stocks there were in other parts of the parish, in Bailiffgate, in Canongate, in Bondgate, and Denwick. In 1654, "the constables of Bellygate are presented for wanting one paire of Stocks;" in 1680, "The inhabitants of Bayliffgate for not keeping a paire of Stocks," were amerced 1s.; and in 1688, presentations of several persons were made "for not paying their proportion of 8d. for making Stocks for Bailiffgate." At a court held 1659, the Jurors for Bondgate and Denwick, amerced William Brott 3s. 4d. "for not doeing the office of a sworne man by not kepeing the Stocks and Pinfold in repaire." The Canongate stocks originally stood near the bottom of the street, but were removed to Painter Hill, near the church. The Alnwick stocks were used, the last time about sixty years ago. Some countrymen, at one of the fairs, had enjoyed themselves too freely, and became uproarious and disorderly; two of them were brought before the Hon. Charles Grey, and were ordered, as a punishment, to be placed in the stocks for two hours. The boys assembled in great numbers, and pelted the poor countrymen with rotten turnips, cabbage stocks, and other unpleasant missiles; one poor fellow sobbed and wept; but the other clenched his fists and threatened the cruel urchins with a *big yarking* as soon as he was free. Since then the stocks have been suffered to fall into decay, and were entirely removed a few years ago.

The Grass Cross had been taken down prior to 1704, and the space converted into the Malt Market; for in that year the burgesses of Alnwick held a parcel of ground, "containing



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twelve perches on the east side of the Grass Cross, now the Malt Market." St. Michael's Pant now stands on or near its site. Besides the Malt Market there were the Corn Market, in the open space at the junction of Clayport and Fenkle Streets; and the Horse Market on Bondgate Hill. The shoemakers on market days exposed their goods along the hill side, east of this cross.

The Old Market Cross, a roofed building open at the sides and supported on pillars, was mended in 1629 by the corporation, and more extensively repaired in 1672, at a cost of £4 11s. 1½d. At this time there were dials on it; for in 1681, Mrs. Forster was paid 5s. 5d. "for 2 dialls and and making a hurle barrow;" and for "setting the diell on the Cross and drink" 3s. were paid in 1686. It was taken down in 1701. Forty pounds were given to the corporation by the Right Honorable Earl of Carlisle to enable the town to rebuild this cross; and it was first resolved that "the new Crosse, which is to be built and erected, is to be and stand att the Ancient place called the Grasse Crosse;" but in accordance with a subsequent resolution, it was built "where the centre stone is lett opposite to Mr. Marke Forster's house and Mr. Henry Collingwood, now occupied by Mr. Robert Collingwood and Mr. Goodwill." The cost of this building was £90 7s. 0d. From corporation documents we gather information respecting this new cross; "it was entirely an open building, the roof being supported by pillars; and it was always used for the accommodation of the Country people, who came to the market with poultry, butter, eggs, &c."

Near to this were the butchers' *Shambles*, which in the early part of the eighteenth century belonged to the corporation, who in 1715 expended £40 18s. 11½d. on their repairs. They were let at that time, and produced £6 7s. 0d. yearly; but the rents rose to £15 in 1724 and to £20 in 1752. After the great lawsuit which stript the town of many of its privileges, this public property, through the carelessness of the corporation, was lost. "They were" it is said "a paltry old building and accordingly exceedingly offensive to the Inhabitants of that part of the Town, on account of the stench and noisome smell that arise from the blood and excrements &c. of the cattle and beasts that were slaughtered there." To rid the town of this nuisance, the corporation applied in 1761 "to Lord and Lady Northumberland to remove them;" and in 1763, they resolved "that the new cross be taken down and the materials applied to rebuilding new shambles, the borough

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to be at the expense of enlarging them and covering them with the blew Westmorland slate or Scotch slate, unless my Lord Northumberland shall think fitt to be at the whole expense." The lord Northumberland did think fit to do this in 1764, "the corporation having first taken down the cross to make room for this new building; and in order that the country people might still be accommodated as usual, an arcade or covered way was made; and the two ends thereof appropriated for the use and accommodation of the venders of poultry, butter, eggs, &c., as the new cross had before been."

The four-and-twenty of this time appear to have been paralysed by the shock of the great lawsuit; and these feeble (if not faithless) guardians of the public property became wild and reckless, and like thoughtless children flung away, without forethought, property of which they were the trustees. In parting with the town cross no care was taken by them to secure, for all time coming, the privileges to which the public were entitled; deluded probably by some palpable present advantages they left posterity to care for themselves; for after the new Market House was built, the earl and countess of Northumberland granted on August 14th, 1765, to the corporation, at a nominal rent, a lease for twenty-one years of the Market House—"More especially to the intent that the revenues of their faithful Burgesses, the Chamberlains, Common Council, and Freemen might be increased."

This new Market House was a low building of only one story, with an arcade along the north side and the east and west ends, supported by rows of clustered pillars and low pointed arches; these were surmounted by a pierced battlement, above which each pillar was terminated by a pinnacle. Purists in architecture might criticise the style, which was Pseudo-Gothic, and yet it was a more pleasing building, more useful and less cumbersome than the huge erection which stands on its site and casts its dark shadow over the Market Place. Within its arcade, as a boy I played at many a game, and often have I climbed up the pillars to its battlemented top; with me it is associated with youthful enjoyments, and I look back to its removal with regret.

This *Market House* was taken down by the duke of Northumberland in 1826; and on its site another large building called "The Assembly Rooms" was erected. Within an arcade on the north and south sides are ranges of butchers' shops, and above is a room 94 feet long, 30 feet wide and 24 feet high, which is used once a year for the Sessions Ball, and

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sometimes, but rarely, for other balls. Attached is a smaller apartment, called a "News Room," for the use of a select body. At the east of the Assembly Rooms; another portion of the Market Place was built upon by the Duke of Northumberland in 1830; the lower area is now the Fish Market and is open at the sides, but covered above by a room supported on pillars, which is used for meetings of the Poor Law Guardians, of the Board of Health, and of the Burial Board, and for which a yearly rent of £20 is paid to the duke of Northumberland. The ground on which the *Market House* stood would have been a most convenient site for covered markets adapted to modern wants—for a corn market, and a butter, egg, and poultry market, where the country people would have been sheltered from the weather. Neighbouring towns had established corn exchanges; and stimulated by this example, a committee formed of tradesmen in the town, made progress in a scheme for the erection of a public building for a corn exchange near to the Market Place in Alnwick; but unexpected obstacles checked the design. Another scheme, however, was subsequently carried out by private speculation; and a large building was erected for the same object, and opened, as a Corn Exchange, on May 17th, 1862. Unfortunately the situation is inconvenient, being at some distance from the market, behind the south row of Bondgate, and having its principal access through an open yard leading from that street. The building itself is large and commodious; the great room is 90 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 45 feet high from the floor to the apex of the roof, and is fitted up with stalls, each of which is let at a yearly rental of £2 2s. 0d.; sellers and buyers not using a stall pay 7s. 6d. yearly; and others may enter and transact their business on paying one penny for every time of entry. On Saturdays, this room is opened as a Corn Exchange at 11.30 a.m. and closed at 1.30 p.m. At other times, the room is used for concerts, entertainments, meetings, and other purposes, which require more space than is afforded by the Town Hall.

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# CHAPTER XXIV.

MILLS—BRIDGES—ROADS—PANTS—CORRECTION HOUSE.

Several water mills were anciently in the parish of Alnwick. There was the mill of Holn Abbey, enjoyed by the monks from a charter of John de Vescy, granting them the privilege of building a mill upon their own area, to grind their corn without multure, and of making a watercourse from the great water of the Aln. This mill stood at the bottom of the Abbey Hill; long ago it was taken down, but its site is still traceable. Not far from this, on the south side of the Aln, was a fulling mill. Belonging to Alnwick Abbey were two corn mills, which stood on the Aln, a little below the Abbey, and a fulling mill higher up the river. These passed to different proprietors along with the Abbey; but only one of them now remains, called the Abbey Mill, belonging to the duke of Northumberland.

From Ancient time there were also the "Alnwick or Town Mills." John de Vescy, a little prior to 1297, gave to Holn Abbey twenty marks yearly, out of the farm of his mills of Alnwick. Baronial records in Alnwick Castle, refer to "the Book of Account of Thomas Archer, Castle Greave, of Alnwick" in 1443, from which it appears that these mills had been let to the convent of Holn for four years at divers rents; the account of "Mr. Thomas Coke, Castle Greave," state that they were afterwards let to the convent of Holn for ten years at the yearly rent of 33s. 4d., over and above £13 6s. 8d., granted to it out of the mills. In the account of Matthew Bell, castle greave, they appear to have been let to the convent for ten years at £15 yearly rent; and subsequent accounts of John Carleton, William Naddall, and John Gray, castle greaves, repeat the statement.

After the death of Henry, the 6th earl of Northumberland, the barony of Alnwick came into the possession of King Henry VIII.; and on the dissolution of the monasteries, Holn

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Priory also passed to the king; but he first demised the Alnwick mills to Sir Robert Ellerker, knight, for twenty-one years at a rent of 20 marks yearly, and afterwards granted them to him for life. After Ellerker's death, Henry the ninth earl of Northumberland, then baron of Alnwick, entered into quiet possession of these mills; but "suggestion having been made that they were part of the priory of Hull," Queen Elizabeth granted them to Francis Earl of Bedford for twenty years. The earl of Northumberland, however, resisted the entry of the earl of Bedford into these mills; and this led to litigation; the earl of Bedford pleaded his lease; but the earl of Northumberland proving that "the mills were parcell of his manor of Anewicke;" he succeeded in retaining possession of them.*

These town mills stood near to the present Lion Bridge, at the foot of the peth, on the north bank of the Aln; there were two of them, one westward of the bridge called the "wheat or High Mill;" the other, eastward, was called the "Grey or Low Mill," as it was used for grinding barley and peas which produced a grey meal, and the "Blew Stone Mill" from the colour of the mill stones. The mill race was continued past the bridge into the pasture. Early in the seventeenth century they were in the occupation of the town or corporation as tenant of the earl; and, in the earliest corporate accounts preserved, there are several entries relating to them, which are interesting examples of our early records, showing how the town then did its work, and what was the cost of labour and materials.

"1611.—When we had occasion about the mylne dam.

Item to x laberers for turninge stones out of the water to the drye land at vjd. eche one per day . . . . . vs.

Itt to theim in drinking monie . . . . . iiijd.

Itt to John Nesbut in parte of payment for the stones att Denwick Quarrye the 3 June 1611 . . . . . vis.

3 4 5 of June 1611.

Itt to Archilaus Spence and other fyve for three whole dayes work eche one for caridge of stones out of the water to the dry lande at vjd. per day ixs. as also for one halfe dayes work 3d eche one xs. vjd.

Itt in drynking sylver this weeke to them and the myllers when they layd the myln stones of the Easte Myll dame . . xd.

5 July 1611.

Itt to Thomas Mordys for makeing of the new drudge? & the bringeinge home of the same . . . . . xviijd.

Itt the 7 of June 1611 to John Nesbut in parte of payement of his wyning of stones out of Denwick quarie for the new mylne dame . . . . . xviijs.

* Records in Alnwick Castle.

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Itt for vj laborers to the dambe att vjd. per diem . . . iijs.
Itt Richard Richeson for two dayes worke for flaggs casting to the newe Mylne . . . . . xijd.

13 14.

Itt to Anthonie Brown for leading xxxtie ciridgs of flags from St. Marys ford to the new mylne dambs . . . . . xiiijs.
Itt to Anthonie Browne & Mychaell Read for ij trees bringing from the old house to the new mylne dam the 19 20th June 1611 viijd.
Itt to Richard Richeston for one other days werke of flage casting for the newe mylne dam . . . . . vjd.

4 August.

Itt pd to Mychaell Read for iiij carts loads of Stakes & Ryce for the dam . . . . . xxd.
Itt to John Nesbut the 29 June by Roger Rutherford & William Grene in full parte of payment of a hundred fother of stones which shall be by the said Nesbut performed and lead awaye fayleing the want of the full number that then Nesbut shall fulfill the numbre aforesayd the full number of the forsaid stones . vijs.

29.

Itt to Thomas Sprowston in part of his allowance of five shillings by Roger Rotherford and to Edward Alder for caryeing a sledge to the new mylne ijd. & to John Claye for caryeing xv fir dales to the new Mylne 3d. . . . . vs. vd.
Itt to John Scott for vi firdales for the same . . . . . vis.
Itt payd John Hamilton & to his son for iij whole dayes work at the newe Mylne dambe the 18 19 20 of June 1611 at xiid. for each per diem . . . . . vjs.
Itt for a hundredthe of nayles for the newe mylne to George Swynou xijd.
Itt bestowed upon the mylners the first daye the newe mylne was set a worke per Green . . . . . vid."

There are several other payments of the same kind; the wages of labourers were then 6d., and of mechanics 1s. per day. For these mills the burgesses, in 1611, paid to the lord of the manor £96; and they received in that year from the millers £103 6s. 8d. There had been also another mill at this time lower down the river, near to Denwick bridge. Reference is made to it in the following order:—

"Alnewick burgh 31 May 1613 in the Tolbooth. Att the Gyld held the day and yere above sayd It is ordered and considered by the xxiiij, that ther be wrytten and due meanes made and presented to the Rt. Ho. the Earle of Northumberland to procure the lease of the towne Mylls and *Wydops* Myll to be renewed to the townes use." The lease had been renewed, for means were taken to compel persons to make use of these mills. At the Burgh Court held in 1618, it is recorded—"We fynd that their burgesses with Stallingers shall paye xs. for every default to the Alderman of the Trade, they being well used, that grindeth not at the mylls during our lease." The four-and-twenty of the borough sought their own profit by upholding this feudal claim.

"The 2nd day of May 1623. It is ordered by the foure and twenty and foure men for this yeare now being, that all the inhabitants of the town whosoever he be (or she) that grindeth any Corne or Malte from the Mylnes that the Towne houldeth of my Lord of Northumberland, they being well used shall pay dry Moulter to be recovered to the use of the Farmers to be sued by way of accion in our towne Courte." On the following day they sublet the mills, but at a very reduced rental; viz., "to pay this yeare to the Towne at

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the Annuatim of our blessed Lady St Mary next coming the some of five poundes, and Ten poundes of the saide yeare to be paid at Michaelmas and the Ladyday by equal portions."

The corporation held these mills down to 1631, after which they disappear from the corporate records.

According to feudal usage, the tenants of a manor were bound to grind their corn at the lord's mill; but the conditions varied according to the custom of each manor; the tenants in Bondgate, Rennington, and South Charlton were, in the sixteenth century, obliged to grind at the Denwick or the new mill, and to lead stones and wood to repair or rebuild it when necessary; and to the other two town mills, the freeholders and others of Alnwick township had to make their suit and service, and yield the four and twentieth multure; the tenants of Rugely, Snipe House, and Shieldykes had to do the same, and to yield the sixteenth multure, and also to carry millstones to them, as often as needed. There was, however, a strong disposition to resist this monopoly; many delinquents were brought for punishment before the Baronial Courts, down even to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In 1638 Richard Atkin was amerced 20d. "for grinding from his lordship's milnes at Chatton." Robert Brandling of Whitehouse was amerced in 1663, 3s. 4d. "for withdrawing his multure from the water mills of the lord in Alnwick." In 1676 "Oliver presents Francis Alder gentleman for grindinge from the Right Honorable Lady Elizabeth Percy her mills to the great damage of the saide Lady's tenants." "1686.—The millers of Lesbury Mill present the millers of Warkworth for fetching and carrying away severall quantities of corne from the inhabitants of Alemouth to be ground at their own mill of Warkworth, who ought to grind at Lesbury," and each was amerced 3s. 4d. Nine persons were amerced 6d. each in 1691, "for withdrawing their service from the Lord of this Mannor's Mill, in not grinding at Alnwick Towne Mills." Forty-four others were presented in 1694, "who ground away from my Lord's Mills." The latest entry for this offence is in 1704:—"Arthur Tate, Henry Smith, George Tate" and others are amerced each 12d., "because they ground away from the Mill of the Lord where they ought to grind."

Several freeholders in defiance of the lord's claim "kept malt mills in their own houses, and ground both their own corn there and the corn of others, especially Mr. Edw. Grey who ground John Renners malt of Alnmouth, who was obliged to grind at Lesbury Mills; and the said Edw. Grey, when he was reproved, said he would prosecute the Duke of Somerset's interest to his castle gates."* A bold man was Edward Grey.

Millers also, however, were subject to surveillance; in 1667, Thomas Fuller and Patrick Taite were each amerced 3s. 4d. "for taking excessive multure;" and in 1689, "the under millers of the farmers of the lord's mill kept 3 new Boules of

* Col. Forster's MSS.

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wheat unground 3 days, and a part sixteen days, which was brought back unground, and took unlawful mill dues," and they were amerced 3s. 4d. Excessive multure led to inquiry in 1689 before a Baronial Court; and this was the deliverance of the jurors:—

"We find by the oath of John Taylor age 80 years, that about 60 years ago, Henry Swinho and Francis Duer did farme the Lordes Mills; and the Township of Alnwicke ground at the said mills, and only payd the sixten pecke of Wheat Ry Pease and Big * and the eighteene pecke of Malt Oats, and that they paid to the carier one fourth of a pecke peesmell or malt for careing to the mill and home if they desired them to carie their corn, and did not know of any other dues paid to the millar. We the Juriers desires that the ancient multure which were taken above in old tyme, when Lord's Millars were not in Common with Mr. Brandling's Mills † may be continued, and that the abouse of mill due so called may be taken away and that the pecke and fourth part of the pecke and other messures for multure may be viewed and sealed by the Bailiff and Chamberlains from time to time." Multure at the present day is from one tenth to one twelfth; but generally the twelfth.

Mills, too, were on the town's lands at Hesleyside; for in 1682 John Fenkle was amerced 8d. "for not keeping up his gate that leads to the new mills Hesley Side." On the opposite side of the water were the Denwick Fulling Mill and Bleachfield; the former in our own day has been converted into a corn mill, and is now occupied by Mr. Peter Eadington, the descendant of an ancient race of millers. Another fulling mill was in Lowther's Haugh, above the Lion Bridge on the south side of the Aln. To Matthew Alnwicke, fuller and dyer, was let in 1679 by the chamberlains of the borough, "All that wast dy house in Walkergatthaugh" for twenty-one years at a yearly rent of 2s. 6d.

In 1745 and for about twenty years before, the town mills were in the occupation of the family of Bowmaker. Henry and Ralph Bowmaker had the West Mill, and William Bowmaker, along with James Walker, the East or "Blew Stone Mill." At that time John Venus and Robert Rogerson had the Abbey Mills; and Thomas Pinn and John Murraw the Denwick New Mill. Connected with these mills we have an episode of the rebellion in 1745. The royal troops under General Wade were to pass through Alnwick on their

* Barley, the variety with six rows of grain on each ear; Dan. *byg*, Isl. *bygg*, barley; this kind was cultivated at a very early period, by the stone men of the pile-habitations on the Swiss lakes; and also by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.

† These were the Abbey Mills, which at this time belonged to Mr. Brandling.



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way to Scotland; and Jacob Gomes Serra, the commissary, commissioned Thomas Mills, the principal corn merchant in Alnwick, to buy corn, to grind it, and bake it into loaves of 6 lb. each, for the use of the troops. Rye and meslin (a mixture of wheat and rye,) as well as wheat were bought, the price being for a bushel of wheat (including 6d. per quarter commission) 3s. 3d., for a bushel of rye 2s. 5d., and of meslin 2s. 6d. In all 4375 bushels were bought, part of which was baked into 14,000 loaves and distributed to the soldiers as they passed through Alnwick and Whittingham; excepting 1965 loaves which were sold, and a few others being mouldy were given to the poor. The Town Hall, as well as lofts in the town, was used as a storehouse. The baking power of Alnwick not being equal to the emergency, a number of bakers were brought from other towns.

More corn was bought than was consumed in Alnwick, and Mills sent, according to his statement, all the flour produced by grinding 5365 bushels of wheat, in 440 sacks by two ships from Alnmouth to Leith, for the use of the royal troops in Scotland. All had gone on pleasantly up to this point; Joseph Almeida, the agent of the commissary, had lodged with Mills, and had kept the key of the lofts wherein the wheat and flour had been stored, but he had trusted the key with Mills when he was absent. Mills had received £764 2s. 2d., and he applied for £132 9s. 8½d. more; but the commissary—a keen man—demanded the particulars of this charge, and asserted that the quantity received was less than Mills had stated, to the extent of 865 bushels or 173 sacks. And to Chancery both parties go, and the case plunges in that slough of despond for five years and more. The evidence, in which Mills and millers figure prominently, reflects no great credit on our Alnwick corn merchant. He first states that the sacks sent held 7 or 8 bushels each, and then modifies this into 6½ bushels, one with another; but the commissary found that they would not hold more than 5 bushels each. Mills could not tell how much flour was delivered to the bakers; it was not weighed "being in a hurry as the army was expected to march immediately;" nor could he tell how much flour the corn should have produced, but he says, that the year 1745 was very bad and unseasonable for wheat, and the grain so moist, that it had to be mixed with the produce of 1744; and John Rogerson of the Abbey Mills gives this hazy evidence, "corn of a seasonable year would produce a Pock of Flower more than an

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unseasonable year." Such indefinite statements did not satisfy the commissary, and he brought the question to the test of experiment in London; and the bakers there found that "a sack of 5 bushels of flour contained 7 bushels of strike measure of corn," and that therefore the deficiency was 146 sacks of flour or 730 bushels, which would amount to more than the balance claimed. The result must have been disastrous to our corn-factor; the account of his own solicitor, Collingwood Forster, amounted to £165 4s. 1d.*

About this time (as appears from baronial accounts) the town mills had been subject to disasters; for repairing breaches in the mill dam and rebuilding the mills in the years 1744, 1745, and 1746, there was paid by the lord £495 17s. 5½d. More damage still there was soon after; the new making and rebuilding Alnwick Mill Dam, (the old dam having been carried away by a great flood), and furnishing the same from July 18th, 1746, to May 8th, 1749, cost £1160 0s. 6½d.

The town mills were held by the Bowmakers till about 1755, when Henry Bowmaker died. He was the great-grandfather of James Bowmaker of Alnwick, who died in 1862, the last male descendant of this old family in the town; and also great-grandfather of the Rev. James Everett, a distinguished Methodist minister, whose mother, through her father, was grand-daughter of the miller. Trade in meal was different a century ago from what it is now. Millers did not then buy large quantities of corn and grind it, and afterwards sell the manufactured meal to shopkeepers, who retail it to consumers; but corn was still exposed for sale in the open market, and householders bought it there weekly according to the wants of their families; and afterwards, as they were bound to do, by feudal usage, sent it to be ground at the town's mill, paying multure as the miller's reward. Mr. Everett gives a graphic sketch of the scene presented at this period.

"The grotesque figures of the Bowmakers and others harmonised with the old-fashioned winters that visited the north. On Saturday morning—market day—when the poorer and

* Hodgson's MSS. I here express my obligations to Mr. Richard Hodgson, of Gateshead, for his liberality in allowing me the free use of the collections relating to Alnwick, made by his father, the late Rev. John Hodgson, the distinguished historian of Northumberland. Several of these MSS. are cases and notes made by Col. Forster, a man, who, as we shall see hereafter, was, if not famous, yet notable in his day.

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middle classes purchased their corn for the consumption of the succeeding week, the Bowmakers—a stout athletic race—were seen breasting their way up the peth, with their slouch hats, thick home-spun doublets and other habiliments, with straw twisted into thin ropes wound round their legs, to defend them from frost and snows. There they stood in the market as upon pillars receiving the various lots committed to the vehicles to be carried off to the mills. The mild winters we have had of late years, have induced the people, as in the case of other changing fashions, to throw these rustic leggings aside.*"

At that time, Wythope Mill—a small mill for the accommodation of the people of Denwick and its neighbourhood—stood less than half-a-mile further down the river, on the site where, what was called, Eadington's Mill was afterwards built. Different was the aspect of the Pasture where these mills were placed from what it is now, when the ridge and the hill side are adorned with long plantations and clumps of trees; they were then uncultivated and covered with furze and ferns; near Malcolm's Cross was a house called "the Mains" occupied by Thomas Walker; and on the side of the Aln, near to the first waterfall or cauld, and nearly opposite the castle, was a cottage called "the Wide-open" tenanted by John Tate.

After the death of Henry Bowmaker, the mills were taken by George Cockburn. Disaster again fell upon them; for in 1767 the High or Wheat Mill was carried away by a great flood in the Aln, and another was built on an enlarged scale. In commemoration of its completion, Cockburn gave an entertainment, and caused a "monster dumpling" to be made, which, it is said, was eight feet in circumference, and contained sixty-eight pounds of flour, forty-two pounds of currants, twenty-eight pounds of suet with other ingredients; and weighed, when boiled, one hundred and forty-seven pounds. It was drawn with ropes and pullies out of the brewing kettle in which it had been boiled, covered with a large sheet. To this entertainment the inhabitants were invited by the town's bellman; and the event either gave rise to the following hyperbolized couplet, or some similar verse was accommodated to the occasion:—

"The weel made dumpling in the Mill-dam
Thirty feet thick and thirty feet lang."

* Everett's MSS.

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Soon this mill followed its predecessors; for on the 8th of November, 1770, the river rose to an unprecedented degree and carried away the dam and foundations, and the bridge, too, was seriously damaged. After this, the mills and the cottages by the water side were taken down.

The Wythope Mill at this time was rebuilt, on an enlarged scale, in an imitative Gothic style. It was a picturesque object, seen from Denwick Bridge; and its removal, in 1839, was regretted by many who had often lingered on the bridge listening to its clack, and enjoying one of the finest views of the castle and of the vale of the Aln.

The corporation, for some time during the eighteenth century, had a mill on their own land of Ranwellstrother or the Bog, which hence was called the Bog Mill—a name the farm yet retains. The mill, however, was taken down and the mill-stones and mill-gear sold in 1804. It was proposed to erect a wind-mill in its stead, the expense of which with a tower 50 feet high was estimated at £526 12s. 5d.; but after deliberation, the proposition was negatived by a vote of the four-and-tweny.

The fulling mills and the bleach fields are gone, the Town, the Holn Abbey, and the Wythope Mills have been swept away; and there remain on the river only the Abbey and Denwick Mills. One of our energetic tradesmen, Mr. Thomas Archbold, however, erected a steam corn mill a few years ago on the west side of the town just beyond the old wall.

*Bridges and Roads.*—One bridge there was in Norman times across the Aln, coëval it may be with the Norman castle, but which was in a ruined and shattered state in 1377, when it was extensively repaired, if not nearly rebuilt;* probably enough some portions of the Norman work would be retained in the renovated structure. This old bridge, which was standing in the middle of the eighteenth century, had unusually low battlements, and was very narrow, but with a cornered recess on each side over every pier, so that foot passengers might step aside to avoid contact with a vehicle when passing over. At Warkworth there is still a bridge of a similar character. A number of low thatched houses then extended from the top of the steep Peth, nearly to this bridge; and on the north side of the Aln there was another row of unseemly cottages, commencing near the Town Mill, westward of the bridge.

* See Page 159.

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A great flood in the Aln, on the 8th of November, 1770, washed away so much of the bank of the river as to cause the south end of the bridge to sink and become dangerous; and on the 10th of December, the corporation paid "to John Shepherd 3s. for watching the bridge all last Thursday night to give passengers notice of the danger of going over." On the 15th of December the south arch fell in, leaving the others in a tottering condition. The evil had been but partially remedied, for on October 7th, 1772, the chamberlains and common council, in a remonstrance to the worhipful his majesty's justices of the peace, represent that the county bridge at Alnwick is in a ruinous condition, and from late breaches the passage over it hazardous, especially for carriages; and they in effect threaten to have recourse to law for redress. After this, the present bridge was built some twenty or thirty yards higher up the river than the site of the old bridge; the foundation stone being laid on the 21st of August, 1773. It is a substantial structure of three circular arches, with battlements on each side, above which, in the centre, rises a pedestal on one of which stands a lion with a stiff extended tail, similar to that on Northumberland House in London; it is hence called the Lion Bridge.

For foot passengers there was at the bottom of Canongate a narrow wooden bridge over the Aln, protected at the sides by wooden railing, and resting on high stone piers which had their foundation in the solid rock. Horses and carriages passed over the river by a ford, which was dangerous after a heavy rain-fall or the melting of snow; and lives were in consequence occasionally lost. A great flood in 1821 broke down some of the piers, and rendered the bridge useless. Another bridge was built by Hugh, third duke of Northumberland, a little further up the river, suited for the passage of horses and carriages as well as of persons on foot. It is a plain stone structure of three circular arches.

A century ago the way to Denwick left the middle of Bondgate Street, near the Tower, and passed through Cutler's Lane and Barneyside, and then across the river by a ford; the road was short and direct; but when Hugh, the first duke of Northumberland, was extending his parks and pleasure grounds this road was closed, and another road formed, starting from the end of Bondgate, making a bow between the two places; but, as a compensation for this perpetual disadvantage, he was at the expense of the new road, and of its maintenance for 99 years, and of the construction of a new

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bridge which is called Denwick Bridge. One circular arch spans the river where it is deep and narrow; from the gracefulness of the arch and the beauty of the scenery around, this bridge has been much admired.

Several ancient roads and footpaths have been blocked up during the last hundred years. There was, in the thirteenth century, reserved by charter a free passage to Holn, through all the ways and paths anciently used in any part of Holn Forest to neighbouring and distant towns. Cart roads then went through Holn Forest for the men of Alnwick, Denwick, and Houghton. Some of these old roads were in public use till a comparatively recent period. An ancient road, which went through the park, on the south side of the Aln, past Brislaw, and onward to East Bolton, Eglingham, and other places north westward of Alnwick, was closed by act of parliament in 1826; but, as a compensation for its loss, the duke of Northumberland contributed largely to the improvement of another road to Eglingham, which, however, passes by a circuitous and hilly route.* This act, however, did not take away the public right to the road from Rotton Row by Stoney Peth to the Forest Lodge; nor did the act for the enclosure of Alnwick Moor close the ancient footpath leading from the Forest Lodge, across the new enclosure to the flag-staff, and thence to Abberwick. Other old roads however have been closed. One ran from the Forest Lodge by Rutherford's Moor, and across a style in the wall to Moor Laws; it was described in the language of the district, "a canny road for market wives." A carriage road went from Shipley Red Stead, by the west side of Bunker's Hill, and thence to the turnpike. A bridle road from the Charltons entered the park a little eastward of Lokensenburn, and passed on to Moor Laws. But the pleasantest and most frequented of all the public footpaths was that which entered the Abbey Grounds, near the Barn Yards, and went down Breakback, and through the Haugh to Holn and beyond; and from this other pathways led to Necessity and other places. Many a delightful stroll have I enjoyed, in the early summer mornings and in the sunny evenings along this pathway, when it was free to all. Doubtless, the closure of these ancient roads has led to the more careful cultivation of the parks; the old tangled forest, the wild glens, and rugged braes, have been adorned

* The owners of East Bolton, however, still retain the right of a bridle way through the parks.

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by the resources of art, so that now the scenery of this portion of the vale of the Aln is varied and beautiful. Honourable was it to the liberality and feeling of Algernon, the duke of Northumberland, that he opened these parks to the public; and considering what originally were the public rights over them, and what beneficial effects on the tastes, habits, and morals of a community result from wandering amid beautiful scenery, it may be hoped that the successive lords of Alnwick will, in a like kind and trusting manner, throw open this source of rational enjoyment to all.

Much of the river banks too was open accessible ground traversed by footpaths and roads. The Haugh, anciently called Lowther's Haugh, on the south side of the Aln, westward of the Lion Bridge, was, even during the present century, something like public ground, where young men and boys played, and fished, and bathed. Young boys bathed in the shallow water above the bridge on both sides of the river; those a little older bathed and learned to swim at the Island, and those who could trust themselves in deep water resorted to Barbara's Bank on the opposite side. At that time almost all the youths of the town could swim. A public road led across this Haugh parallel with Walkergate—the street of the Walkers or Fullers. Even as late as 1682 there was still one fulling mill there. In 1680 the parish of Alnwick was at the baronial court amerced 20d. "for not repairing the highway leading from Alnwick Bridge to Lowther's haughes;" but this small fine not having the desired effect, the parishioners were, in 1682, amerced £5 "for not amending the highway that leads from Alnwick to Lowther's haugh;" and in the same year Matthew Alnwick had "to amend this way which is worn away at the end of Lowther's haughes by reason of a damm lately made in the river to his fulling mill." These haughs, roads, ancient bathing places, and Barbara's Bank are now enclosed as part of the Dairy Grounds.

A *wain road* there was through the Pasture or North Desmesne, between the Lion Bridge and Denwick. In 1694, "the Highway leading from Alnwick bridge to the Topp or With-open Bank" was presented at the court leet. Indeed, this delightfully situated large tract of desmene land was used as if it were the people's park, where from time immemorial young and old gathered, generation after generation, on festal occasions to play their ancient games and enjoy their accustomed holidays. And as the favourite gamesome exercises

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were indulged in there, how pleased must have been the lords and ladies of the stately castle, who had any sympathies with the people, as they gazed from its windows on the happy groups sporting over this park! No place could be more suited for healthful enjoyment, or more fitted to improve the taste.

An ancient road from the south came through Cawledge Park, and a little eastward of Rugley; and it appears to have passed up Rugley Lane, across the moor, down Hooling Lane and the Clarty Loaning, to Alnwick Abbey. On the Rugley grounds the plough has often struck on the remains of this road, and several horse's shoes have, from time to time, been found on it, of small size, shewing that the horses were formerly of a small breed, probably the Hobbys of the Hobbelars, who formed the border cavalry.

The chief highway was in the seventeenth century in a wretched condition. In 1680 "The Parishioners of Alnewicke were presented, who ought to repaire the Common Causeway in the Lane or Loning leading from Alnwick Bridge to the Broomhouse or Loning head, which is out of repaire and full of Quicksands, and it being then post road it is very dangerous for travellers, we doe therefore amerce them 3s. 4d."; it had "to be repaired on paine of 39s. 11d." The parishioners still neglected their duty, and in 1682 they were amerced 39s. 11d. "for not repairing the Common Loning leading to Loning head from Alnwick Bridge." In 1733, thus continue the baronial court records—"We also present the present Chamberlains for not repairing and amending the high path Causeway leading from the Earl of Derwentwater slate house downe king's high street to the Bridge End to be insufficient." This was the great north road, as it is now called, which runs through Alnwick and past the Barbican of the castle and down the Peth, and across the bridge and away northward. It was the great line of traffic between London and Edinburgh; and the good people of Alnwick looked then, with as much jealousy as they do now, at attempts to divert an important line of traffic from their own doors. In 1767, the chamberlains and common council petitioned the duke of Northumberland, "to use his endeavours to think favourably of the old grand north post roads, as it hath done of the new western roads, and contribute as largely to a variation of this road at the Pees, as it hath done to the making of the new roads;" they represent that the Pees, near Old Cambus, in its present steepy situation is disliked by travellers, but that by varying



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the road it might be made commodious; and they view with alarm the new bridge of Coldstream, and the bridge over the Tyne at Hexham, and the making of a new road from Hexham to Jedburgh, and they fear the grand north post road will be deserted and innkeepers ruined. How ingenious of these selfish men to cloak their selfishness under the guise of benevolence to the innkeepers!

The vigilance used by the courts leet before 1750, to guard the rights of the public to paths and roads will be shewn in a few additional extracts, which will also illustrate the topography of the parish.

1654.—Edward Medcalfe was presented for stopping "a common way between Blacklee Close and the Town of Alnwick, for cart and wayne through Metcalffe's fields along the hedge to the Hope loning tyme out of memory." 1698.—Mr. Mark Forster was presented "for stopping the way leading through his dwelling house to the Common Well and Common Loning called Hopp lane or Greenbatt and for erecting a gate on the Loning."

"1682.—Thomas Stamp aged 66 or thereabout sworne and examined saith, that there was a highway leading to the Stottle Meadows, through the Children Groves, and knowne it from his infancy. And that since the Division of the Common fields, there was always a way to the Stottle Meadows. John Taylor aged 76 or thereabouts sworne and examined saith, that hee hath known Stottle Meadows and that the common way that leads to it through the Children Groves hath known it for threescore yeares, and since the division there was always a highway to the said Stottle Meadows, without disturbance as abovesaid till of late for which Henry Roberts was presented."

1682.—John Fenkle was amerced 8d. "for not keeping up his gate in the Highway that leads to the New Mills Hesley Side." 1738.—"A wain road was in the Low Milne Close from Alnwick to Hesleyside." 1697.—"William Yellowley was presented for an Incroachment by erecting a wall which stopps the ancient common passage which leads from Narrowgate to Fenkle Street and takeing to himself a piece of waste ground." The jury found that "the waste ground above 41 years since was a common passage through Ralph Greave's garden into fenkle Street." The wall was ordered to be pulled down, and the offender was amerced 6d. "1706.—Luke Hindmers was presented for making a cartway in the narrow passage to the Stone Well in bringing Loaden Carts full of Bark through it, breaking down Mr. Hunter's stone wall to the ground, to the Roundabout, formerly belonging to Old John Alder in Clayport." 1729.—A jury examined witnesses who proved that an ancient way led to the Clayport Back Crofts on the south side of Clayport Without the Tower. In 1730, Thomas Awthey was amerced 13s. 4d. for stopping this way; but not submitting to this judgment, the serjeants of the manor court, by order of the court, broke down his fences; and he indicted them at the sessions. From evidence, however, it was proved that it was an "ancient footway leading downe Clayporte South Croft and soe to the Church road or path where a style was sett, and time out of memory of man was a way or foot path to and from the church, and also for all the king's liege people to pass and repass up and down that way on all occasions. And also that the owners and occupiers of every one of the Burgages of the South Croft or Riggs had all along made use of a Common Gap or Slopp near the Common Loning for leading Hay or Corne or for mucking their Burgage Crofts; and as soon as the Harvest was over and Mucking time done, and Tyth of the same ledd away, then the said wain or cart dung Gapp was dug up and made fenceable in the said Loning at or near Clayporte Tower, called the Greenbatt Loning, but still the foot style was kept up winter and summer." 1733.—

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"The towne of Alnwick was presented for suffering Lady Row Lane (otherwise Rattin Raw Lane) to be out of repair."

A vennel way or narrow lane—an old church road—ran from Narrowgate Street along the side of the town wall to another church road from Pottergate Tower; this vennel was shut up early in the seventeenth century. The old road from Alnwick to Boulmer went along Fisher Lane, past Allerburn to Lough House. An ancient road went across Alnwick Moor from Hobberlaw to the highway leading from Alnwick to Whittingham. In 1688, the baronial court says "The parish of Alnwick ought to repair the way leading from Hobberlaw to Mosseyford;" and it was ordered to be repaired before next court under a penalty of 13s. 4d. The right of the public to this road was undisturbed till about 1768, when Robert Smart, owner of Hobberlaw, opened lime-kilns on his estate for burning and selling lime; but the corporation looking on this movement with jealousy, because tending to lessen the value of their own lime-kilns on Alnwick Moor, attempted to stop this ancient road, so that access to the Hobberlaw Kiln might be difficult. The dispute was decided at the assizes in Newcastle, in 1770. Witnesses proved that there was "an ancient road for horses, carriages, &c., along the north side of Hobberlaw dike, and over the south end of the limestone quarry next to Hobberlaw Estate, from thence north-westward over Brancepeth East Hill, and from thence crossing the Houl or Hollow of Brancepeth, and from thence up the hill west of the Hollow over or near a Quarry lately opened, and from thence to the highway between Whittingham and Alnwick." To view this road, the sheriff was ordered to summon a jury, but the under-sheriff instead of summoning only twelve, summoned sixty, the whole panel of the county, and thirty-nine of them appeared. The conduct of the under-sheriff was complained of, but all expenses had to be borne by the corporation and Robert Smart. A strange agreement the chamberlains had made with Robert Smart to end the dispute. They had agreed "neither directly nor indirectly with the public money nor with their *private purses* to aid in attempts to interrupt him in the use of the road," and even "to punish individual freemen who should do so." They had convenanted *at night*, more than they could perform; and *in the morning*, when they awoke with their heads cooler, they repented of what they had done. They submitted the agreement to a learned counsellor for advice, because they say it contains things unreasonable;

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and their excuse for their folly is "that it was made late at night and wrote in great hurry;" probably in those jolly corporate days these officials were so merry as not to know exactly what they were doing. By a regular deed, however, made October 12th, 1771, the road was conceded; it was to be 20 feet wide, and kept up at the equal expense of both parties, the chamberlains and four-and-twenty binding themselves, under a penalty of £500, not to interrupt him in the use of this road. Attempts have been made by the trustees of the freemen to shut up this ancient road! There are several ancient footpaths which the public can still enjoy on Alnwick Moor; for the act, by which it was enclosed, did not in any degree deprive the community of such ancient and accustomed privileges and rights.*

The turnpike from Hexham to Alnmouth was made in the years 1753 and 1754; it comes to Alnwick Moor at Lemmington Bank Top, and passes through the town. To the formation of this road the corporation subscribed liberally, yet keeping in view the interests of the freemen, The projectors proposed that a toll-gate should be placed in the Stobby Moor; but to this the common council strongly objected. The chamberlains offered, in behalf of the town, to subscribe £400 at the rate of three per cent per annum, provided the chamberlains for the time being were nominated trustees without any qualification; they granted leave to the commissioners to erect a wall across the Town Moor, provided it were built west of the Howl of Brankspeth, and provided all the free burgesses resident in town or parish be exempt from paying any toll for the carriage of lime, manure, stones, coals, turves, flaggs, heather, or whins, from any part of the moor to the town. For a few years the corporation received interest on this £400; but the tolls being absorbed by the working expenses, no interest has been paid for many years, and the capital is lost, excepting so far as the town and community enjoy the advantage of a good road.

*Pant* is a border name for a covered well or reservoir of water, whence the inhabitants of a village obtain their water; it occurs in the south of Scotland and is in general use in Northumberland. Its origin is doubtful, but probably it is a local form of *pond* or pool of water, for usually there is attached to each pant a trough into which the surplus water falls. In Alnwick we have now the High or St. Michael's Pant, the Low or Pottergate Pant, the Clayport High Pant,

* Other roads, having no history, I have not referred to.

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formerly Kidland's Well, the Clayport Low Pant, the two Bondgate Pants, the Greenbat Pant, the Church Pant, the Town or Stone Well, Green's or Moffat's Well. On the corporation devolved the duty of supplying the town with water; and they fully exercised the power of building pants, and of laying pipes in the streets to convey the water from springs in the neighbourhood, as the wants of the town required. The expense was defrayed chiefly out of the corporate funds, aided in early periods by water rates imposed on the inhabitants. The pants belonged to the corporation or town; and the young freemen who rode the boundary of the moor, on St. Mark's Day, also rode round the pants of the town, as well as the Market Place and Cross, as part of their property. From an early period the corporation paid a salary to a pant-keeper; beginning in 1611 with 2s. yearly, and ending with £7 7s. John Graye, in 1611, was paid 2s. for keeping the pant, and 6d. for "dales to the pant;" in 1645, George Jefferson for keeping the pant was paid 6s. A pant and the Stone Well are the earliest noticed. In 1623, it was ordered by the four-and-twenty, "that whosoever he be (or she) that abuseth the pant or our Stone Well shall pay for each falt *toties quoties*, to the Comon hutch of the town." The Old Town or Stone Well was on the west side of Infirmary Street, close to where the town wall stood; and from this water is conveyed by pipes to the present Stone Well. The Low Pant at the foot of Pottergate, and a pant and wells in Clayport, and another called Green's Well, were used by the public prior to 1683; for in the court leet records there are the following orders:—

1683.—"The pant to be paved and amended by the Inhabitants of Pottergate Narrowgate and Bailiffgate." "The Common Wells and Pant of Claport Warde are out of repair and choaked with filth and dirt which ought to be cleansed by Claport, we amerce each Inhabitant 2d." "The inhabitants of the same ward to clean them before the faires of Alnwick next on paine of xijjs. iiijd." "A good and wholesome well lyeth in the back of Roger Moffatt's, to which well the inhabitants of Bondgate Street, within the Tower, and Market Place had always liberty; but the well is out of repaire, with the consent of R. Moffatt, the inhabitants doe make a Causeway to the well and repair it, and so clean and fence it, as to be no nuisance to R. Moffatt."

The Pottergate Pant is supplied from the surplus water of the Stone Well. In the olden time there was a well within an arched recess of the wall of Clayport Tower; but a new pant was built for this well in 1752, at a cost of more than £10—carter's charges being then 1s. 6d. per day, and a master mason's daily wages only 1s. 4d. Kidland's Well, at the bottom of Clayport Bank, was in 1755 converted into a pant.

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In the seventeenth century the revenues of the town were small, and we find that to improve the water supply the four-and-twenty imposed a cess on the property of the inhabitants.

"May 7, 1694.—Presentments made at the Lord's Courts for our Pant being out of repair in want of water for supplying the Towne and preventing of fires, it is therfor unanimously condescended by the four and twenty, that there shall be a sess layd on of all the houses and Lands belonging to Alnwicke 3 times according to the Booke of Raits and what moneys is collected for the aforesaid use, what is over repairing of the said pant, shall goe towards Clayport well and other springs of the towne;" and accordingly schedules were issued to the petty constables to make the collection for the pants.

An odd method the four-and-twenty adopted in 1695 for the maintenance of the pants; they ordered "that the freemen that Lives in the Country may put their goods for this yeare on our moor, and kept by our Herds; and that they shall upon the Herds keeping their goods this year find men to help to fill up the pitts on our moor and likewise send men to work att *our Towne pant* as the Chamberlains shall think fitt." A system of taxation was kept up for the maintenance of the pants till, at least, 1715; in that year two persons were amerced at the court leet 20d. "for not paying their proportion for repairing Moffatt's Well; and 3d. per burgage was ordered to be paid for repairing Clayport pant and the Stone well, for every inhabitant frequenting the same."

The Church Well was repaired by the corporation in 1737; and in 1778, "a new pant was erected near the church," and to James Johnson was paid 2s. 6d. "for cutting the Town's arms,"—St. Michael killing the dragon—on this pant. It then stood on the east side of the highway leading to Canongate, at the base of the church hill; but as it interfered with some proposed improvement of the churchyard, the churchwardens applied for its removal to the opposite side of the road, and this was acceeded to on the condition that the stone panel with the town's arms, though worn and defaced by time, should be built into the new pant, and that sufficient space should be left, so that the freemen could ride round it according to ancient custom.

The four-and-twenty were not negligent of their duty in supplying the town with water; they built a new pant at the end of Bondgate in 1747, another in Bondgate in 1751, one in Greenbat in 1753, and another on the east side of Bondgate Tower in 1802. An order was made in 1709 to bring water to the Market Place, but it was not till 1712 that the High Pant—the principal pant of the town—was erected, "att the Old Crosse called the Grasse Cross as the most

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convenient place." It, however, was insufficiently supplied with water and fell into decay; but in 1752 the four-and-twenty resolved to erect a new pant in the Market, near George Shepherd's house; but this was not carried out till 1755, when the famous St. Michael's Pant was built by Matthew Mills, at a cost of about £60, from a design by Mr. Bell, architect, for which he was paid £4 16s. The design is somewhat ambitious, in the Pseudo-Gothic of the period; it is a little square tower, adorned with carvings, and having two pinnacles at each corner, and surmounted with the figure of St. Michael killing the dragon, deftly but stiffly sculptured in stone. The water is continually running from a carved head, into a large reservoir out of which cattle may drink. James Johnson received £5 7s. 6d. "for carving the figure." The supply is brought by pipes from fountains at the top of Clayport Bank, into which is conducted water from springs on Alnwick Moor. After the establishment of the Local Board of Health, the corporation very readily gave up to that representative body the custody of the pants.

*Correction House.*—Though Alnwick is the county town of Northumberland, the county gaol never appears to have been there, but at Morpeth, where it was rented by the sheriffs of the county, of the earl of Carlisle. The county House of Correction was, however, at Alnwick; and it appears to have been a workhouse as well as a place of punishment. There were four burgages on the south side of Clayport, adjoining the tower, used for this purpose. A petition was presented a little prior to 1680 to the magistrates from Thomas Courtney, of Alnwick, *cloathyer*, stating—

"That the house of Correction in Alnwick, for some years past has been useless to the county by reason of the great age of the present master, and the houses thereto belonging are out of repair for want of that due care that ought to have been taken to repair them, your petitioner most humbly offers his service to this worshipful bench, and will be ready to serve the County upon such reasonable terms as your worshipps shall think fit, and if your worships please to employ your petitioner to alter the name of Correction and give it the name of a Workhouse, which will make poor people more willing to come into it, Your Petitioner will undertake to employ and set to work in carding and spinning such poor people as your worships shall think fitt to send and doubts not, but in a short time to give the County more satisfaction than hath ever been given before."

The scheme does not seem to have been successful, for in 1680-1 is the following minute:—

"That the moneyes formerly gathered for the house of Correction bee speedily inquired into and orders taken for the recovery of itt for the Countyes use, and that all materials bought for the said house of Correction bee

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inventoried that soe for publicke use; and that overseers bee appointed for viewing the behaviour of the Master, and the accommodation of the people sent thither and aboute the repairing of the said House of Correction." The jury again present on 8th October, 1684—"This County house of Correction as still in ruine and decay, and that the publick money collected from the County for upholding the said house and manufactory there to maintaine a certaine number of people att worke and employment by the common stock of money, not to be rightly managed for the use intended as it ought to be."

At the Morpeth Sessions, 14th of April, 1686.—"Item wee present that whereas the House of Correction being att Alnwicke is very useless to the County, we desire it may be removed to some other convenient place where it may be better taken care of and more useful for the County, and that wee think noe place more fitt than the seat of the present sessions."*

The corporation interested themselves in this subject; in 1687, there was "spent on the Sheriffe and Esq Clavering and other justices, when they viewed the Tower 7s. 6d.—Spent in goeing to Esq Callaly about the Gaols 7s. 6d." But the correction house was again presented in 1701, as out of repair, and, as managed, of no use to the county. In 1702, the judges fined the county £1000 for an insufficient gaol; and the jury recommending the Alnwick House of Correction, Clayport Tower, and ground adjoining as a proper site for a new gaol, the corporation offered to convey the tower for this purpose, at a yearly ground rent of one shilling. It was found, however, that the old gaol at Morpeth could be repaired and enlarged at a less expense than the cost of a new erection at Alnwick. It was resolved by the magistrates, in 1703, to sell the House of Correction; and Mark Forster and John Burrell offered for it £100 on behalf of the town for a minister's house and other public uses; and although this was agreed to, it was nevertheless, for what reason does not appear, sold in 1704 to William Taylor for £110. The present Correction House was erected in 1807 in a yard leading from Bondgate to the Greenbat; and adjoining to it a spacious and handsome Court House was built in 1856, with a frontage to the Greenbat. This new Court House stands on the site of the Old Wesleyan Chapel, which, after having been used as a candle-making house, was purchased by the county for £350. Meetings of the Petty Sessions for Alnwick are held in it regularly on Saturdays once a fortnight; and it is also used by the county court judge for his monthly meetings.

* MSS. of Mr. C. S. Bell, to whom I am indebted for several interesting notes.

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# CHAPTER XXV.

## PUBLIC MOVEMENTS.

ELECTIONS IN 1734 AND 1748—RICHARD GRIEVE—ELECTION IN 1774—GEORGE GRIEVE AND COLLINGWOOD FORSTER — MOVEMENTS DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—QUEEN CAROLINE—ADDRESS TO EARL GREY—REFORM MEETING—VOTING IN ALNWICK.

Politics need not occupy a prominent place in local history; yet if history is made up of the actions of living men, some notice must be taken of the part, which the inhabitants of the town played in important political and religious movements. Not being a parliamentary borough, Alnwick had not that intense selfish interest in politics which small corporations usually felt, where freemen's votes could be bought in the market; yet there was a pretty large number of a better class of voters—freeholders—living in the town, who were entitled to vote for members of the county; and Alnwick being moreover the town where the poll was taken for the whole county, it became a scene of uproar and commotion —drinking and wild extravagance—when a contested election occurred.

Till the time of James I., the bulk of the people of Northumberland were Roman Catholics; but in the first year of his reign, Sir Ralph Grey was the first Protestant member elected, Sir Henry Widdrington, a Catholic, being his colleague. In what manner the corporation and burgesses of Alnwick then acted we have little information; but we find that the four-and-twenty of the borough entered keenly into the political contests of the eighteenth century. They supported Thomas Forster, of Adderston, in 1711, granting him the use of "the Pole house" for which he paid them 30s.; and in addition gave £20, to buy plate to be run for at the Alnwick races.

A prominent part was played by the corporation in the election of 1748, when Charles Lord Ossulston and Lancelot



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Allgood, of Hexham, Esq., were candidates to fill the place made vacant by the death of John Fenwick. Ossulston was the whig, and Allgood the tory. The sympathies of the four-and-twenty were strongly in favour of the tory candidate, and they adopted extraordinary measures to promote his interest. The poll was taken on the 18th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th days of February; but while keen canvassing was going on, and the note of preparation heard for the struggle, the four-and-twenty met on the 4th of February and passed resolutions to aid the cause of Allgood. Suspecting, they say, that several persons intend to vote who are not legally qualified, and to prevent such persons from committing the odious sin of perjury, they order five persons to view the freeholds of such disputed persons and to estimate their value, and to report the same to another meeting; they threaten to disfranchise any freemen who should vote without being duly qualified by law, and they determine that Mr. Allgood's party shall have the sole use of the Town Hall and the rooms adjoining during the election. How flimsy the hypocrisy with which these intolerant men seek to cloak their purpose!

These measures, however, were not carried unanimously; only fourteen names are signed to the order. One bold man there was at the meeting—Richard Grieve—who set the majority at defiance, and who had the daring to tell them that he would mob them, and take the Town Hall by force. The four-and-twenty prepared for war; but, though they strengthened their defences by procuring a cross-bar for the Tolbooth, Grieve, notwithstanding, carried his threat into effect; and on the morning of the election, at the head of a party of Ossulston's friends, armed with bludgeons, attacked Allgood's party, and after a desperate struggle and some bloodshed drove them out of the Town Hall.

The sheriff at the close of the poll made a return of a majority of 26 for Lord Ossulston, who was the popular candidate in Alnwick. Ninety-seven freeholders residing in Alnwick voted for Ossulston, and fifty-eight for Allgood. Some old family names appear among the voters; Alder, Ranoldson, Falder, Gair, Grieve, Moffatt, Yellowly, Strother are on the side of Ossulston; Claxton, Doubleday, Gallon, Hindmarsh, Woodhouse, Weatherburn, and several Forsters are on the side of Allgood; but Stamp and Rickaby take rank in both armies. Against the return there was a petition, because the sheriff in an arbitrary manner rejected 26 of Allgood's votes; Ossulston did not appear to answer the

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petition, and in the following year the House of Commons decided that Lancelot Allgood was duly elected; "but" says a contemporary critic, "the rogue of a Sheriff got off Scot free." Great joy filled the corporate bosom when their cause triumphed; and it found expression, as was usual, in jollification; the Town Hall was illuminated; and they squandered away £8 15s. 6d. for punch and ale to themselves, and £5 4s. 0d. "for Ale given to the populace, when" as they say, "Mr. Allgood's election was compromised." The honour of the personal freedom of the town and borough was, in 1751, conferred on Lancelot Allgood, Esq.

The conduct of Richard Grieve had cast such indignity on the four-and-twenty that it could not be tolerated by that self-important body. Were they to be trampled upon with impunity, and their authority set at nought? Smarting with defeat, and boiling over with passion, they met two days after the election, and forth came the crushing sentence pronouncing "the conduct of Richard Grieve at the election partial and villainous, and in defiance of all ties both human and divine; and rendering him unfit to be a member of society;" they therefore disfranchised him, and declared his seat in the common council vacant. How virulent these men were! Not content with Grieve's corporate annihilation, they attacked his purse; and ordered a suit to be entered against him "touching the want of repairs of the Far Moor House Farm." Having struck down the nobler quarry, they stooped to humbler game and the waits were dismissed, one of them having had the audacity to vote for Ossulston. When will men learn to grant to others what each claims for himself—freedom of thought and independence of action!

At the great contest in 1774, two of the leading actors were notable Alnwick freemen—George Grieve the son of Richard Grieve, and Collingwood Forster, who was steward of the baronial courts, and electioneering agent in chief of Lord Percy and his colleague. The gentry of the county were willing enough that Algernon Percy, eldest son of the duke of Northumberland, then a young man travelling abroad for the sake of his health, should be a representative of the county; but they claimed the privilege of choosing the other member; and they were indignant when, contrary to arrangements, Sir John Delaval, who had while in parliament supported the duke's views, was brought forward in conjunction with Lord Percy. At a county meeting held at Morpeth, on July 26th, 1774, George Grieve was the principal orator,

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and he boldly charged the chief of the opposite party with broken faith and illegal interference. By a large majority Sir William Middleton, Bart., and William Fenwick, Esq., were declared fit representatives of the county. So spoke the popular voice; but both parties went to the poll, and for thirteen days Alnwick was the scene of wild contention, which resulted in the election of Percy and Middleton; the numbers at the close of the poll being for Lord Algernon Percy, 1235; Sir William Middleton, Bart., 1099; Sir John Delaval, Bart., 1083; William Fenwick, Esq., 762. Of 149 freeholders belonging to Alnwick, 117 voted for Percy, 78 for Delaval, 68 for Middleton, and 23 for Fenwick. Territorial power had effected a considerable change in the borough. The printed papers relating to this election are numerous and instructive, shewing the influences which were at work, and the passions which came into play, during the exciting struggle for dominion on the one side and independence on the other; charges are flung at the duke for breach of faith and illegal and tyrannical interference; and these are rebutted by sneering at the insignificance of the independent party, and by the disavowal of the letters and acts of agents.

At that grave crisis when the influence of the French Revolution was dreaded, the inhabitants assembled on the 28th of December, 1792, with Edward Gallon in the chair, and by resolution said "that perceiving with the greatest concern the circulation of several inflammatory and licentious writings, tending to the utter subversion of our present happy constitution, and of all legal government, and being anxious to defeat the wicked intentions of the contrivers and supporters of such nefarious conduct they declare their attachment and allegiance to the constitution, and that they will exert themselves in suppressing all seditious writings and all attempts whatever to excite tumult and disorder in the town."

Subsequently, as the danger appeared to grow greater, the inhabitants in 1797 formed themselves into an armed association for the defence of the district; but the duke of Northumberland, who seems to have imbibed some old feudal notions, treated the association with contempt. In a letter, dated March 3rd, 1797, to his commissioners, he says—"This idea (of forming an armed association in the place,) is really too ridiculous, and I cannot say that I think it very polite in these Gentlemen, to take a step of this kind under my very nose, without so much as giving themselves the trouble to inform me of their intentions; and I trust that no tenant or

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tradesman who I employ will join them, without first knowing my sentiments of the subject." Feeling indignant at this treatment, the subscribers and friends to the proposed association held a public meeting on May 15th, 1797, Mr. R. Annett in the chair, and passed the following resolution :—

"It is the Declaration of this Meeting that the late proposed Armed Association, originated in a Sense of Duty which we owed to our Country, our Neighbours, and ourselves. Waving all Consideration of Public Men and Measures, we cordially united in what appeared to us a Common Cause.—At the Time we stepped forward with an Offer of our Services to Goverment, the Country was threatened on every Side; and though the primary Object of the Association was the Preservation of Order, and Protection of Property in the District, yet we conceived that such Associations tended also to national Security.—With these Views and Sentiments, we heard with Surprize, that the Duke of Northumberland, whose Interest as well as our own, were embraced by the Association, not only shewed a marked Opposition to it, but treated it contemptuously; deeming it great Presumption in us, to embark in the Measure without his Concurrence; notifying to all his Dependents, or those whom he conceived such, his Expectation that none of them would engage in the same, seemingly arrogating to himself, the sole Ability and Right to determine on its expediency; and finally, ordering all those Tradesmen to be deprived of his Custom, and discharged from his Employment, who in following the Dictates of their own Judgments, and honestly adhering to their Country's Cause, had enrolled themselves in the said Association.

Resolved:—That the above Declaration of this Meeting be signed by the Chairman, and published in the Newcastle Papers; the Sun, the Star, and General Evening Post, London Papers; Edinburgh Advertiser, and in the Town and Neighbourhood by Hand-bills; that Britons may judge, whether the Conduct of the Duke of Northumberland towards the Members of the said Association, has, or has not been, Arbitrary, Insulting, and Oppressive.

RALPH ANNETT, Chairman."

After this, ten subscribers, at the head of whom stand Wm. Baird, Edwd. Stamp, C. F. Lindsay, withdrew from the association, and signed a declaration disapproving of the resolution; and two days afterwards some hundreds of the inhabitants of Alnwick and its vicinity signed another paper condemning the publication of the resolution, and "declaring their disapprobation and abhorrence of the whole proceeding." This tempest in Alnwick was but a storm in a tea cup; but it is significant of the characters both of the lord and of the people of Alnwick. Subsequently, however, the duke raised a volunteer corps from among his own tenants and tradesmen, and supplied them with clothing and arms, in accordance with his own notions, and with the sanction of his sovereign.

Pity it is, to see zeal in a good cause drive men onwards to acts of persecution. A few in Alnwick were favourable to the principles on which the French Revolution was founded; but they were looked on with suspicion, and subjected to petty annoyance. One of the leading merchants—Gawin Scott—suspected of holding views too liberal for the times,

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was watched and harassed; and on one occasion a company of the Percy tenantry was drawn up before his house, and, commanded by their captain, H. C. Selby, advanced towards it with fixed bayonets to terrify its inmates. Such wretched bullying created disgust, and drove at last a good member of society from the town, to seek a peaceful refuge in America, where for several years afterwards he lived and prospered.

The men of Alnwick sometimes came boldly forth as the friends of progress, as well as of constitutional order. Many of them gave their warm and honest sympathies to the Hon. Charles Grey, when he was in 1807 ousted from the representation of the county; and the eloquent speech of the great orator, on retiring from the contest, so thrilled their hearts that the impression died not out till the generation who heard it had passed away. They felt, too, for the persecuted Queen Caroline; and were proud of the eminent statesman who greatly aided in her deliverance. When the obnoxious bill against her was abandoned, Newcastle and Gateshead were brilliantly illuminated, and throughout Northumberland and Durham rejoicings were general; but the people of Alnwick did something more; they deemed it their duty to welcome Earl Grey's return to his northern home, and to present to him an address, giving utterance to their sentiments and feelings. At a large meeting, presided over by John Carr, of Bondgate Hall, the following address was unanimously agreed to; it was written by the Rev. David Paterson, and was praised at the time by metropolitan journals, as well expressing the national feeling; it is worthy of preservation:—

"*Address to the Right Hon. Earl Grey by the Inhabitants of Alnwick.*

Deeply impressed with the grandeur of your independent and consistent character as a statesman, we, the undersigned inhabitants of Alnwick presume humbly and gratefully to address your Lordship upon this your welcome and joyous return to its vicinity.

The joint suffrage of religion, reason, and common sense, justifies us in saying that the history of your public life is a brilliant display of the highest virtue. A determined foe to corruption and misrule the politician is ever lost in the patriot; a sincere, an ardent, and zealous friend to civil and religious liberty, ambition and self interest have uniformly been sacrificed to justice and truth, benignity and the general good; but upon no occasion has your fame shone forth in a more conspicuous and attractive lustre than in your noble and patriotic opposition to the late Bill of Pains and Penalties. We must say, in the impartiality of our judgments, and the candour of our hearts, that the charges preferred against the Queen were not substantiated; and, proceeding upon the feelings and dictates of the charity which thinketh no evil, we cannot but believe her Majesty to be innocent. There can be but one unprejudiced opinion as to the part your Lordship sustained in the discussion—namely, that it is greatly owing to your firm and incorruptible

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integrity, powerful reasonings, and irresistible eloquence, that the said unconstitutional, impolitic, and infamous measure is now overwhelmed in everlasting confusion.

The triumphant success with which it has pleased a gracious Providence to crown the faithful exertion of your mighty talents, we hail as presaging the near approach of that auspicious era when your enlightened and liberal views, sound principles, generous sympathies, and humane sentiments shall be adopted and acted upon in both Houses of Parliament. Be this as it may, we unhesitatingly and boldly venture to predict that your well-earned laurels will continue to flourish in fresh verdure and immortal splendour when the proud trophies of a more accommodating and less amiable policy shall have mouldered into dust.

You have, indeed, purchased for your family the most precious of all inheritances; and we fondly hope, and confidently trust, that in due time they will prove themselves worthy of their illustrious father. Well may you henceforth repose your venerable head on a pillow without care, and peacefully enjoy your slumbers sweetened with the balm of conscious rectitude.

The dismemberment of States is the necessary consequence of mal-administration obstinately persisted in. Warmly attached to the constitution and laws of our beloved country, we abhor and deprecate all revolutionary changes; but at the same time we feel anxiously solicitous for the reformation of those abuses and the prevention of those innovations and encroachments which threaten the subversion of our wise laws, the destruction of our happy constitution, the utter extinction of the established rules of subordination, and the breaking up of all social order. We therefore earnestly pray to Heaven for the prolongation of your valuable life and public usefulness, as being one of the principal safeguards and strongest bulwarks of our rights and liberties, as men, as Britons, and as Christians.

Thus have we ingeneously and fearlessly expressed our feelings and ideas in language which 'envy will scarcely dare to call flattery.'

May the faith and the hope of the Gospel support your exalted and benevolent spirit amidst the decay and dissolution of nature; and in a world to come may even 'that which was so glorious here have no glory, by reason of the glory which excelleth.'"

A deputation was appointed to present this address; but the zeal of the people outran their discretion, and some hundreds accompanied the deputation to Howick Hall; to the whole, however, Earl Grey extended his hospitality. The famous wit, the Rev. Sidney Smith, was at this time Earl Grey's guest; and in one of his letters he refers to the scene. Though a whig, he had, however, little sympathy with the people; he has not one word to say of the hearty and kindly feeling of the people to the earl—nothing of the sentiments expressed in the address, though written by one who sat with him in the Edinburgh Speculative Society when both were young men—but he tells us—"The Alnwick people came over with an address, and drank forty-four bottles of sherry and fifty-two of old port, besides ale!" The record made by this professed joker is less creditable to himself than to the people.

On no important public occasion was a more harmonious opinion given by the people of Alnwick than on the Reform

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Bill, brought forward by Earl Grey. A public meeting was held on January 27th, 1831, presided over by John Carr, of Bondgate Hall, "to petition both houses of Parliament in favour of Reform and Retrenchment." It was the largest political meeting ever held by the people of the town, and the object was triumphantly carried out. The principal speakers were the chairman, the Rev. George Anderson, A.M., George Tate, Luke Hindmarsh, Thomas Bell, John Lambert, Robert Falder, George Wilson, surgeon, the Rev. David Paterson, and Robert Busby; the proceedings and speeches were afterwards published in a pamphlet. The people remained true to their principles throughout the whole of this crisis; all attempts to lay the spirit of reform were as futile as the endeavours of the famous Mrs. Partington to drive back the waves of the Atlantic with her broom.

The recent political character of Alnwick is shewn by the voting, at the last contests for the representation of the northern division of Northumberland. At the election in August, 1847, Sir George Grey, (whig), and Lord Ossulston, (conservative), were returned; the votes being for Grey, 1366; Ossulston, 1247; and Lovaine, 1237. For the parish of Alnwick 250 persons voted, viz: for

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grey, | 104 plumpers, | 33 split votes, | 137 total. |
| Ossulston, | 0 „ | 112 „ | 112 „ |
| Lovaine, | 3 „ | 141 „ | 144 „ |

At the last contest, in July, 1852, when Lord Lovaine and Lord Ossulston, (conservatives), were elected, and Sir George Grey, Bart., (whig), was defeated; the votes were, for Lovaine, 1414; Ossulston, 1335; Grey, 1300. For the parish of Alnwick, 277 persons voted, viz: for

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grey, | 102 plumpers, | 31 split votes, | 133 total. |
| Ossulston, | 0 „ | 139 „ | 139 „ |
| Lovaine, | 7 „ | 167 „ | 174 „ |

Since the division and improvement of Alnwick Moor a new class of voters has been admitted on the registration roll. Those freemen who themselves cultivate their allotments of one acre of land, in which they have a life interest if they reside in the town, are now entitled to votes. After the revision of 1865, there were 334 voters in Alnwick parish, 226 of whom claimed as freeholders, 44 as occupiers, and 64 as moor allotees.

END OF VOL. I.

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# APPENDIX.

## I.

## CHARTERS FROM THE DE VESCYS TO THE BURGESSES OF ALNWICK.

*From the originals in the Archives of the Borough of Alnwick.*

1. Charter from William de Vescy, granted between the Years 1157 and 1185. See page 96.

Notum sit omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris hanc cartam visuris vel audituris, quod Ego Willelmus de Vescy concessi et hac mea carta confirmavi hominibus meis burgensibus de Alnewic, tenere de me et de heredibus meis, illi et heredes sui tam libere et quiete, sicut burgenses de Novo Castro tenent de domino Rege Angliæ, et eciam habere communam pasturam in haidene, et in mora de haydene. Hiis testibus Waltero de bolebec, Rogero de Stutevilla, Johanne Vicomite, Rainaldo de Kynebel, et multis aliis.

A seal was affixed, but it is now broken.

2. Charter from William de Vesci, granted between the Years 1226 and 1253. See page 97, and Plate IV. fig 1.

Sciant presentes et futuri, quod Ego Willelmus de Vesci filius et heres Domini Eustachii de Vesci concessi et hac presenti carta mea, confirmavi Burgensibus meis de Alnewic, omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines de me et de heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis quiete et pacifice in perpetuum, tenendas et habendas quas dominus Rex Anglie concessit Burgensibus suis de novo castro et quibus libere utuntur. Et etiam communem pasturam de Haydene et in mora de Haydene decendendo et ascendendo per Colieregate, adeo libere quiete et pacifice in omnibus, sicut carta Domini Willelmi de Vesci avi mei quam inde habent testatur. In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Domino H. Abbate de Alnewic, Willelmo de Vesci fratre meo, Willelmo de Furnival, Willelmo le Latimer, Rogero filio Radulphi, Willelmo de Bosc, Radone le Latimer, Simone de Horseley, et aliis.

The Vescy seal still remains attached to this charter.



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3. Charter of William de Vescy, granted in 1290. See page 97.

Sciant presentes et futuri, quod Nos Willelmus de Vescy, frater et heres Johannis de Vescy, dedimus et concedimus ac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus, Burgiensibus nostris de Alnewyke, omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines in omnibus, sicut carta Willelmi de Vescy patris nostri, quam inde habent plenius testatur, dedimus eciam et concessimus eisdem Burgiensibus nostris quasdam pecias terre in campo de Bondegate que vocantur Stottefaldhalch et Ranwellestrother cum omnibus suis pertinentiis cum communa in Heydene et cum omnibus aysiamentis in Haydenmore in Mariscis, pascuis et pasturis, petariis, turbariis, et brueriis, et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis libertatibus et aysiamentis quibus uti solebant temporibus antecessorum nostrorum, tam in mense vetito quam extra. Et sciendum est, quod in boreali parte vie de Boulton que vocatur Boultonstreete usque ad semitam que vocatur Coliergate, manuum opus minime fiet per aliquem priusquam provideatur per nos et dictos Burgenses, quod manuum opus infra predictas bondas fieri debeat ad commodum nostrum, et ad commodum ipsorum Burgiensium per junctum assensum. Et pastura tota ibidem nobis et ipsis Burgensibus junctim remaneat in communi. In cui rei testimonium huic Scripto Sigillum nostrum apposuimus, Et altero scripto hujus seriem continenti residenti penes nos dicti Burgenses Sigillum suum commune apposuerunt, Et sciendum est, quod eidem Burgenses et heredes sui, pro libertate habenda in Hayden in mense vetito cum suis animalibus, dabunt nobis et heredibus nostris annuatim duos solidos, medietatem ad festum Sancti Martini et alteram medietatem ad penticosten inperpetuum. Testibus fratre Alano de Staunford tunc Abbate de Alnewycke, Dominis Radulpho filio Rogeri, Roberto de Hilton, Alexandro filio ejus, Waltero de Camhou tunc Senescallo, Militibus Nichole de Hauchille, Herveo de Bilton, Roberto Harange, Thoma de Rok, Johanne de Middelton, Willelmo le Messager et aliis. Datum apud Catthorp die Dominica proxima ante festum Sancti Michaelis Anno Domini millesimo ducentisimo nonagesimo.

## II.

Charter of Walter de Qwyttill to Thomas de Charleton of a House in Narrowgate, granted about 1290. See page 93.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Walterus de Quyttill salutem in Domino, Noveritis me dedisse concessisse et carta mea presenti confirmassi Thome de Charleton fulloni illud messuagium cum pertinentiis in Alnewyk, quod ab eodem Thoma quondam emi, sicut jacet in le Narugate inter terram Willelmi Batman ex utraque parte, habendum et tenendum eidem Thome heredibus et assignatis suis de capitali domino feodi, adeo libere quiete integre bene et in pace, sicut ego dictum messuagium aliquando tenui vel tenere potui, itaquod nec ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis nomine nostro in dicto mussuagio cum pertinentiis, jus vel clamium in perpetuum vindicare possimus; in cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Domino Abbate de Alnewyke, Willelmo de Gosewick, Benedicto Constabulario de Alnewyke, Johanne del Gren, Willelmo Batman, et aliis.

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## III.

CHARTER OF EDWARD I. TO BISHOP BEK OF A MARKET AND FAIR AT ALNWICK, GRANTED IN 1297. Charter Roll, 25, Edward I. See page 149.

Pro Episcopo Dunelmiæ.

Rex Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, &c. Sciatis quod nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse venerabili patri Antonio Bek, Episcopo Dunelmensi, quod ipse et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant unum mercatum singulis septimanis per diem Sabbati apud manerium suum de Alnewyk in comitatu Northumbriæ, et unam feriam ibidem singulis annis per septem dies duraturam, videlicet in vigilia et in die Sancti Patricii et per quinque dies sequentes, nisi mercatum illud et feria illa sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum et vicinarum feriarum: et quod habeat liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis suis de Alnewyk, Alneham et Tughale, in comitatu prædicto; dum tamen terræ illæ non sint infra metas forestæ nostræ; ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis, vel ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam pertineat, sine licentia et voluntate ejusdem Antonii vel heredum suorum, super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod prædictus Antonius et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant prædicta mercatum et feriam apud manerium suum prædictum, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hujusmodi mercatum et feriam pertinentibus; nisi mercatum illud et feria illa sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum et vicinarum feriarum: et quod habeant liberam warennam in omnibus terris suis prædictis; dum tamen terræ illæ non sint infra metas forestæ nostræ; ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis, vel ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam pertineat, sine licentia et voluntate ipsius Antonii vel heredum suorum, super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum, sicut prædictum est. Hiis testibus, venerabilibus patribus, W. Elyensi et R. Londinensi Episcopis, Hugone le Despenser, Galfrido de Geynevill, Thoma de Berkleye, Waltero de Bello Campo, senescallo hospicii nostri, Johanne Buteturte, Johanne de Merk, et aliis. Datum per manum nostrum apud Wynchelse, vicesimo die Augusti, anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto.

## IV.

GRANT OF PONTAGE TO THE MEN OF ALNWICK BY EDWARD III., IN 1377. Rot. Pat. 51, Edw. III., m. 19. See page 150.

De pontagio.

Rex ballivis et probis hominibus villæ de Alnewyk in comitatu Northumbriæ, salutem. Sciatis quod in auxilium tam pontis villæ prædictæ qui dirutus est et confractus ad grave dampnum hominum per pontem illum transeuntium, quam villæ vestræ prædictæ paviandæ, concessimus vobis quod a die confectionis præsentium, usque ad finem trium annorum proxime sequentium plenarie completorum, capiatis per manus illorum de quibus confiditis, et pro quibus respondere volueritis, de rebus venalibus ad dictam villam venientibus et per pontem illum transeuntibus consuetudines subscriptas, &c., ut supra.* Testi Rege apud Westmonasterium, xviii die Aprilis.

* Videlicet, de quolibet summagio bladi venalis, unum quadrantem, de

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qualibet carecta bladi venalis unum obolum; de quolibet equo, equa, bove, vel vacca venale unum quadrantem; de quolibet corio equi et equæ venale unum quadrantem; de qualibet centena pellium caprarum, cervorum, bissarum damorum venalium unum obolum; de qualibet centena pellium agnorum, capriolorum, leporum, cuniculorum, vulpium, catorum, et squirellorum venalium unum quadrantem; de quolibet summagio pannorum venalium unum obolum; de quolibet panno integro venale unum quadrantem; de qualibet centena lineæ, telæ, canevacii, pannorum Hiberniæ, Galswech, et Worstade venalium unum obolum; de quolibet dolio vini vel cervicii venalis unum denarium; de qualibet carecta mellis venalis unum obolum; de quolibet trussello pannorum venalium ducto per carectam duos denarios; de qualibet carecta plumbi venalis unum denarium; de averio de pondere, scilicet de centena, unum denarium; de qualibet peisa cepi et uncti venalis unam quadrantem; de quolibet quarterio waidæ venalis, unum obolum; de qualibet centena de alum, coporosæ, argail, et vertegressæ venalis unum denarium; de duobus miliaribus ceparum venalium unum quadrantem; de decem shavis allei venalis unum quadrantem; de quolibet miliari allecis venalis unum quadrantem; de qualibet carectata piscis marini venalis unum quadrantem; de qualibet centena bordi venalis unum quadrantem; de qualibet mola venale unum quadrantem; de quolibet miliari fagettorum venalium unum denarium; de quolibet quarterio salis venalis unum quadrantem; de qualibet peisa casei vel butiri venalis unum quadrantem; de qualibet carectata buscæ et carbonum venalium per ebdomadam unum obolum; de quolibet quarterio tanni venalis unum quadrantem; de qualibet centena stanni, æris, et cupri venalis unum obolum; de quolibet trussello mercimonii cujuscumque generis venalis; et qualibet alia re venale valoris quinque solidorum hic non specificata venientibus ad dictam villam et per villam illam transeuntibus, lana, pellibus lamitis, coriis bovinis et vaccarum, ac ferro exceptis, unum quadrantem.

V.

LICENSE TO WALL AND EMBATTLE THE TOWN OF ALNWICK. Patent Rolls. Henry VI., p. 1, n. 6. (1434). See page 237.

Pro includendo murando et battellando villam de Alnewyk.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod nos consideracione, quod villa de Alnewyk in comitatu Northumbriæ super marchias et fronteras Scotie aperta jacet et ita periculose, quod magna pars ejusdem ville per Scotos inimicos nostros nuperime combusta extitit, de avisamento et assensu consilii nostri, concessimus licentiam carissimo consanguineo nostro Henrico Comiti Northumbriæ, domino dicte ville et Castri ibidem, ac Burgensibus ejusdem ville heredibus et successoribus suis, quod prædicti dictam villam de Alnewyk legitime includere murare circa totam villam prædictam, ac muros ejusdem ville battellare et maccheculare, necnon alias res defensabiles quascumque circa et super eosdem muros facere et ordinare valeant, absque impeticione quacunque erga præfatum comitem seu Burgenses heredes vel executores suos, per nos heredes nostros aut aliquos ministrorum seu officiariorum nostrorum imposterum facienda: In cujus, &c. H. R. apud Westmonsterium, primo die Junii.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

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